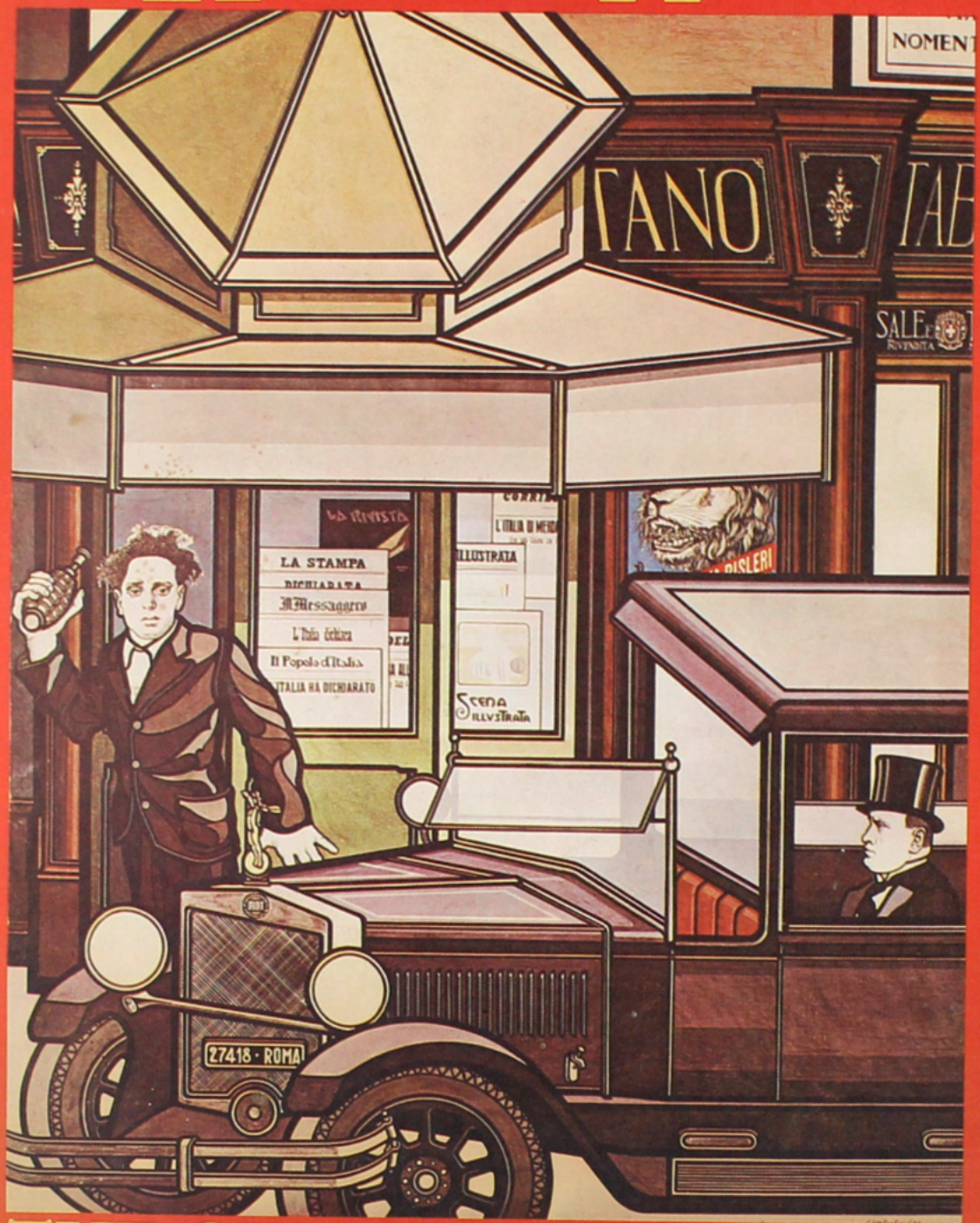
ANARCHIST REVIEW

NUMBER 4



THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS

CONTENTS

PAGE NO

1 Editorial
3 Letters
7 Towards an Anarchist Manifesto
13 Orkney Ramblings: Anarchist Gardening Hints
16 Anarchist Strategy, Civil and Military
18 A Gay Manifesto
19 Expropriation, Peter Kropotkin
23 Transcendental Meditation: The Spirituality Rip-off
29 Santiago Carrillo, or History Falsified
40 Starship Stormtroopers: Anarchist and Authoritarian Ideas in Science Fiction, Michael Moorcock
46 Class War: The Writings of Camillo Berneri
63 Monetarism, the "new liberalism" Right Wing Anarchism and the Minimal State
68 The Anarchists in the Mexican Revolution (2): Praxedis G. Guerrero
73 Contributions to the History of the Anarchist Press: *Ruta* and *Anarchismo*
76 Flavio Costantini: Artist of Anarchy
81 Reminiscences of Pampas Life, The Tragic Week of 1919, Argentina
88 Two Workers Experiences in Russia: Gabriel Miasnikov and Mollie Steimer
90 Gregory Maximoff
93 The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China, Albert Meltzer (with a new introduction by Shelby Shapiro)
105 Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought
112 An Interview with Pa Chin
116 "A Stranger to Nothing" : The Poetry of Philip Levine
118 The Stammheim Deaths
129 Nikola Tesla – A Name on a Light Bulb
132 Inside the Belly of the Amerikan Dream, Emily Harris
133 Pimpernel Howard and the Anarchists
136 Book Reviews
181 Pamphlet Reviews + index to books reviewed in Vol. I, Nos. 1/3

Hidden somewhere in the following pages is THE DONALD DUCK/JOSEPH GOEBBELS PRIZE FOR LIBERAL OBJECTIVITY awarded this year to Professor Raymond Carr for his article on books on Spanish Anarchism in "The New York Review of Books" earlier this year. This year's prize is to be a rather runny and tasteless custard pie which will be delivered personally at the first available opportunity during a suitably respectable academic gathering.

Please try to give something extra towards our publishing programme this year. As well as our target of at least three major new books and as many booklets before the end of the year, we have many financial commitments to cover with our printers.

The cover illustration by Flavio Constantini depicts the attempt on Mussolini's life by the anarchist militant Gino Lucetti, in Rome, on September 11, 1926.

ADVERTISEMENT

Cienfuegos Press faces being gobbled up by the Money Monster

Once again the young Cienfuegos Press is faced with the nemesis of bankruptcy and ruin and no more of our scintillating books and journals. Our shoestring budget still continues to operate at a rate where production costs far outweigh income generated by our titles, due to our inability to generate interest from commercial advertisers. In an effort to maintain our publishing project and keep us from the debtors' prison, we urge our readers to contribute financially to the press, to re-subscribe if your sub has run out, to use our mail order bookservice, and twist your friends' arms to subscribe - now! Meanwhile, we at this end will be doing everything possible to keep the press going and keep out of prison.

I year subscription . . . . . $ 20.00 / £10.00
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Anarcho-Hyperborean struggling in the jaws of the Capitalist Behemoth.

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"There is one thing more wicked in the world than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey."
– William Kingdon Clifford

ANARCHIST CARTOON BOOK

We are currently preparing *THE ANARCHIST CARTOON BOOK* and *THE ANARCHIST ALMANAC* for future publication – both ideal gifts for apathetic, racialist, lethargic, authoritarian, or just plain ignorant friends, enemies or relatives – and would welcome contributions from our readers.

SCIENCE FICTION AFICCIONADOS

Michael Moorcock has very kindly contributed 10 signed h/b copies of his novel *The Hollow Land* for our publications fund (£3.75p each), and two signed h/b copies of the now rare sf anthology *The Nature of the Catastrophe* which we are offering for £7.00 or over (each).

"The Anarchist Review is Great! Very inspiring."
Red & Black, Australia.

"My biggest complaint is that I don't have the time to read it! Seriously though, it's amazing. The Review is certainly far more ambitious than anything we managed. Good luck and we'll do what we can this end."
Wat Tyler, Libero International, Tokyo.

"The Review is really outstanding. One of the few bright spots in a generally gloomy time."
Noam Chomsky, Boston.

". . I'm very glad to have it. A splendid job! First glance reveals its rich assortment of articles."
Paul Avrich, New York.

"Seriously, this has got to be the most comprehensive collection I've seen. Congratulations!"
Richard Webster, Chicago.

"This excellently produced issue is so jam-packed with information it's hard to describe in detail! An excellent work of Anarchist scholarship."
News from Nowhere, Liverpool.

"The Review is by far the best publication of its kind I've seen and I'd be glad to contribute. May the Force stay away from your front door."
Michael Moorcock, London.

"Worth every penny. Days and days of fascinating reading, and Cienfuegos should be congratulated on bringing this out. . . (making) the Encyclopaedia Britannica look like Jack and Jill."
Anarchy, London.

"Excellent value. I don't understand why some carp at paying a little more at times when it means such worthwhile material is produced."
Roy Emery, Bath.

"I am a little ashamed that our people in Spain have been incapable of launching something like your own project.... Hearty congratulations. . ." ". . . the work you are carrying out at the moment is the most important in the world today. . ."
Diego Abad de Santillan, Buenos Aires/Madrid

"This is the third Cienfuegos Anarchist Review and is the best so far. Cienfuegos Press have become the main Anarchist publishing group in this country. Always making a loss, their financial situation is now critical to say the least. If Cienfuegos Press is to continue

they need our support."
Zero, London

These few extracts are shown for a purpose and not just because of the pleasure such encouragement gives us. We left the Zero comment to the last because it underlines the situation the Review is faced with. It provides Anarchists everywhere with a unique publication, and its continuance depends on those who believe in the importance of it for the movement as a whole. We are only being held back by cash problems. This issue is even bigger and better than the last though we are working towards a less expensive quarterly with larger type and less pages. (This issue cost £3000 to print and bind so you can imagine the difficulties we are faced with!)

Our short term situation is desperate simply because we are dragged down by old debts and the slow cash flow which comes from this sort of publishing. But if the majority of readers were to take out regular *annual* subscriptions and encourage their friends to do so as well, we would be able to become established on a viable long term basis. Cash shortage is a vicious circle, especially when you have to give an even greater discount to distributors to obtain money immediately in order to help pay the printer. And the more our margin is reduced in this way the less we have available to publish important books and pay off debts.

It looks gloomy now, but with *your* help and that of your group this Review can grow even more strongly as *the* international Anarchist publication. The reaction to it has been far greater than even we dared hope, so the potential is enormous.

If you have not already done so, subscribe now. The annual subscription for 1978, including books, is £10.00. We are also introducing a 'sustaining subscription' of £15 for those who can afford to give a little more (there must be some!), and a 'life subscription' of £50.00. Just a few of those and the bailiffs would stay away for ever. We are also very interested in hearing from sympathisers willing to offer cash loans on normal business terms. We are most grateful to all who have sustained us up till now and confidently appeal for your help in boosting this Anarchist venture and securing its future.

We are also sending out a questionnaire soon. The intention behind this is to involve our readers and encourage them to be active participants. As you can imagine we need your help on many levels like translations, cartoons, typing, photography, articles, etc., but we are also interested in compiling an index on available skills to be used on a mutual aid basis, and for helping Anarchists who want to set up their own co-operatives. There must be an enormous potential of skills and knowledge within the movement which could be put to use for the benefit of everyone working towards a libertarian society. This is our propaganda of the deed. Proving it works, and not just writing about it. So don't wait for a formal questionnaire, but please write in telling us of your skills or of any area in which you think you might be able to help.

N.B. *During the course of the summer of 1978 we shall be issuing C.P. Publishing Project Sub-*

The following people have been the mainstay and lifeblood of the 1978 Cienfuegos Press publications programme. It is only because of their financial,moral and physical commitment that we have been able to continue publishing this year. Please help us to continue our work by ensuring your name is on the list in the next Review by renewing your subscription – or making a donation/loan – before issue No.5 which we hope to get out by the Autumn of 1978: *B.R. Avey, Richard Alexender, Phil Addington, Paul Avrich, Ronnie Alexander, Geoff Armstrong, Tonia Aminoff, Bruce Alba, Federico Arcos, Diego Abad de Santillan, Octavio Alberola, S. Bonnett, Ron Bates, Don Bennett, Audrey Beecham, Abe Bluestein, Ross Bradshaw, C.D. Bates, Antony Beevor, LeeBrown Sheila Blanchard, Marty Blatt, Mick Balfour, Arthur Bartell, Phil Billingsley, Paul Buckland, E. Baierl, Simon Bennett, Ken Blair, R.E. Bond, Heiner M. Becker, Kenneth Burgon, I.M. Bros., J. Baum, Dave Barnsdale, Ben Burr, Charlie Baird, Dorothy H. Ballew, Alfredo Bonanno, Dave Carr, Dave Campbell, Paul Cheetham, Noam Chomsky, Karl Cordell, Richard Christopher, A.G. Chappell, Dave Couch, Tom Cahill, Allan Charles, R. Campbell, Flavio Costantini,Brenda Helen Cummings, George & Louise Crowley, Nick Carey, Tom Copeland, Geoff Charlton, Paul Conti, Bob Cotterill, Leslie Doe, Mike Donaldson, ColinDarch Sam Dolgoff, Malcolm Dixon, Terry Delaney, Dave Dann, Alejandro Diez, Bert Dada, Tony Depledge, Barry Duncan, Martyn Everett, John Edwards, Fifth Estate Collective, Gunter Fries, Tom Flittie, Mike Fitzgerald, Alan Fairlamb, Leah Feldman, Adam Flowers, Nimmo Failla, Dave Goodway, Paul Gordon, Bill Graham, Brian Gibbens, Victor Garcia, Colin Graham, Marcus Graham, Ariane Grantac, Miguel Garcia, Ronnie Graham, C. Huggins, Mark Hendy, Mick Hunt, D. Harman, Nhat Hong, Cliff Harper, J.L. Harper, Pat Hall, Michael Hughes, Steve Harries, Bruce Huebel, Alan Hooper, Adam Herdman, Hassan, Steve Hoyland, John Harrison, Carl Harp, Bill Herrick, Stuart Hanlon, Bill & Emily Harris, Gary Jewell, Neil Jarman I.I.v.S.G., James Jaffe, Tom Jennings, Robert*

scription & Contribution Cards. Please send your card in with all contributions, subscriptions, book orders, etc. It will help you keep a record of how much and how often you send us money, and us by ensuring prompt acknowledgement of all monies received.

LIMITED EDITION POETRY OFFER

Marcus Graham has contributed two copies of his beautifully bound and printed 1929 limited edition of *An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry* for our publications fund. One of the copies is number 16 of a signed limited edition of 150 de-luxe boxed copies (£50.00 or over). The other, in red cloth binding in immaculate condition, is being offered for £25.00 or upwards.

LAND AND LIBERTY!

Any readers with a copy of the above with blank pages is requested to return their copy and we'll replace it immediately.

"NEITHER GOD NOR MASTER!"

An important £5000 plus production by Cienfuegos Anarchist Theatre. To be staged, with your help, in as many acts as it takes.

No Empty Boast Dept.

OUR CATTLE SHALL GRAZE ON WHITEHALL!

This is the fourth issue of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review and those readers who have been with us from the beginning will have seen quite a development. So we feel that this is the right time to explain more about what we are intending to achieve with the Review.

We are called the Cienfuegos Press after Camillo Cienfuegos, the Cuban libertarian who was murdered on the orders (and reputedly by) Raul Castro for speaking out against the dictatorship established after the revolution. The Review is not a 'party' magazine trying to get over the ideological views of a limited group within the Anarchist movement. As we state below it is intended to be a forum for the movement as a whole both in the U.K. and internationally.

We would describe our objectives as follows:
– To promote the widest possible circulation of the ideas, theory and history of anarchism and self-management.
– To analyse revolutionary movements in other times and places, their successes and failures.
– To understand how resistance is combatted and liberating ideas suppressed or distorted.
– To expose all authoritarian aspects of daily life and put forward viable libertarian alternatives.
– To bring about an immediate change in social relationships and in the relations that people have with their physical environment, and the technology they use.
– To oppose and resist all forms of authority and exploitation (sexual, political, racial, economic), arbitrary power and obscurantism.
– To show the weakness and vulnerability of all authoritarian systems, their injustices and dishonesties, and re'ate them to the experience of the international libertarian movement.
– To provide an effective international forum through the CPAR and local readers' groups for the exchange and development of libertarian ideas, and to forge closer links of friendship and solidarity between Anarchists and libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

This may appear to be an ambitious programme, but the response so far has been excellent.

"Now will you lend us your copy of the Anarchist Review?"

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

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Associate editors & contributors: Phil Billingsley, Geoff Charlton, Flavio Costantini, Sam Dolgoff, Marcus Graham, Mark Hendy, Frank Mintz, Pete Miller, Bill Nowlin, Les Prince, Peter Silcock, John Lintott, Nigel Pennick, Alan Hunter , and many others who all helped in different ways.

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Advertising Rates: Full Page, £500.00; half-page, £250.00; ¼ page £125.00, etc.

If you find mistakes in this issue, please note they are there for a purpose. We try to please everyone, and some people are always looking for mistakes!!

ANARCHISTS NEED CAPITAL

Cienfuegos Press, stimulating, original and, hopefully, expanding anarchist publishing group, needs £3,000/£5,000 for 3-5 years for new machinery and programme of new anarchist titles. Although we hope to attract loans from sympathetic sources, and pay less interest than the finance companies or banks are demanding (but who won't look at us!), this would be a strictly business arrangement, with normal legal obligations and guarantees.

ANARCHISM & THE LAW

A Seminar on *Anarchism and Law* will take place at Erasmus University, Rotterdam Burg, Oudlan 50, Holland on 3-6 January 1979.

All papers must be in English and should be in not later than 1 October 1978. Subscriptions should be in NOT later than 1 September, 1978.

For further information please contact Thom Holterman, Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Burg Oudlaan 50, Rotterdam

"Hip hip hurrah for Cienfuegos Press. Issue No.3 of the CPAR is by far the best libertarian review being published in the world today. A treasure trove of Anarchist learning."
Bicicleta, Madrid.

Idso, D.& P. Jackson, K. Jaffe, Jura Books, Michael Kidron, Dave Kerry, Morris Kahn, David Knight, John Lintott, Steve Landstreet, Ian Lind, Ken Lester, Roland Lewin, Margaret Lester, Juno Lucas, N. Kusuura, Philip Levine, Craig Liddle, Bobby Lynn, Russ Little, Jorge Peres Liber, Franco Leggio, Ragnar Manfred McDowell, Ross McGilchrist, Terry Mulvihill, Michael Moorcock, Brian Michaels, Lino Molin, S. Magliocca, Albert Meltzer, Keith Miller, Ron Marsden, Andrew Margolis, Richard Matthews, Steve Moniz, Norman Nawrocki, Mike Nicholson, John Northey, T. Nishimura, Bill Nowlin Jr., Graham Price, Terry Phillips, W.R. Philpott, Mike Payne, Fredy & Lorraine Perlman, B. Pearson, Les Prince, Stefanos Pantazis, C.R. Platts, Harald Pilstrom, Wayne Parker & Helene Ellenbogen, Vasco Pires, Dave Prickett, Nigel Pennick, Janet S. Payne, Dave Poole, A. Paterson, B. Ponetki, Paul Radford, Torben Retboll, Robert Race, Phil Ruff, Joe Remiro, Domingo Rojas, Martin Spence, Pete Skispey, Nick Sherrington, P.J. Smith, Ron Stephan, Pamela Sladek, Jock Spence, Paul Sharkey, Mike Sheehan, Joe Shaver, Vince Stevenson, Shelby Shapiro, Len Still, Stephen Soldz, Harry Siitonen, Neil Springate, Bob Spicer, Jim & Keith Taylor, Dave Thompson, Fran Taylor, Fabian Thompsett, Antonio Tellez, Jon Trux, Dennis Webb, Pete Whitecross, Jerry Westall, Dennis Woolf, Bill Wells, Henry Weitsborn, Robert Anton Wilson, Andrew Whittes, Dan Williams, John Walden, Chris Winne, Ed Walker, Nicolas Walter, Barry Woodling, Phil & Moira Verrill, Pete Williams, Alison Walton, Ian Welsh, C.W., A.T. Walentowicz, Iain Watt, Mark Woronowski, Jean Weir, Simon Watson Taylor.

DEAR CIENFUEGOS

LETTERS

The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement

Dear Comrades,

I finally got the literature you sent yesterday – Muchas gracias!

I read the book on the May 1st Group last night and was wishing the whole time that my comrades and I had known what was happening with the revolutionary activist wing of anarchism before we went into action. Albert Meltzer described the isolated situation we were in in his analysis of the distorted image of anarchism that developed in the U.S. around the peace and hippy movement. I didn't consider anarchism as a serious revolutionary movement because of the non-violent attitude projected over here and I didn't know anything of anarchist history at the time. It would have aided us more than anything else to have had that knowledge beforehand. A consistent international revolutionary theory would have made a tremendous impact with all the press we got, at least here in the U.S., and would have probably done much to clarify the situation for others who were as ignorant and isolated as we were in relation to the anarchist movement in Europe. It really shows how anarchism is suppressed when I think of all the books I read on "revolutionary" (State socialist) theory and history, Third World liberation struggles, guerrilla warfare, etc., without any reference to anti-authoritarian movements.

Freedom

Russ Little, San Quentin Prison, B66002, Tamal, Ca. 94964.

School Propaganda

Dear Comrades,

I enclose a cheque for my C.P. subscription. I'll send a donation along in several weeks, but at the moment I've not got any money at all. It's no fun being a 17 year old six-former without a part-time job, and no source of income other than a small allowance.

One thing bothers me about the movement and that is the lack of accessible propaganda in London (I can't comment upon other regions) these days. In all my years I never came upon any until I actually decided to look, and this I found only in left-wing bookshops, that many people might never visit. We're all aware that the revolution can only occur when a substantial fraction of the population wants it, so surely the propaganda campaign should be stepped up in all its many aspects.

How about the schools? We're all told about Marx and Lenin, and others of the authoritarian left, but never a word about Bakunin or Kropotkin, or any aspect of the anarchist movement. I assume that it is no considered an "acceptable" subject. Anarchist propaganda, from within or without the school system, might be a good counter-offensive against the vile National Front literature, and that of the other authoritarian political movements. And if not in the schools generally, then what about sixforms? A great untapped field for the application of some clever propaganda. None of the sixformers that I've spoken to know anything about the libertarian movement in general, let alone anarchism. And, unfortunately, most of them are very resistive to our ideas, not for logical reasons, but because of the years of conditioning that has been inflicted upon us. It's a hard task, but I may be getting through to a few of them.

Street propaganda; over the past several years I've been handed literature supporting every type of political movement but anarchism. This is a great shame, as I'm certain there is a large number of receptive people that are being missed and who turn to the authoritarian left instead. Even graffiti is substantially lacking. It's quite rare to find Anarchy scrawled anywhere, though I've rectified this in my area somewhat.

I suggest that the movement, in general, is going through a low period, and that every anarchist should at least cover a wall with white paint. After all, if it only stimulates one person to read about and enter the movement, then it's all been worthwhile. And there's so much more an active person can do than just painting a message, or drawing a symbol.

I'm glad C.P. is going to pay more regard to science fiction, because I've been an SF fan for years, and I'm certain of the part it could take in spreading our ideas. In fact it was the Dispossed that made me decide I was an anarchist when I read it about three years ago, though I had formed many libertarian ideas before that.

All the best for now,

B.B.

Dear Comrades,

I have just had the extreme pleasure of reading the Autumn 1977 Review. *Well done!* – by far the best and most inspiring I've seen. The "Objections to Anarchism" was very good and "Sabotage" was superb!

Left Bank Books here got the issue to me in the mist of starvation for good reading materials. Lots of things are happening here and in the Walla Walla Prison; I hope I am still on your mailing list at PO Box 520, Walla Walla, Wn. 99362? At present I am in Seattle fighting for a new trial. Caught the State lying in my case and stand to lose 45 years off my sentence! Under no illusions – a chance exists and everyone is confident that positive action will come in the end. This jail is the pits, but which aren't?

I am well and deep in struggle as usual, and trying hard to write, study and stay up on all I can out there. Once back in Walla Walla I hope to contribute some articles and artwork.

Many may have heard that I was seriously beaten up a few months ago at Walla Walla. That is so, but I am well and everything is fine so don't worry about my silence all this time.

As you know we won a great victory at Walla Walla. All of us known as the Walla Walla Brothers were finally released from solitary, many of us after many years there! In the process we ousted the Governor (Wardeh) and his associate and brought many changes there. The struggle continues. Many of us formed "Men against Sexism" – a first in prison. MAS is an organisation of Gay and Anti-sexist men. The group tries to protect weak and gay prisoners and is struggling with sexism and other struggles within the prison. For months we fought for sanction and space with the State against against great odds even amongst the prison population. I am happy to say that last month (February) we won! The city outside is up in arms, smile, but they'll get over it. . Many community groups are now coming in to assist us in many programmes (Prisoner's Rights Organisation; Metro-community Church (Gay) and "Through the Looking Glass" (women) and many others) Our work has just begun.

I want to thank all of you who supported us and printed our communications. They played a vital part in our struggle. I personally, as did all of us, appreciated all the letters of support to me in Walla Walla, and all the letters of protest to State officials here – Australia, Holland and even Japan! Thank you and warm embraces to all of you with love.

Carl Harp
Walla Walla (temporary address at time of writing King County Jail, Seattle)

PS You'll soon be receiving $25.00 towards Cienfuegos from my prison earnings.

Tape Worm

Dear Comrades,

I finally got round to sending you a sub. I was interested in the point made in the latest issue of the Cienfuegos Press, that the history of the Anarchist Movement in Britain only exists in the memories of certain elderly comrades. Recently, I've had the opportunity of listening to about 50 tapes of interviews with old International Brigaders. Oral history is getting quite trendy in some quarters! Really though, I think something should be done before it is too late! Perhaps if a small group of people could be got together something might be done. I think that it could be very interesting to record interviews and then transcribe them. Yours fraternally, Ron.

Dear Comrades,

I'm still reading No.3 and enjoying it very much. It really is the best anarchist reading around. My only grouch is with the "Easter Cancelled" spread which I thought was unfair to those anarchists with religious beliefs. So what? – most anarchists are atheist, but that still leaves a minority of individuals who are not, and they are bound to feel alienated when they come across anti-religious sentiments in a magazine which they otherwise enjoy. The reason I mention this is because of the number of people I know who have expressed an interest in anarchism only to be put off by reading such things as the "Easter Cancelled" article. Most of these people are against the Church as are most anarchists, but they look upon religion as a personal affair and even though the flysheet was directed mainly against the Christian church it also denigrated the original philosophy – a philosophy which, as far as I know, has a sound ideal based on the vision of a harmonious society.

My overall point is that such things should be left out of the Review in future if only not to dishearten potential comrades who would interpret such things as an attack on their personal beliefs.

Congratulations, once again, on an excellent Review. Long may you continue.

Rab McNeil

More alienating, more denigrating, than – say – Tolstoy's "Resurrection"? We'll be taking this discussion further in a series of articles on Anarchism & Christianity in a future issue of the CPAR.

Dear Comrades,
I was interested to learn something of your work when I chanced to see some leaflets, one of them dealing with the epic of Magonism – could it be? This is a subject I dealt with as far back as 1922 on the occasion of Ricardo's death in Leavenworth and we managed to influence fresh generations with our publication of the works and correspondence of that great libertarian. At the age of 86 the sole remaining survivor, Nicolas T. Bernal, before he too passes away, asked me to do something lest the revolutionary episode of Magonism, something quite utterly different from the power struggle that followed in its wake, disappear without trace. There was nothing for it but to comply with Bernal's wishes. But, through a mistaken trust in the son of one of our comrades, we were forced to cut short the first three of the five volumes of the work, after the loss of the primary sources and illustrations we had collected. It has taken me a year to put the work together again and at last we are preparing for publication. One way or another you will receive a copy of the collection. Hence my interest awakened in me by your *Land & Liberty*[1], on account of my long standing devotion to the promotion of Magonism with its countless selfless martyrs.

I am in possession of two issues of the *Review* as well as your other pamphlets and essays: I have scarcely been able to flick through them, but there are some pieces I must read attentively. It was an unexpected surprise. From the insight afforded me by almost 60 years in the publishing of our literature I know what this feat you have begun means in terms of sacrifice and sleepless nights and I am a little ashamed that our people in Spain have been incapable of launching something like your own project, precisely at this time when the myth of the bomb crazy anarchist is being broken down, and when we might win the respect of many who, in other days, found more to criticise in us than to praise, through our aspiring to a better, more just, and more free world and through our thinking, in its essence requiring no amendment on our part. Which tactic to adopt in a world that has changed so much since the turn of the century is quite another matter. I have made several attempts to tackle this issue: one of them *Estrategia y tactica* was published in Spain last year. So far as I can judge from your works, if there is any difference of opinion between us it is only on the issue of what tactical approach is to be adopted to a world that is no longer what it once was. But that is something to be tackled in a conversation more far reaching than merely a few lines of writing. Some weeks ago I gave a number of talks on anarchism in Spain at the Instituto Superior de Filosofia in Valladolid, under the auspices of the Fritz Ebert Foundation; whenever they are published I should like to send them to you for they may perhaps be of assistance in discussion of doctrine. On connected topics I have published works by Gustav Landauer, Max Nettlau and Rudolf Rocker which, insofar as I am able, I shall make every effort to have reprinted.

Hearty congratulations on the work you have begun and which, I hope, is to continue. When I have discharged myself of all sorts of commitments I should like to send you something on our problems. . . .

My very best wishes.

Diego Abad de Santillan

(From a later letter)
. . . I have just received the impressive work by Dave Poole which, in such few pages, gives a clear insight into the influence the Mexican anarchists had in the struggle againts Porfirist tyranny. . . Without doubt the work you are doing is, at this moment, the most important in the world. . . **DAS**

Diego Abad de Santillan
– Pseudonym of the Spaniard Sinetio Garcia Fernandez, better known as DAS. Emigrated to Argentina where he rose in the FORA to become co-editor, with Lopez Arango, of "La Protesta". Between 1922 and 1926 these two mounted a campaign (the native anarchist press was silenced by Primo de Rivera) to have the FORA model of an anarchist labour movement exported to Spain and elsewhere in Europe. This was the preservation of a specifically anarchist labour movement through the presence in decision making bodies of members of the anarchist group. This arrangement was aimed (1) at preventing communist infiltration (2) the growth of "neutral" syndicalism. This view brought him into debate with Malatesta and Luigi Fabbri, Pestana and all "Revisionists".

Returned to Spain in 1932, after a spell as secretary of the IWMA. Already a prolific writer, journalist, publisher and translator. Belonged to the FAI, in the group "Nervio", along with Pedro Herrera and Idelfonso Gonzales. A prominent FAI member.

Sometime editor of TIERRA Y LIBERTAD, TIMON and TIEMPOS NUEVOS, leading anarchist reviews. After July 1936 he held important posts in the Antifascist Militias Committee of Catalonia and became an active collaborationist. But from about the end of 1936 his stand began to change. He became more and more a vocal opponent of collaboration with the State and its effect on the CNT. By 16 April 1937 he was writing in SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA – "The worst thing is that we set out by conquering the State and if things keep on as they are, we might end up being conquered by it. Instead of the State being an instrument for us, it might turn out that we are its instruments. That would be our greatest shame, our defeat as anarchists and revolutionaries."

Emigrated to Argentina again in 1940 and continued his prolific writing/publishing career. Among his works are: **Porque perdimos la guerra** *(Buenos Aires, 1940);* **Contribucion a la historia del movimiento obrero espanol** *(3 vols., Mexico City, 1962 – 1971);* **Gran Enciclopedia Argentina** *(9 vols.,);* **Historia Argentina** *(5 vols.);* **Gran Omeba** *(Encyclopedic dictionary – 12 vols.);* **La Fora: Ideologia y Trayectoria** *(Buenos Aires, 1971); etc., etc.*

Active in the Argentinian anarchist grouping, around the review RECONSTRUIR. From early days Santillan has been alert to the technological growth of the 20th century stressing a difference between "communism" and "commune – ism". His views have been called "post capitalist" as opposed to "anti-capitalist" merely.

Returned to Spain in 1975. **P. S.**

Dear Comrades,
Nothing happening in the (il)legal arena. Joe and Russ are still anticipating another crack at their murder frame-up. . . no date for that as yet and it probably won't be in the near future. Emily and I have a tentative trial date for mid-July, but we suspect it won't begin before the Fall. The wheels of North American "justice" are slightly chipped and often don't roll at all; and when they do, regardless of how quick you may be, they tend to drive right over you. Emily and I are putting most of our energy into preparing for the circus ahead. If anything could bore me, this case does.

We are all still slammed down in the most maximum security conditions California has to offer. The Department of Correction is still playing treacherous games with our lives. Since the incident at Fulsom early last summer Joe has been the object of numerous attacks set up by the prison administration. Needless to say, the robots who run these places get really freaked out when confronted with someone they can't institutionalise; and they have had many years of practice at trying to break people like us. Joe and Russ both haye been especially singled out for the most dehumanising treatment. It is safe to say that their spirit really aggravates these dogs. Emily is still the only woman prisoner in the entire State (possibly the whole country) who is kept in solitary confinement. And I am still in San Quentin's Adjustment Centre . . a euphemism for Hole. San Quentin has three different holes; Russ is in the worst one which is also used for Death Row. Emily also is on Death Row at the women's prison. Neither Russ or Emily have been (legally) technically condemned to death, but that doesn't seem to matter to the Man. Basically, their major paranoia revolves around not wanting us in positions to communicate with large numbers of other prisoners. Our ideas, then, are considered a dire threat to the security of their institutions.

Well, they may be fascists, but they ain't stupid. Of course our ideas are threatening. . . they are a direct threat to the entire corrupt social order. So none of this is particularly suprising. I must admit these bureaucrats tend to mystify our abilities. They think so lowly of most prisoners, when people like us come along who have had (by comparison) lots of formal education and also are committed to the destruction of the State they tend to get a little hysterical. They fantasise we have some mysterious metaphysical powers to undermine the "order" of their kamps. Actually, they place too much emphasis on schooling, partly because many of the bureaucrats haven't had much themselves. But regardless of the intolerable conditions we find ourselves in, we're all in excellent spirits and very much on our guard.

Emily, incidentally, has totally recovered from the effects of her hunger strike. Some gains were made, particularly in the area of propaganda and the prison came off looking very bad and reacted extremely defensively. However, her situation has not improved in terms of the issue of isolation. In fact, in some ways it has worsened. . . a result of the administration's reaction to looking bad in the media. Emily still feels that her action was necessary and that gains of a more personal nature were made.

I received the C.P. Review a couple of months ago. As yet Emily has not received hers. I mentioned to her to keep you all posted. I have found some of it very interesting. All in all I think the Review is a valuable publication: as of this letter I have completed well over half of the articles. A few of the pieces seemed a bit too cerebral or divorced from contemporary reality (may be a problem of geography and experience) to hold my interest. Historical pieces on anarchist activity/movements in other nations are good background for people like me who've had to contend with bourgeois and marxist-leninist historical bias. But what I really am interested in are contemporary

writings and analysis of current activity in Europe. It seems from here (and it's difficult getting information) that some really important events are happening – particularly in Spain, France and Italy. Our media picks up nothing but shit on Euro-Communism and the jockeying for legitimacy carried on by the Leftie coalitions.

There was also an obvious void (except for a couple of pieces) in the Review that in any way dealt with the women's struggles, or the contributions of women to social revolution. In looking over the list of friends and contributors I notice a lopsided number of men and it seemed that you may need to confront this contradiction. I find it specially odd since I am aware of the many contributions and leading examples that women anarchists have had throughout history. You may want to examine the reasons for the problem. Another question I have is, why is it that I rarely come upon anarchist perspecti ves on national liberation? Certainly, conditions here in North America in regard to this issue may be dissimilar to many European nations but sometimes I get the impression that the issue is not considered important to comrades who consider themselves anarchists. Racism and national chauvinism are priority issues in several European countries . . England, Holland and France spring to mind immediately. Maybe you can suggest some things for me to read.

Now, in regard to the surplus of books on the SLA and "the saga of goody two-shoes". . . The Bunyan book is the only one I know that even approac'ed value. . . and you know how Joe and Russ feel about it. Bunyan was/is an opportunist and the book is basically one man's interpretive fantasy. Joe gets explained away as deranged by the evils of US aggression in Vietnam; and it's the convenient way people have tried to answer how the SLA could have come into existence . . in other words . . something as bizarre as "terrorists" canonly be understood by a bourgeois if it can be said the individual terrorist is a cripple of sorts . . damaged by war, drugs, traumatic personal relationships or whatever. It's how people who feel insecure due to their cowardice and complacency explain away those of us who find (our) lives so intolerable as to risk life and freedom to change the shit. So to justify further inaction and non-commitment to anything progressive we must be explained away as freaks and defectives. Most of the other books were written by sleazy journalists who worked in conjunction with the FBI. Some even portrayed themselves as protectors of the Left. *None* of these books had any input from Emily, Joe, Russ or myself. The calibre of their investigative reporting is below grade B (how about grade W?). A major ploy is character assassination and the books are heavily racist and sexist. I guess what I'm saying is that I don't feel like wasting my time commenting more than briefly on any of them. Because of the trials I, unfortunately, have had to read all of them and I am really tired of reading the same old bullshit over and over. Factually, the books are highly inaccurate, especially where details are often manufactured to satisfy the theories of the authors. If the SLA succeeded at anything it really pissed off a whole lot of armchair leftists, the mass media, all of law enforcement and, of course, the bourgeoisie. These books are a rancid stew that these elements collaborated on. There are none then that I would recommend. Anyone reads to learn about the events, without having to keep in mind the purpose behind the writing of the book. No one but those of us who remain would ever be capable of chronicling the positive, negative and factual aspects of these events. The last couple of years have helped put that in perspective . . but I doubt if the definitive book will ever be written . . none of us really want to since there are more important things to put our energy into. I guess none of us really give a shit if anyone ever learns the "true story". . .

Regards to the comrades caged your side of the pond. **Bill Harris San Quentin,**

Love and solidarity! **B73693 Tamal, Ca. 94964.**

PS Today I received the latest parcel of 5 books from CP Bookservice. Many, many thanks!

We'll be investigating anarchist perspectives on national liberation struggles in future issues of the Review, but we really can't offer any opinions as to why we don't have many women supporters and subscribers. Issue no. 5 of the CPAR, however, will carry a number of articles on women in the international revolutionary movement – maybe that will help any imbalance. . .

An Unfair Review

In issue No.3 of the CPAR Gary Jewell reviewed Alfredo Bonanno's "Critique of Syndicalist Methods: Trade Unionism to Anarcho-Syndicalism". Reviews are intended to convey something of what the author had written, and then criticise or praise it. Jewell has chosen only the second course, as is to be seen in the close to four columns of his review. Not a single full sentence is given from what Bonanno said, except words out of context, as some of the following examples show:

"Bonnano's argument rings false, like so many other critiques of syndicalism. Mutual problem for them all is twofold. One, they don't know what syndicalism is and can't diferentiate it from trade unionism . . . Revolutionary syndicalism. . had already been theorised by Bakunin in 1866 and by the Jura Federation of the 1870's in their pamphlet on the general strike, sabotage and guerrilla warfare. . . Both revolutionary and anarchist syndicalism were dedicated to the overthrow of Capital and the political state. . Syndicalism, he (Bonanno) argues, is revisionist or authoritarian. Only the anarchist content smells of the sweet virgin birth. . to Bonanno, workers are always revolutionary; only their leaders sell them out. What arrogant condecension. . Finally, Bonanno gets to the old whipping boy. "Poor Bakunin. . poor working class," he cries, sold out by the C.N.T. Ande here Bonanno falsifies as if the sky were the limit. All 100% of the C.N.T. leaders were Big Bureaucrats in the Popular Front government. . . All 100% of the collectivisation and street fighting with fascists and communists was done by the great faceless masses. . Co-ordinated action – sabotage, strikes, etc., by strong revolutionary unions is bad. Sabotage and strikes should be committed by small groups of workers. It will thus spread – voila, la Revolution."

The cynical and misrepresentative manner in which Jewell treats Bonnano's pamphlet is totally unwarranted, as the following excerpts from it will show:

"Trade Unionism today: its programmes can be summed up as a collaboration with the structures of capitalism. (p.6) Neither can the unions eliminate their true vocation, that of a more and more concrete participation in the running of the State and in the exploitation of the workers:' (p.13) Bonanno then cites how in Germany where "The law on co-management came into being in 1951. To get it approved by the union Confederation (D.G.B.) they had to threaten (for the first time in history) a general strike." (p.24).

In speaking of the Amsterdam Congress of 1907 where the question of syndicalism was debated, Bonanno cites what Malatesta wrote the same year in *Les Temps Nouveau:*

"Syndicalism, in spite of the declarations of its most ardent partisans, contains, by the very nature of its constitution, all the elements of degeneration which have corrupted the workers' movement in the past. In fact, being a movement which proposes to defend the present interests of the workers, it must necessarily adapt itself to living conditions of the present." (p.17).

Continues Bonanno:

"Let us examine the classical case of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism. Anarchists in government. The C.N.T. has four ministers out of fifteen which make up the government. Here is what *Solidarida Obrera* wrote in 1936: 'The entry of the C.N.T. to the government of Madrid is one of the most important facts of the political history of our country. Always, on principle and by conviction, the C.N.T. has been anti-State and the enemy of every form of government. But circumstances, almost always superior to human will, although determined by it, have transformed the nature of government and the Spanish State. The government at the present time, as a regular instrument of the State organs, is no longer an oppressive force against the working class.' " (p.34).

Comments Bonanno:

"Poor Bakunin (which is nothing), and poor working class (which is serious). Those anarchists who try to hide their own personal incapacity for action behind the apparent "realism" of the anarcho-syndicalist banner can never meditate enough on this passage. With these lines fell in Spain not only anarchist anti-Statism, but also voluntarism, bitterly reduced to a simple play of words. . . (p.35).

The concrete consequences did not take long to make themselves felt. Thus began the contracts, the fights, the emrgination and also the repression. All over Spain numerous anarchist groups (and those who were not declared anarchists, but were influenced by anarchists) were for direct action, for egalitarianism, and the immediate organisation of the new society; whence a form of struggle between the C.N.T., and the F.A.I., on the one side and these other groups on the other. . . In March 1937 incidents broke out in Vilanese, because of a government decree, voted by the anarchist minister Lopez, which was harmful to the local collectives (formed by the C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.) In May 1937 a clash between anarchists and the C.P. in Barcelona unleashed a series of fights which lasted a week and more and extended to various neighbouring towns. Alongside the anarchists of "Los amigos de Durruti" groups were the groups of the P.O.U.M. (dissident communists) and the Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.). "Los amigos de Durruti, condemned by the C.N.T., were obliged to suspend fighting; the C.P. immediately sent an armed column and began the repression, killing many comrades. The newspaper *Los Amigos de Durruti* became clandestine. . . When in 1937 Lister's communist division began the systematic destruction of the Aragon collectives, the comrades wanted to organise resistance, but were stopped by a precise command from the C.N.T. The newspaper *Espagne Nouvelle*, clandestine in France because forbidden in Spain, published: ' In spite of the defeatist opinion of the C.N.T., we should have defended our Council of arms.' (29 October '37).

The conditions for military defeat were now firmly established. To this was added the defeat of morals and principles." (pp 36-7).

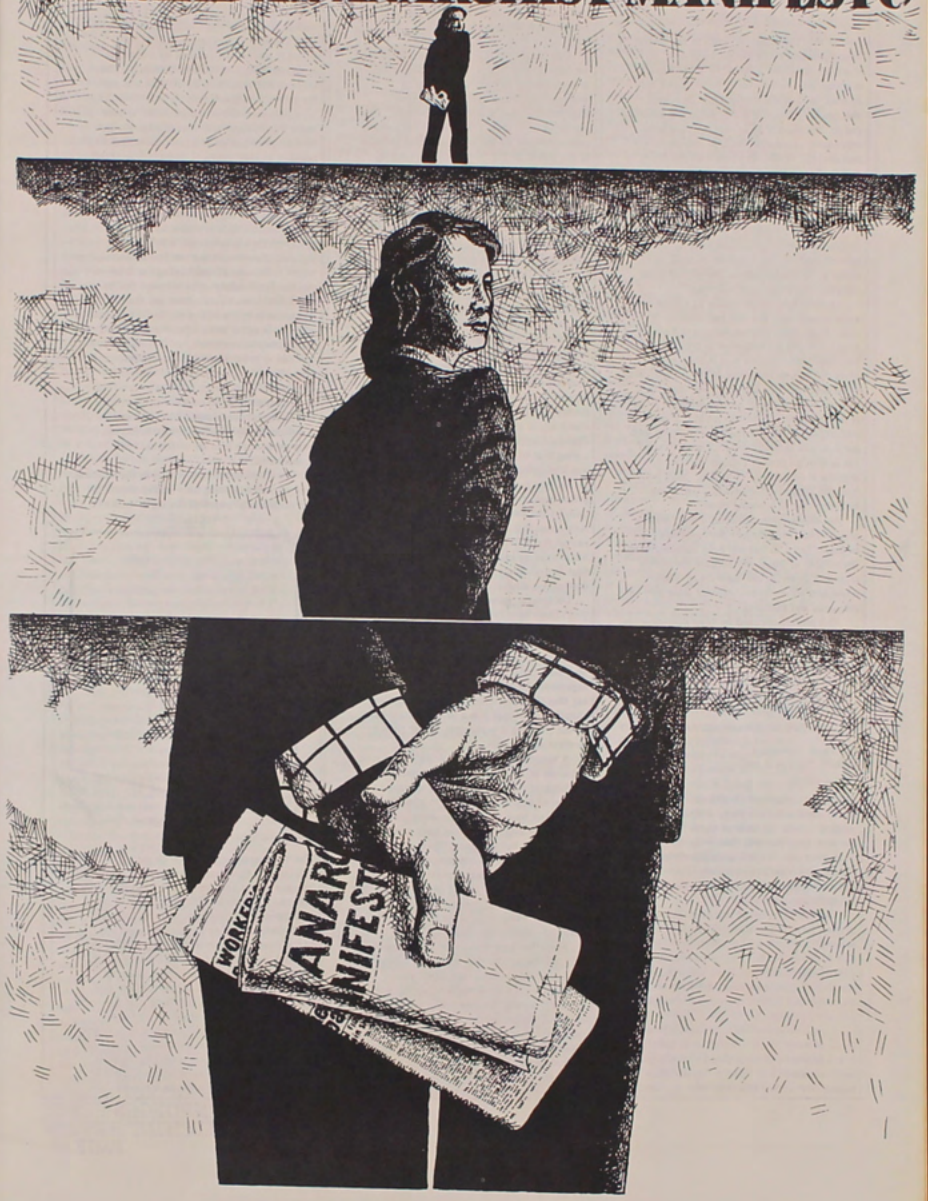
In conclusion, Bonanno suggests these alternatives, in contrast to those of the anarcho-syndicalists, which ended in the disastrous defeat of the social revolution in Spain:

"Workers will be better convinced of the union's limitations when presented with the possibility of an alternative: that of leaving this public service to its own fate and preparing to create small grass roots organisations dedicated to the radical struggle against the structures of the private ownership of production. (p44). Today the primary necessity is that of direct struggle, organised by the rank and file; small groups of workers attacking the centres of production. This will be an exercise in cohesion for the ulterior development in the struggle, which can happen through increasingly detailed expropriation of capital, i.e. to the revolution. . To put it more simply – accepted the relationship between producer and product is the basis of the revolutionary project, it is clear that this must be egalitarian (to each according to his needs, from each according to his abilities) managed by the rank and file. . . When the workers organise their autonoumous production cells they are taking a direction quite different to that of the syndical organisation or the party. In doing so they have already taken a decisive step in wanting to manage not only the struggle in the sense of their choice of instruments to be used, but also in the choice of aims to be attained – and not only the aims of the struggle, but also those of production. . . During the revolutionary event, the presence of a strong syndical organisation or party in the traditional sense has the immediate consequence of the proletariat being declared immature, and the conclusion that someone – trade union or party leaders – must decide for them. A structure of intervention is imposed at the base. Syndical or party assemblies are always led by the same bureaucrats and specialists. Everything finishes by passing over the heads of the workers. In this sense anarchist comrades who might eventually object should remember what happened in Spain at the time of the decision to enter the government, or those concerning the struggle for the collectives." (pp 44-47)

The reader can now evaluate what Bonanno really wrote, and not what Jewell's review made it out to be. I consider that Alfredo Bonanno has, in his pamphlet, made a significant contribution to the anarchist movement in general, and to anarchist's participation in future social revolutions, in particular.

Marcus Graham

TOWARD AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO



FOREWORD

I think that many people, both in the Anarchist movement and those sympathetic to it, feel it is time for a new account of what Anarchism is about, and that it should be brief and easy to read. But as the introduction indicates, this can only be valid if it is discussed, contributed to, and shaped by as many people in the movement as possible, both in this country and abroad. (Only the section on the State and Parliamentary Democracy varies from country to country).

The main reason for developing this project is to re-establish the essential elements of Anarchism and explain it to those outside whose ideas may still be confused by 'popular' misconceptions. In this sense it could be called a manifesto without the risk of being misunderstood as a rigid doctrine.

Explanations of the nature of a libertarian society have been avoided too often in the past. Sometimes this has happened because it was thought authoritarian to lay down a blue-print for a society that should spring from the natural creativity of the people. But in no way can it be said that free discussion and general agreement on this essential point is authoritarian. In fact to avoid it is naive and self-defeating, for there are so many who are basically sympathetic to Anarchism and yet cannot go further because they do not see how it could work in reality. With your help the section on Anarchist society can be a first step in showing them.

Another section providing a brief history of Anarchist thought and the movement will be added later. It has not been included here for reasons of space and because the review is already covering the main areas. Other important elements like defence must also be discussed and included.

This project depends on your participation. I have only written what appears here so as to provide a basis for discussion. Think it over, and then let us have your views, comments and criticisms so that we can take it a stage further probably with a working group. We want to hear from all of you in all countries.

TOWARDS AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO

The Third Dimension
Basis for discussion only
Introduction

This is not a manifesto in the contemporary use of the word, i.e. a party political programme worked out on the basis of market research to see what promises will obtain the most votes at an election. Nor is it a manifesto like the Communist Manifesto with one and a half authors dashing off a tract, and then manipulating its acceptance.

The development of this Manifesto should in itself be a clear indication of what Anarchism is about. It is just a brief and simple explanation of Anarchist thought compiled and contributed to by Anarchists throughout the world, and agreed in principle by common consent. Any variances are ones of emphasis, not of substance.

As will be shown later, Anarchist thinking is not dominated by one man or nationality. It is a synthesis of ideas that has developed, and continues to do so with the changing world. We are not blinkered with any rigid political dogma laid down in the last century, even though we owe a great deal to the Libertarian thinkers of that period.

This Manifesto is needed to explain what we believe, and why; for no political, religious or social group in history has been as misrepresented and maligned by those frightened of free and original thought. This has never been more true than at the present moment when we see an unrelenting increase in the power of the State over the people, and when the greed of materialism has nearly finished plundering the resources of the earth. Never before have the inhabitants of the world so needed to take back power over their own lives and establish a libertarian society.

Anarchism, what the words really mean.
(Literally, Anarchism means 'without a ruler' [from the Greek an-arkhos].)

Once man surrendered his freedom to an organised power in the form of the State, anyone who then doubted the benefits of such an institution immediately faced a counter barrage from the twin vested interests of power and money. Not surprisingly these interests claimed an unselfish mission to protect those in their care, and insisted that if they disappeared or relinquished control, chaos would ensue. Franco's Prime Minister, Carrero Blanco, even went to the lengths of saying that to give democracy to a Spaniard was like giving drink to an alcoholic.

Despite proof to the contrary, this dishonest propaganda has never abated, and remains the basis of the attack on Anarchist thinking. As a result it is little wonder that so many people still believe that the word 'anarchy' has always meant chaos by definition, and that Anarchism is really some sort of all destructive nihilism.

On several occasions over the last hundred years there have been pressures from within the movement to change the name Anarchism because it had been corrupted by those hostile to the ideas of its real meaning. Errico Malatesta rightly, and effectively refuted this argument. However, it would still be true to say that the main defect of the description 'Anarchism' is that it is a negative statement of the thinking it represents, rather than a positive affirmation.

A broader word used to describe the main principle of Anarchism is Libertarianism. Unfortunately this word is also starting to be corrupted now that many right wing free marketeers have adopted the name. They justify it by saying that they are against State intervention, but of course this is only as far as amassing money is concerned. They are the first to scream for State protection if they feel that there is any threat to the wealth they have extracted, (*not created*, an important distinction which once again is blurred by a purposely misleading choice of word).

The other term associated with Anarchism is Syndicalism; (the two words are often combined into anarcho-syndicalism). Syndicalism is a revolutionary labour movement advocating the ownership and control of each industry by the workers in it, and organised through a horizontally linking trade union. Strongly influenced by Robert Owen, its main strength developed in France after 1900, and later in Russia until crushed by the Bolsheviks. It also spread to other countries like England, Italy and Spain, as well as growing in the United States with the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), where it was almost crushed by the police acting on behalf of business interests. The framing and execution of Joe Hill was one of the more blatant examples.

Apart from there being confusion over some words, there is also confusion about how to place parties and political beliefs in relation to each other. This has come about because the seating arrangements in the French Chamber of Deputies gave every journalist an easy shorthand to describe political views; centre, left and right, and then working out to the extremes. It provided a convenient spectrum into which every belief is neatly slotted. However, it is a method of description which is dishonestly misleading for it leaves out the fundamental split between Statist and Libertarian. You cannot say that an Anarchist is to the left or right of a Communist when he is as far away from him as from a reactionary conservative. In fact this way of describing politics provides an insidious and very effective propaganda for 'democratic capitalism,' because by saying you get Nazi extermination camps on the extreme right and Gulag labour camps on the extreme left, it automatically implies that mankind can only avoid such horrors with a centrist government.

The diagram below is probably the simplest way of demonstrating how misrepresentative the notion of a 'political flat earth' really is.

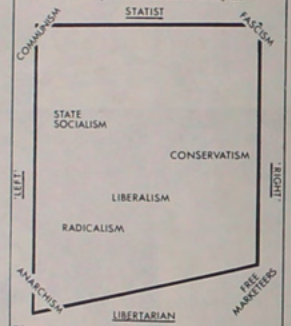


Diagram A

The free marketeer is shown closer to the Fascist than the Anarchist is to the Communist, because recent and contemporary events show how the self-claimed 'libertarian' of the right will support Fascism as soon as his interests are threatened. This was well brought out in the Fascist dictatorships of the 1930s, and is still demonstrated today in South America. However, businessmen are often likely to press for 'liberalisation' as soon as they feel the situation has been 'stabilised'. (A favourite euphemism of those realpolitik professors from Harvard who spend so much time trying to prove that American imperialism does not exist, or that if it does it is only carried out from the most altruistic of motives). But of course the reason for business interests

wanting a relaxation in such cases is because the State's heavy handed administration is hindering profitability.

The State and Parliamentary Democracy

The central justification made for the State system basically says that the web of human and organisational relationships is so complex that it can only be administered by 'experts'. These gentlemen were supposed to have inherited their abilities in previous centuries, often claiming God's seal of approval. Nowadays in our 'democratic' age we are blessed with what is dubiously called a meritocracy; a new class who are intentionally developing their technocratic jargon into the Latin of priestly dominance over the *lingua vulgare* of the people. The clever use of words alone is often enough to convince the majority that they have neither the intelligence, nor the capacity to control their own future, and that it would be much simpler for them if they left this difficult task to their betters. The myth of the 'professional' or 'expert' ruler from which much of modern statecraft is descended, was primarily the work of Plato. He believed that you could breed and condition the perfect ruler like some political Crufts champion. This man, or specimen, would be wise, incorruptible, objective and humane.so that everyone could fearlessly put their trust in the State.

People do not automatically believe what they are told, but they can be conditioned into wanting to believe. Nowhere is this more true than in regard to the State. It is given an ethereal quality of being above mankind, of knowing better, and of being impartial. Such an organisation pretends to lose man's fallibility along with human identity. An Anarchist could never agree with Hamlet's line that something was rotten *in* the State of Denmark, for the bad apple theory of society attempts to off load blame onto individuals so as to leave the institution untouched. The State is the ultimate company incorporated with limited liability, and yet pervasively that does not seem to prevent an Eichmann defence of obedience to superiors.

It is essential to understand the basis and seeking of power. Not many rulers are as blatantly truthful as Lorenzo the Magnificent who said that "one can ill live in the possession of wealth without control of the State," when explaining why he was going to succeed his father Piero. Macchiavelli's source of inspiration was then to provide many interesting examples of how to manipulate subjects into believing that it was all for their benefit. But only a successful dictator can flaunt such cynicism. Nowadays, the parliamentary system requires greater subtlety of the power-wielder, for it is a system that came about through concession to stave off revolution, and if it is over-exploited, the masses may come hammering at the gates again. The essential part though, is to convince the people that they have obtained every political concession they need as far as the machinery of government is concerned. Unfortunately, this exercise has been largely successful, for an illusory sense of control over the course of events has been given with the ability to swop Tweedle Dee for Tweedle Dum every few years if his promises appear more attractive; like children being encouraged to play at mothers and fathers, (on a strictly make believe plane of course).

Once the euphemistic curtain of professed good intentions has been drawn aside, politics can best be defined as the advancement of sectional or individual self interest through governmental power. Of course one must presume that the capitalist idea of competition being good for the consumer is meant to apply here too as our supposed champions fight it out on the domestic and international levels. But this heart warming sight is less encouraging when we realise that they are in fact pursuing power for themselves, and are only negatively accountable to us; i.e. our sole sanction comes only every few years, and the alternative choice may be no better. It is the Cabinet or party machine which hold the means to a politician's advancement, not the electorate, so loyalties are forced to lie in that direction. And of course the reality of political life consists of the major decisions being taken over coffee at select dinner parties, certainly not in a debating chamber. So even the most well meaning of MPs can only either resign themselves to the frustration of being merely a party voting statistic, or else play the power game so as to reach a position of influence. And how many achieve that without having their idealistic heads turned?

It is highly significant, and not surprising, that electoral research shows how the vast majority of people vote far more to keep a party out, than put a particular one in. In this case it is just a choice of the lesser 'devil they know.' This phenomenon was first recognised and exploited in the United States where two vast political machines have dominated the scene for nearly the whole life of the Republic. These machines eventually bring out one candidate each, and then everything is concentrated on these personalities, or rather images. This is because impressions are easier to manipulate than facts. Politicians are marketed like packaged goods, and as with advertising for cigarettes, drink or perfume, they are enrobed with indefinable qualities which have little to do with reality. These images are developed at enormous expense using every imaginable skill like cosmetic dentistry and sound modulation so as to achieve the perfect smile and voice on television. Evidently their political Frankensteins feel that they can short cut Plato's blueprint, by just getting their monster-candidate's exterior right. Only the Transylvanian peasants of the world suffer when they run amok.

The many many millions of dollars needed for advertising and smear campaigns to exploit the negative voting pattern can of course only come from individuals or business interests who will want their pay off later in favourable policies or jobs in the administration. Gambling on a candidate at an early stage gives you even better odds. This is all part of the 'democratic' system, and yet in the 1976 election, the winner received the support of only 26% of those eligible to vote, and that was in what amounted to a straight two man race.

So as not to be guilty of confusing a widely misunderstood area, the difference between State and Government must be shown. Before the parliamentary system came into existence, the State and Government were united in the monarch, even though he had ministers under him. The gradual process of 'democratisation' basically produced a decentralisation into three areas when the State hived off Government, and the Judiciary. The cement holding this abstract structure together is the Law, which assumes the moral justification for the status quo.

Such misleading phrases as 'nobody is above the law' encourage us to believe that the Law is above us, a super-human phenomenon like some demi-Holy Ghost guaranteeing ultimate justice. It is projected as a vaguely mystical force and worshipped with lugubrious ceremony and religious hush to intimidate the uninitiated. But in reality it is only the work of political legislators, administered by a Police force needing to justify their arrests, and presided over by judges who delight in airing their prejudices with ex-cathedra statements.

In Britain, the relationship between the State and its offshoots is still highly integrated, like mutually defensive chess pieces. Apart from an unwritten constitution based on precedence, there is the in built conservatism of civil service, armed forces, and judiciary to prevent any radical change. For example, even if a Government was elected with a massive mandate to abolish the monarchy, the armed forces are still sworn to uphold it.

Parliamentary 'Democracy' is yet another intentional misnoma. It is in no way a 'rule of the people,' but an 'elective dictatorship' in the surprisingly accurate words of a former Tory Lord Chancellor. And to believe that politicians will provide honest and disinterested leadership is no less naive than a supporter of Divine Right thinking that God would provide a wise and just monarch. It is no wonder that Anarchism challenges such assiduously cultivated assumptions as to the need of the State and the benefits of 'Parliamentary Democracy.'

Capitalism and Marxism

The intentional product of Capitalist society is materialism. Communist society is also materialist in its own way, and this is another reason why it can be called State capitalism. A materialist society is a conservative society because the vested interest strives to breed a universal fear of people losing what they are persuaded to believe they have.

Both Marxism and Capitalism have an ideology, even if the former's is far more detailed and rigid, and their respective systems are means to two different ends. In the case of Communism the end is claimed to be an ill-defined anarchist society at the end of the the rainbow. As Trotsky said to the Anarchist Voline, 'like you we are anarchists in the final analysis . . . Can you really admit for a single instant such an absurdity: socialists in power shooting anarchists?' Two years later Trotsky ordered him to be shot out of hand. The ultimate cynicism of Marx was to claim that a self-perpetuating organisation of power interest such as the State would 'wither away.'

Capitalism also has a dream, the post industrial society, where material standards will have emasculated any opposition to the system by making the process of 'embourgeoisement' complete. This promised land flowing

with synthetic milk and honey which is so lovingly depicted by Herman Kahn and his ilk would be a global coca-colonised culture, a bland and sterile existence with a Playboy magazine mentality. After packaged goods comes packaged experience, and leisure is an industrialised marking time.

It is appropraite that in a society where voting is a negative action, unhappiness is firmly equated with not having a material surfeit. However, it is of little relevance whether one finds such a society based on machine slavery an attractive notion or not, for two fundamental reasons as to why it will never come to pass have shown themselves over the last ten years. Firstly there is the question of world resources which we will return to later, and secondly there is the question of work distribution.

In order to realise the post industrial dream, a strong and continual growth rate is needed, and that can only be achieved by a higher machine productivity and a constantly reducing level of manning. Kahn's ridiculous projections were talking of thirty hour weeks all round, and yet we already see a strong development towards the employed sector of the population growing smaller and working longer hours, while the unemployed increase in numbers. It is impossible for the capitalist system to do an about turn and work towards full employment when it is evidently more profitable to squeeze one lemon completely than two partially. It is intriguing how one finds both Marx and Kahn evolving retrospective theories on the cycles of the past and then extrapolating them into the future in the form of scientific laws as if history was a rigged roulette wheel following fixed mathematical patterns.

Whatever the long term future of technology, one thing is certain in the short term. Apart from developing the cult of the expert, the advance in technology is not only an excuse for centralisation in the hands of the State or conglomerate, but it contributes to the weapons of repression and neutralisation. Blake said 'we become what we behold,' and following this idea the materialist environment created around us is designed to make us fit its mould. But at times the mould itself has hidden contradictions. For example capitalism has made great play of the sanctity of the family. From a religious origin, this idea became commercially useful for the family is the basic unit of consumption. The bread winner was therefore exhorted to earn more for his loved ones. But then with changing morals a new incentive arose which begged exploitation. From doing well for your family, the emphasis changed subtly to do well for your sex life. The dream of spectacular sexual consumption made woman not just a sex object, but the reward for man's economic endeavour. And of course 'permissiveness' was made to sound like a 'Commie plot to weaken the moral fibre of the West.'

Apart from all the advertising and production line entertainment of carefully controlled digestibility which becomes unwittingly hypnotic and addictive, conglomerates are interested in buying up unprofitable newspapers, the 'media of fact,' to join the electronic 'media of impression' which they already control. So even that more than misleading phrase 'freedom of the press' cannot be decently maintained much longer.

Frederick the Great said on seeing a vicious lampoon on him, 'my people and I have an understanding: they say what they like, and I do what I like.' Under modern capitalism one can still technically say what one likes, but there is a highly effective barrier of commercial censorship. Of course the rigidity of Communism cannot allow any criticism at any level against the Party for it would not just be lese majeste, but blasphemy.

As Solzhenittyn has so regretfully noted, Western capitalism suffers from a slight guilt complex. This is very much in line with its rather apologetic self-justification of saying that it might not be perfect, but the Communist alternative is far worse. This lack of confidence in Western democracy comes from being embarrassed by its free enterprise hard-liners who want to take the system to its exploitive extreme. Of course this 'anti-statism' of the right has a strong affinity with that logical extension of free enterprise, organised crime, which steps unself-consciously over those irritating boundary markers erected by the legislature. (However, even the U.S. government found the Mafia's anti-Communism very useful on many occasions). The essential point is that this guilty conscience is a tacit acknowledgement of compromise, or rather of an uneasy evolution which dare not go any further. It has trapped itself on a flat plane and is terrified of a third dimension.

We have already said how Bakunin recognised from the beginning the inherent authoritarianism in Marx the man, as well as in his doctrine. He saw how means do not justify the end, but pervert it, when they are based on a cult of elitist power. Marx's elitism was also well shown in his strategy, where he divided the working class into three, proletariat, lumpen-proletariat and peasantry. His attitude to the last two, was one of distrust and disdain, with references in his work to 'the dangerous class, the social scum, that passively rotting mass,' and 'the idiocy of rural life.' His plan was to turn the industrial proletariat into the Communist party's praetorian guard, but of course without allowing them to choose their emperor. The Party provided the experts to plan *their* lives.

All this does not mean that Anarchists reject everything in Marx's work out of hand. There are many aspects of his economic analysis which are widely recognised as valid. But it is the fundamental differences of thought which we are interested in here. Without any doubt the principal one concerns the State and the dictatorship of the party (misleadingly identified with the proletariat). Anarchism does not believe that revolution should simply mean turning the economic order upside down, or rather making the State replace the capitalist in the name of the people. As has been well shown it is no better an employer, and has not allowed the workers the slightest control over their own lives. Anarchism means the social revolution where no employer exists, either State or private, for the workers organise themselves and their work on a co-operative basis. (This is explained later).

In the depths of his economic analysing, Marx became obsessed with the financial order, and as a result was not able to escape a totally materialist orientation. The social revolution means a revolution of attitude towards materialism, not changing one set of masters for another, both of whom are only interested in production quotas. Obviously this does not mean that Anarchists are dreaming retrospectively of some pastoral idyll. The clock cannot be turned back, so it would be pointless to even consider whether such a possibility was attractive or not. We are living in an industrial age and an Anarchist society can use and develop the technology we have, but only when it is necessary and beneficial to the people who live in that society. Both Capitalism and Communism are competitive industrial systems unavoidably committed to vast waste with the indiscriminate development of technology for profit or national pride.

A society who has material greed both as its religion and prime motive force cannot avoid its own self-corrosion and ultimate destruction. But Capitalism will come to an end before its destroys itself just in that way, and not for the reasons predicted by Marx. Only a blindly entrenched minority now dispute that the world is running out of raw materials, and amongst the majority there is only disagreement on how soon that will come. It is an unavoidable process with two industrial systems committed to competition. In the case of Capitalism there is an even greater commitment to growth, for it can only justify the inherent inequalities in its system by promising a continually increasing standard of living all round.

We can only take informed guesses as to how many years growth are now possible before dwindling supplies push inflation rates to the point where social unrest will force capitalist countries to drop their 'democratic' masks completely. The next stage can only be rigidly planned economies under authoritarian regimes of the right. Communism will fare no better for their privileged elites are incapable of flexibility, despite their power. (It is significant how both the Russian and American energy programmes have proved utterly fruitless).

Unless co-operative societies are established in the near future, all one can say is Orwell may have got the date and other details wrong, but the effect will be the same in the end.

Anarchist Society

a) What a self-managed co-operative signifies.

In Britain the word 'co-operative' immediately encourages an idea of Co-op retail societies. Nothing could be more misleading as to what a co-operative system really means. The problem with the Co-op is the way it fails to satisfy co-operative objectives. It is purely a consumer co-operative where only a minority of its customers are members. Its workers not only have no control or involvement in the running of the organisation, but their conditions are no better, and often worse than their counterparts in capitalist companies. With this lack of commitment from consumers and lack of involvement of the workers, it was inevitable that a capitalist orientated management would be brought in to try and make it another retail conglomerate.

A co-operative society basically means

common ownership of production with control vested equally among all the workers of each enterprise. This absolute democracy extends to all social, political, and administrative fields. It should also mean that the producer-consumer relationship is balanced, as will be explained later.

b) Leadership.

We have already dealt with the myth that nothing can work without a hefty pyramid structure with orders filtering down. At the same time it is essential to dispel the similarly false idea that in a co-operative society everyone would talk at once and nothing get done.

The absolute democracy of Anarchism does not make organisation a mortal sin, for example Bakunin explained how it was not authoritarian for leaders to be elected in certain situations. The Anarchist forces both in the Ukraine and in Spain elected their own officers. If the officer proved himself incompetent or misused his position then he could be de-elected just as quickly. The sceptic might then immediately question whether any unpopular decision would be carried out. But the answer is evident to anyone not blinded by selfishness. A group of men or women working together will elect a leader if it is the only way to avoid potential confusion. The leader then assumes control within the limits of a commonly agreed policy, and directs routine work. If circumstances should then arise requiring a difficult decision it is referred to the group.

Several dishonest historians pointed gleefully to occasions in in the Spanish Civil War when Anarchist militia units refused to attack, and claimed that this showed the true nature of Anarchist indiscipline. They did not explain that this occurred because the Communists who controlled the Republican army due to Russian military aid, ordered Anarchist units into the attack without giving them ammunition. It was a highly convenient way of following Stalin's orders to suppress and discredit the Anarchists and the POUM. A similar tactic was the way they starved the Anarchist collectives in Catalonia and Aragon of raw materials, and froze their bank accounts, just so as to be able to say that Anarchism did not work. It is remarkable how even right wing historians have avidly swallowed Communist propaganda directed against the Anarchists.

c) Social and working relationships.

The corruption of the word Anarchy implies not only chaos, but also lawlessness, for have not those heavenly twins 'Law and Order' become incestuously integrated in the mass consciousness?

Every communal society needs to agree the best method of living and working together so as to avoid misunderstanding at a later stage. The most important element of this agreement in an Anarchist society is to prevent the accumulation of power by an individual or a group. The rules of conduct are therefore established, maintained, or amended by each community, and responsibility is jointly shared.*

The vast majority of capitalist legislation is simply designed to protect and regulate property, but under common ownership this becomes redundant. The only similar area to be watched and controlled by common opinion is greed. Once again our sceptic will jump up gesticulating furiously to demand how an Anarchist society will deal with murderers and rapists.

Although studies of co-operative societies show that crime in them is negligible in comparison to a State regulated society, it is still a problem that connot be brushed aside. Each community must decide in principle how it will deal with such crime. But even when it arises, the very nature of the community helps it to understand far more about the circumstances than a judge or jury might ever hope to.

A central element of capitalist propaganda justifying a materialist society says that a man will not work without the carrot of financial reward in front of him, and the stick of starvation behind. This lie is indefensible considering that it is capitalism which has portrayed idleness as the ultimate carrot. Any person who was not born rich knows it is necessary to work. The picture of an idle skyving poor is an illusion created to salve the capitalist conscience as to why they are poor. Where such cases really exist they are most likely to be a rejection of the materialist mould into which we are pressed. There is no comparison with an environment where nobody works for another man's idleness or gain. Their lives are what they make of them, and they need no dole or Welfare State. Visit any of the worker controlled co-operatives throughout Europe and ask them about the problems they have with slackers, and they will stare at you with blank amazement.

Because of the bleak grey picture of Communism, many people are led to believe that this soul-less atmosphere would permeate a co-operative society as well. Freedom can be as subjective a word as 'love', but this is because almost every State or political creed likes to claim it is free. An Anarchist definition of freedom is say and do what you want providing it does not harm your fellow workers, and contribute what you can to your community. This does not mean for example, that a writer or painter cannot follow their vocations because it is not materially productive. No one will object if they need to take time off, and then work a bit harder later so as to make up in part. It is a question of attitude, not of regulation. Besides it is almost certainly beneficial to them to keep working with others part time when actually involved in their project, for it will keep them in touch with reality.

They like many others will want to travel, and again this presents no problem. (As will be shown later on, flexibility is the essential advantage of a libertarian society). They can move from community to community and will work a little with them in exchange for food and lodging.* There is nothing wonderous or new about this. It still exists in many parts of the world, and always used to be part of that natural hospitality and human reciprocity before capitalism's corrupting influence made selfishness a paranoid virtue.

*This is perhaps a better arrangement than Bertrand Russell's idea of a 'vagabond wage' for creative artists and wanderers.

*As Proudhon said: 'Liberty is the mother of order, not the daughter.'

e) The basic social and work structure.

Capitalism tends to be a marketing oriented system and Communism a production oriented system. It is not sufficient in an Anarchist society to just ensure co-operative production. The producer consumer relationship must be balanced. Although producers are obviously consumers themselves, they can easily become blinkered in their work, and develop their production in a direction which does not agree with what the consumer wants or needs. Capitalism guides production through market research (which is more interested in potential profit than real needs), while Communism produces and then says take it or leave it.

An Anarchist balance would consist of producer co-operative, marketing co-operative, and consumer (retail) co-operative. The marketing co-operative draws its members equally from the producer and the consumer side, and its major role is to establish consumer needs, and then agree prices and delivery. Problems are therefore equally shared.

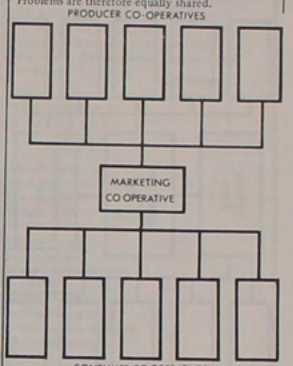


Diagram B

In addition there would be a Banking and Financial Services Co-operative (see plan below) which would also draw its members from both sides and service producer and consumer needs. It would also provide all the financial and accounting advice required. This is a good example of the right use of experts, where the guiding principle must be advice without power.

The advantage with the parallel system for commerce is that it can be used for social administration as well. Along with the Banking and Marketing Co-operatives there would be the Social Administration Co-operative, which is also staffed by representatives from both sides. Its functions include dealing with such areas as planning, construction, environment, and transport, as well as agreeing and sharing out community responsibilities. These would include the 'dirty jobs' which our opponents claim would not be done in an Anarchist society. Refuse disposal is an obvious example of work which can be done on a rota system and organised by producer and consumer co-operatives. Health care would come under the central responsibility of the administration

co-operative while as much work as possible would be delegated to the co-operatives. Care of the aged would also be organised by the consumer co-operatives, and where possible this would consist of children and elderly helping each other. In most societies the old are left to rot in isolation when they are still capable of being useful to the community in many different ways which they would enjoy.

In all areas there should be the greatest flexibility, and jobs should be inter-changeable whenever possible. Not only does this prevent boredom and help people understand each other's problems, but it also reduces the manpower wastage which comes with rigid job classification. Also this adaptability is essential when different industries have seasonal pressures, especially agriculture, where wastage and crop damage could be greatly reduced. The principle of Mutual Aid is not limited to within the co-operative, but must exist between all groups, for they cannot exist alone.

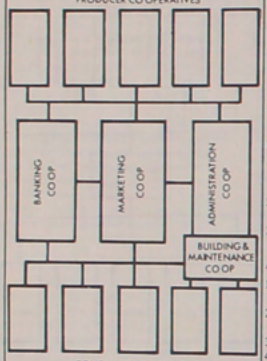


Diagram C

This structure is designed for a medium sized community. Its essential advantages are a horizontal structure and flexibility. The limits of its growth will be determined mainly by the marketing co-operative. When a danger of bureaucracy becomes apparent, then it is time for a hiving off of producer an ' consumer groups to set up their own infra structure.

External relations and trade.

Evidently no community of manageable size is totally self-sufficient. The Marketing Co-operative is therefore also responsible for the external sale or export of surplus produce, and the buying in of the necessary merchandise.

Inter-community relations are provided by syndicates on a regional or national basis. There will be one for each producer industry, a banking syndicate, and a marketing syndicate. These syndicates are controlled by their members and are delegated to facilitate and organise inter-community and export trade within previously agreed parameters, but all major decisions or disagreements are decided by voting at co-operative level.

As with the other organisations, the administration co-operative would be part of a regional or national administration syndicate which is again controlled from below. Its purpose is to deal with inter-community concerns such as transport.

Summary of main responsibilities.

Consumer co-operative

1. Representation in Marketing, Banking, and Administration co-operatives.
2. Retail organisation.
3. Education in liaison with AC.
4. Health in liaison with AC.
5. Care of the elderly & infirm.
6. Organisation of communal duties rota.
7. Representation on Consumer Syndicate.
8. Media (see below).

Producer Co-operative

1. Representation with MC, BC & AC.
2. Representation and liaison with industry syndicate.
3. Organisation of communal duties rota.

Marketing Co-operative

1. Establishing product needs and price agreement.
2. Delivery and warehousing.
3. Organising external sale or export of surplus product through Marketing Syndicate.
4. Representation and liaison with Marketing Syndicate.

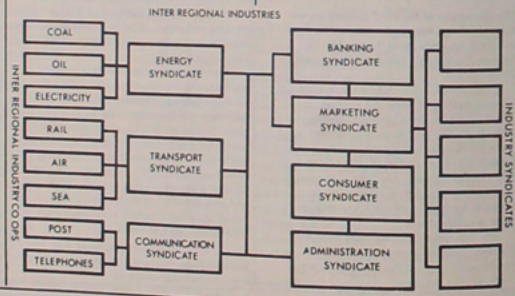
Banking Co-operative

1. Providing banking and financial services to producer co-operatives and consumer co-operatives.
2. Representation and liaison with Banking Syndicate.
3. Assistance and services to Marketing and Administration co-operatives.

Administration Co-operative

1. Co-ordination and delegation of communal tasks to co-operatives.
2. Co-ordination and delegation of health work to co-operatives.
3. Co-ordination of education.
4. Environment and planning.
5. Housing.
6. Roads.
7. General services and communications.
8. Representation and liaison with Administration Syndicate.

Diagram D



f) Communications transport and energy.

Although the basic structure shown is flexible and adaptable enough to accommodate almost any mixture of industry, it cannot take account of industries and services which are inter regional by nature. The main ones are in the fields of communications, transport, and energy. These industries organised on a co-operative basis would agree needs and price structures through their syndicates with the Marketing Syndicate representing both consumers and other industries.

N.B. a. There would also be close liaison between the co-operatives of the inter-regional industries and the community administration co-operatives on a local basis.

b. The inter-regional industries would equally have their own Banking and Administration Co-operatives forming part of the relevant Syndicates.

g. Media.

The media would be organised on an inter-regional basis by the Consumer Syndicate which is in turn controlled by the Consumer Co-operatives who would organise their own on a local basis (press and radio).

h. Trade Unions.

As soon as trade unions accepted the capitalist's system, they were forced to play the game by his rules which were completely materialist. Their sole task became one of bargaining over pay and conditions, and as their strength increased, their leadership developed a taste for the power game. They therefore became as bureaucratic and as power-oriented as the State and conglomerates they were dealing with.

A co-operative society would make this role completely irrelevant, and the Trade Union (now the industry syndicate) has a totally different set of responsibilities. They would consist of developing their respective industries through better training, product development and research, in liaison with the Marketing Syndicate. This in fact would in many ways be a return to their original role of guild syndicalism. With workers' livelihoods no longer in jeopardy, demarcation disputes would be a thing of the past.

Capitalism forced the role of confrontation upon them, while Communism is purely

interested in incorporating them into the State. So Anarchism alone is capable of returning them to control by their members.

† † † †

We have not intended to lay down a rigid blueprint of a libertarian society, but to show how the basic structure can work for the benefit of everyone. There are those who claim it could not come about because 'idealism doesn't work,' but they ignore the developments of the last ten years. The people of the world are at last beginning to see through the lies of the politicians, and realise that our competitive industrial systems cannot avoid their inherent waste and ultimate destruction. Short term selfishness is being recognised for what it is, and so the people will realise how co-operation is not just necessary, but now represents their own self-interest and survival. The mist of lies and misrepresentation is starting to be pierced by the strong sunlight of the ultimate truth. We can only organise a better society ourselves.

A.B.

ORKNEY RAMBLINGS~ Anarchist gardening hints.

I recently read on the inside back cover of "Land and Liberty" (have you got your copy yet?) that the C.P. Anarchist Review did not want passive subscribers, so I decided there and then to write an article, (a humble one), so here it is – just to prove that anyone can write an article, even a short one. (That means *you*).

Anarcho-ecology: someone else might have thought of, or used this word, but I have not seen or heard of it anywhere, so as far as I am concerned I have "invented" it myself. What does anarcho-ecology mean? Ivan Illich has said that "socialism" "can only come on a bicycle." This might be true if the frame was packed with explosive (time fuse under the seat) and casually left parked against the railings of your local police station, however, a more likely understanding of this 'new word' might be as follows:–

The means of production being taken over by the workers themselves, will bring about, as a natural and direct result, an ecologically sound economy.

The calls for revolution are familiar stuff to all anarcs, and need little further elaboration, but what of this ecologically stable society which I believe will be a straightforward consequence of workers' control and self-management. For a start nobody would knowingly operate a machine which poisoned the air he had to breathe, the water he had to drink, or the food he had to eat, as they so do at the present, kept in blissful ignorance by the State. This cuts straight across a large area of industrial activity, but what's so great about this type of industry when we will all be free to return to craftsmanship, to return to useful art.

People working within the field of ecology, both as a science and as a philosophy, have been spouting forth a lot lately about what kind of a society we must have if the world is to survive the various impending industrial holocausts due to the oil running out, the population explosion, the insanity of nuclear energy programmes and a whole set of other stuff to do with pollution, environment and conservation. In fact, what they claim they want to see is the very same stugg that Kropotkin and others were revolutionising for, all those years ago. So, their ideas are nothing new. They say that economic and resource autonomy are essential to ensure a 'peaceful world.' Economic autonomy (collectivisation and self-management to you, pal) is an idea basic to anarchism. By resource autonomy is meant that instead of production-consumption being seen as a one way trip, it is envisaged as a cyclical process, where local resources are used in a manner where they can be re-cycled and re-used. This is real autonomy you're talking about now, and *total* self-sufficiency, as this implies, is as practical and desirable as Anarchy itself! (Oh! really?) They also claim to want decentralisation, which implies a minimum of bureaucracy and government, if any at all, yet we witness the existence of an Ecology Party whose purpose is to enter the 'cesspool of party politics' (their phrase), get as much conservationist legislation and reform as possible, and hope that parliament will somehow self-destruct as a result of it all. A bit naive to say the least! Another example of their inexperience is the spate of peaceful protest against the nuclear energy programmes of various countries throughout the world. It is as if they really believed that governments were there to fulfill the wishes of *the people*. Some chance! They clearly have a lot to learn from anarchists. I suppose I'm getting to the heart of the matter now, in that all the various Ecology, Alternative Technology and Self-Sufficiency groups and movements claim they want to see this new society based on decentralisation, autonomy, and community socialism, but they do not really know the means by which to bring it about. This is clearly where anarchists can help them. The knowledge of the existence of a revolutionary movement, with broadly similar aims, could give a whole new impetus to their own ideas. That is to say, they would become revolutionary themselves.

Of course, some people are just being fashionable in the views they pretend to hold, and their apparently frugal lifestyles, but the middle-class 'selfishness' always shows through in the end. I feel that most, however, are reasonably genuine and sincere, and would like to create a better society for themselves, and others.

I am optimistic in that I see the seeds of libertarian thought within all these various movements. So often, in their arguments, one sees a clear rejection of Marxist economics, and a definite libertarian stance on all sorts of issues.

Marxism is a centralised system which for its survival depends on economic growth. Ecology is basically a branch of Science, science deals in facts, and facts are best not ignored as they do not go away and always crop up when least expected or wanted. Anarchy is decentralised, and therefore requires negative growth for maximum efficiency of the economic system. (Am I losing touch with reality, I ask myself?)

To conclude, nobody really knows what will happen, but we all know what can happen. There is a lot of common ground between various movements, but God forbid (authoritarian that He is) a compromise of ideas. Reality is what counts, but don't stop searching for the philosophers' stone to turn your dreams into reality. Finally, be careful not to blow your fingers off with those home chemistry sets.

With these thoughts I leave you. It is that time of year when my mind turns to the garden, and I put my spade to the soil in preparation for seed time. I hope for a harvest of potatoes and onions and strawberries and turnips. Not all of us are lucky enough to have a garden, but there are seeds we can all sow, and a harvest we can all reap. There is plenty of fertile ground too, as I hope this short article illustrates, so let's get to it! Remember – fight pollution – use smokeless cartridges!

Village Radical.

POETRY

insinuations

later perhaps,
when i am concentrated
in a camp wired for cold nights,
charged under raw-edged laws
by which barbed technocrats
enforce democracy,
rightly accused
of inciting private minds
to riot
and demanding
royal emancipation
of unpopular social views
(christ the anarchist
grows his own dope,
keeps pornographic magazines
on a shelf with the bible),
and you receive grave warnings
against failing to pay
party dues,
will your once-vivid love
recall
(in the valley of lost dreams,
free for awhile
of suburban brainwashing machines)
how casually you rejected
the least grain of truth
in my soon-forgotten
lyrical gestures;
then, of course,
given the intense disorder
of collective mental progress
(computerised churches
having dispensed with choirs),
it is too late
even for saying prayers:
the time for spiritual debate
was now.

Edward Woods.

One only.

PROGRAMMABLE SCANNER EAVEDROPS ON THE FBI

LES PRINCE CLIFFORD HARPER

As the holiday season approaches, most of us begin thinking a'out gifts for relatives and friends. I always like to look for a gift that's a bit offbeat. And there are many possible selections to make from within the various hobby radio fields.

Consider, for example, one of the new programmeable scanners that have been introduced recently. Two really outstanding ones come to mind. These are the Electra Model 210 and the "Touch" by Regency. What's really unusual about these two radios is the feature that allows the listener to search for new unknown signals. Imagine being able to eavesdrop on the secret police. You can do it these fantastic radios.

The scanners are capable of being set to just about any frequency range that's used for two way radio. Once set to the search position, they seek out signals, lock onto them, and record the frequency on a digital readout. Then, the frequency can be programmed onto a specific channel by pushing the "Set" button, and the scanner goes on its way, seeking out more radio signals.

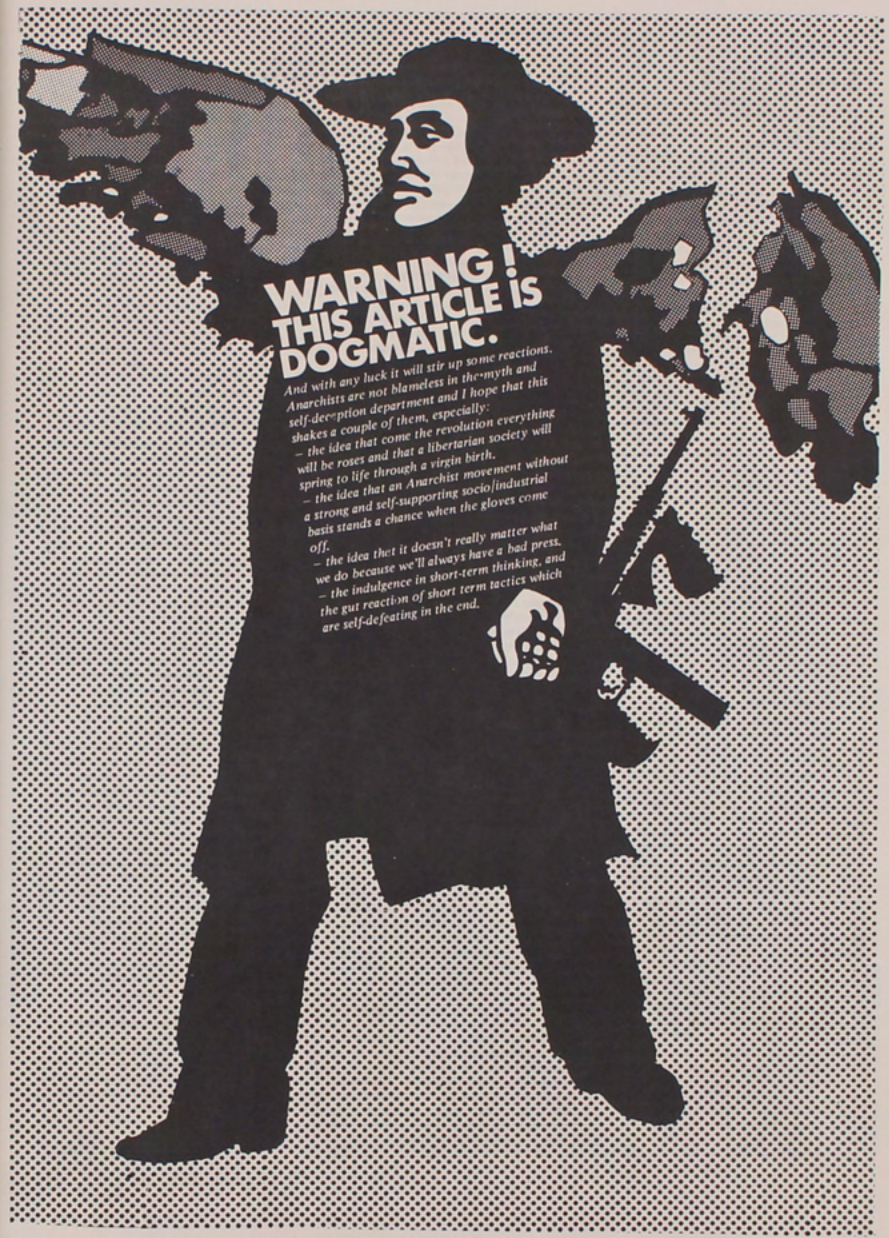
Half the fun is finding the frequencies being used, and the other half is listening to what's taking place on them. Both radios are in the £150 to £200 range, but retail prices vary.

"... for the past two years a healthy percentage of our lives has been spent listening to the police on our scanners. . "
George Jackson Brigade Political Statement

"Good intelligence is the foundation of a successful guerrilla organisation. The vast majority of intelligence work involves the gathering and organisation of readily available pieces of information. Although this is mostly shit work,THERE IS NO WAY TO OVERSTATE ITS IMPORTANCE."An important task for people who want to remain above ground while participating in and supporting armed struggle would be to develop these skills. Start files on developing mass struggle; pay particular attention to the organisation of the ruling class as it opposes them, investigate the police and strive to understand their weaknesses and strengths. START BY GETTING A POLICE SCANNER. Develop target information: suggestions, terrain , weak spots, etc. TALK TO THE MASSES ABOUT ARMED STRUGGLE. Publish the results of these investigations so that the underground fighters and everyone else can see them."
Tactical principle 7 of the G. Jackson Brig.

CPAR

Cienfuegos Electronics (Orkney) Ltd



ANARCHIST STRATEGY, MILITARY & CIVIL.

WE ARE NOT ANARCHISTS TO PROTEST BITTERLY IN AN INFINITE WILDERNESS, BUT TO BUILD AND FIGHT FOR A LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY. Q.

Many treaties on military strategy start with Clausewitz's dictum that war is the extension of policy by other means. Although intended as a definition of State policy, it is equally applicable to the revolutionary or resistance fighter against the State.

Once the long term political objective is agreed, the strategy for achieving it must then be examined without prejudice and interference from any previously held assumptions; only Anarchist morality should be a criteria. For example, just because successful non-violent revolution or resistance is highly unlikely, it does not mean it should be ruled out before one begins. In Clausewitz's terms this would mean that you do not resort to arms until it is the best way to follow through your policy successfully.

Modern warfare, both external and internal, is not just a battle of technology and force, but a struggle for 'the hearts and minds of the people.' The war in Vietnam proved this without a doubt when the most sophisticated army in the world was defeated because it did not have the population on its side. Revolutionaries and resistance fighters ignore this at their peril, especially because they are numerically and technologically weaker. To put it in Guevara's terms, the explosive charge (the attitude of the people) must be potentially strong enough to topple the State, and the detonator (the guerrilla force) must be embedded in them, both geographically and emotionally. The Bolivian debacle principally came about from not following his own rules.

This does not mean that every form of armed action should be discounted if the strength and attitude of the people is not yet ripe, but any operation must be rigorously examined to see that the action is in line with the long term strategy. For example there was virtually no chance of a successful revolution in Spain after the war, the armed resistance of those like Sabate and Facerias was both admirable and correct in that it kept alive the spirit of resistance at a time when non-violent resistance was impossible.

The basic problem in the 'democracies' is of course that the majority of the people have been misled into believing that they have political freedom, and any spirit of resistance is effectively sapped by the cultivated fear of a 'leap in the dark.' This is the essential and fundamental problem to be faced, and we will come back to it in a moment. The second problem is exposing the 'free and democratic' facade of capitalism.

The failure of revolutionary groups in the West has come from the way they have followed a short term policy of trying to tackle the second problem while believing that the first was beyond their power. Often out of impatience and frustration they hoped that forcing the State into revealing its true repressive nature would create a spontaneous resistance. This is a fundamental error, and extremely short sighted, for not only are they numerically and technologically weaker, but they have not yet won sufficient sympathy. Obviously their attacks will attract some supporters, but the very order in which they have approached these two problems automatically limits their level of potential support to an unviably minority. A policy of terror without hope of success amongst an unsympathetic population is not only counter-productive but authoritarian. Such actions will certainly achieve the short term objective of proving that the 'democratic' State can be just as repressive as its totalitarian counter-part, but until the guerrillas' objectives are clearly understood and shown to work, they will be cursed and betrayed by the very people they are trying to help. Even if they are published their communiques cannot match the barrage of State propaganda which will manage to persuade the majority that the dictatorial measures are there to protect worker and bourgeois alike. And once on the defensive, the guerrilla is too often forced into unstrategic actions which he would never consider otherwise. Setting off a detonator before the explosive is ready can only help the State bomb disposal squad. It is fighting a battle on terms that are so advantageous to the Sttae that the social revolution is put at risk.

A long term (and successful) strategy, can only be formulated with the ultimate objective in mind at all times. Any attempt to formulate it another way leads to actions of opportunity where means risk diverting the end. The ultimate objective is a libertarian society made up of confederally linking self-managed co-operatives, and every intermediate state must be considered with this in mind. No action must be undertaken for its own sake, however tempting, and this underlines the absolute necessity of self-discipline; a quality Anarchists need above all when preparing for the armed struggle. This also means that no operation can be considered which is incompatible with Anarchist morality, for example the taking of neutral hostages. And this is not just a question of propaganda, for have we not condemned the authoritarian left for allowing the means to corrupt the ends, like in Kropotkin's letter to Lenin?

Strategy Stage One

Having established the ultimate objective, and starting to work backwards, we must consider the final stages of the revolution. Here we must not find ourselves in the position of Sampson when he blindly pulled the temple in on his head. Our alternative frame work must already be prepared and in existence as far as possible so that there is no excuse for authoritarianism from you-know-who "to safeguard the revolution." The quicker the new system starts to operate the less chance there is of a centralisation of power, and this can only be achieved if there is a network of self-managed co-operatives already in existence. Their example and experience is essential to enable the rapid changeover of the other places of work. It will be like a prisoner coming out of a dungeon after many years into the bright sunlight; for unless there are friends to help and reassure him, the sudden freedom can be dangerously disorientating, and even frightening for the first few moments. That is the moment of weakness when he may be tempted to look for strong leadership while he is still feeble from the fetters of his imprisonment. And that is the moment he must be reassured of his own ability by example. It is a responsibility we can never abdicate, **so the first and ever present stage in the process of social revolution comes with building the framework for a self-managed society, both at work and in the community.** Owners are not going to hand over their businesses voluntarily so until the right moment for expropriation comes, libertarians must start to build their own independently.

This process of building a micro libertarian society within the capitalist system is the only way to tackle the fundamental problem of showing the people that Anarchism works and is worth fighting for. To expect them to take nebulous words on trust is self-deluding and utterly unrealistic. They have been misled often enough and we must provide proof.

Strategy Stage Two (the pre-revolutionary stage).

The critical moment in the whole process comes during the pre-revolutionary stage. It is during this stage that the first clashes will take place, and they must be on terms advantageous to the revolutionaries and not to the State. By this I mean that the revolutionaries must have already persuaded a significant and viable proportion of the population that the political and social system which they are proposing is both in their interests and that it works. Also the revolutionaries must have the propaganda advantage, i.e. the State **must be seen to be** the aggressor. The lingering strength of bourgeois morality should never be underestimated and must always be taken into account even when widespread sympathy for the Anarchist objective has been achieved. Attitudes developed by centuries of State and capitalist conditioning cannot be blasted out of existence like a a concrete symbol of repression. The flashpoint will most likely come for two reasons, both of which are entirely advantageous to us. Firstly the State will be forced to drop its democratic mask when the economic situation becomes unmanageable by present means. In particular I am refering to the vicious circle of recession which will come in the next twenty years when world resources dwindle as a result of the greed of competitive industrial systems. The factories will not suddenly grind to a halt, but there will be an enormous escalation in inflation as resources become scarce or more difficult to extract. It is said that 'democratic' government becomes unworkable when inflation rises to around the 50% mark, however, the essential point is that people will have seen that capitalism does not work and that a co-operative society is the only viable **free** alternative. Their attitude will be ready, and the explosive charge awaits the firing of the detonator.

The other sequence of events would come through the State realising that the growing framework of self-managed co-operatives is a mortal threat to the reason for the existence of a State structure. And the resulting aggression against the independence of such a society within its sovereign territory would transform the attitude of the people into one of readiness for explosion. Once again, military action by the revolutionaries is not only the correct extension of policy by other means, but it will also be seen to be justified in those circumstances. To fight under other conditions is counter-productive, and a retrograde step with serious long term consequences. We must be like a gladiator in the arena who does not provoke the State's beast into charging until he is ready to deal with it, and the force of its charge can then be turned to his advantage.

If this strategy is followed the State begins the military campaign with a moral defeat, and with internal warfare that is nearly always a mortal wound. But we must fully realise that impatience is as dangerous a weakness as unpreparedness since we will have only one chance to succeed before a totalitarian ice-age sets in with the exhaustion of world resources.

PREPARATIONS AND MILITARY STRATEGY.

Stage One Civil.

The civil and military programmes must be carried out independently, for the growth of the self-managed co-operatives must not be compromised at an early stage by being actively involved in subversion and military preparation. The reasons for this are that the State must not be given an excuse to crush them before the situation has developed in our favour, (i.e. before the population has been convinced of the system's worth and before their attitude is ripe). Also we must respect the beliefs of the anarcho-pacifists who have their role to play even though it cannot be an active revolutionary one by definition; the libertarian left must be united by this programme, not fragmented. In fact they too will probably see the necessity of defending their achievements by force of arms when the time comes.

Apart from the reasons outlined above for not involving the self-managed co-operatives in the first stage of military preparation, there is also the problem of secrecy. This is a fundamental question whose many aspects must be faced from the beginning. The necessity for secrecy is potentially authoritarian by nature. We will need to keep our activities hidden from the State and its spies, and it will evidently be far easier for the police to infiltrate the self-managed co-operatives than the guerrilla groups. Discussion and decision cannot therefore be open as they obviously would be in the society we are fighting to bring about, and apart from reaching an initial agreement on strategy, there should be little contact between guerrilla groups and co-operatives until stage two.

The military strategy

The military strategy we will be preparing for must be guerrilla based. We have neither the technology nor the training to fight a conventional war. Even if the Spanish Civil War did not ram home the lesson, we must realise how much more sophisticated State armies are today. The other problem from a purely libertarian point of view is that the necessary formality of modern military structure is a gift for authoritarian elements who will cry that only party discipline will save the revolution. Nowadays troops do not fight close together where their physical proximity allows discussion. It is a warfare of orders by radio spread out over vast distances.

Geographical

The guerrilla war strategy must take into account the successes and failures of the past. An essential element for success is that the struggle must cover the whole country geographically so as to outstretch the State's forces to the maximum. The Civil War in Spain was lost because the anti-fascists followed the 'territorial gains' obsession of the past. By formulating the front they fought on terms advantageous to the disciplined Fascist armies who wanted to concentrate their troops and those of their opponents.

Mao taught how only the final stage of revolutionary warfare should be fought with regular troops, but this idea should be questioned severely for the very concentration of insurgent forces exposes them to the superior technology of the State even when it is losing. For example, without anti-aircraft missiles for defence, the majority of the revolutionary army could be wiped out by a few squadrons of fighter-bombers. We must be in and among the population at all times like Mao's proverbial fishes, and especially when the countryside is not suitable for guerrilla warfare.

Communications and co-ordination.

As already pointed out, secrecy is not only a problem in itself, but carries the seeds of authoritarianism with it. A guerrilla war needs to be effectively co-ordinated just as much as a conventional one. (Guevara losing his rear guard in Bolivia is an obvious warning). Where possible, offensives must be coincided to outstretch the security forces even more. It may well be necessary for regional co-ordinating groups to be formed, and linked in turn through a central group.

In order to face secrecy problems at an early stage, lines of communication and codes must be prepared. Every telephone call and radio communciation must be assumed to be bugged or monitored at all times. Operation names, code-words, and noms de guerre must bear no relation to their original however tempting and aptly dramatic they might sound. We will be fighting professionals and any amateur theatricals will cause deaths and perhaps defeat.

Group Preparations

Personal Security.

As from now every individual and group should concentrate on building false identities and preparing safe houses. The penalties for constructing a false identity at this stage is negligible in comparison to being caught during the revolutionary phase. The State will introduce a compulsory I.D. system when things advance, so alternative birth certificates, driving licences, bank and building society accounts etc., should be obtained and organised. It is safest if a complete alternative identity is built up in advance in every respect.

Likewise the safe houses should also be preparing a long time in advance so that neighbours are used to seeing a new character around before any 'scare' situation develops; at times of universal suspicion a new face stands out instantly in a community. A safe house must be kept 'clean' of all leaflets, literature, and any materials that might betray it during a random search while operations are not in progress. No meetings should be held there unless necessary, and even innocuous mail should be specially sent so as to establish the bona fide of the place. A safe house and covert assistance are often best supplied by a secret sympathiser who has no known connection with any political activity.

All this is essential because the downfall of most urban guerrillas comes about not through bad luck, but because they have not paid enough attention to detail. For example they might be driving a car with a tax disc out of date, or their lights might not be working properly and they are stopped by the police. Ideally the group should have a van which is registered under one of their members false identities, and everything about it should be legitimate. Insurance papers, and driving licence corresponding to the drivers' false identity must be carried at all times. A car can be checked out through computers in less than thirty seconds from the time the patrolling policeman calls in, so any risks in this area often prove fatal, and they are completely unnecessary.

Skills

Apart from enlisting in the army, basic military skills are hard to come by. Although the idea of becoming a regular soldier may be anathema to a libertarian faced with suppressing his thoughts and instincts for a long time, it was certainly used profitably by the IRA who not only learnt all they wanted, but also managed to carry out substantial sabotage in the Rhine army. Even though I do not regard this course as practicable, there is a lot to be said for comrades joining the territorial army providing nothing is already known about their political views. It could also prove very useful later on when it comes to relieving the army of some of its hardware.

The main aim must be for every member of a group to be proficient in the following basic skills'

- weapon handling
- group tactics (fire and movement etc).
- communications (radio and telephone procedure.)
- first aid
- disguise and camouflage
- explosive manufacture and handling
- transport maintenance.

Then, to take a leaf from the SAS and US Special Forces book, each group member must develop a particular skill. For example one will be a weapons and explosives expert, another a medic, a third must be a skilled mechanic, a fourth a radio ham who also has telephone training and so on. So as you can see, we are by no means just interested in normal military skills.

Propaganda

A group should be able to set up its own mini broadcasting station (mounted in a van and easily taken to pieces and hidden) so as to break in on television and radio news programmes in their area to give the other side of the story. This is risky work, and

CLIFFORD HARPER

separate detachments may have to be formed to avoid compromising the combat group if they are caught.

Revolutionaries must remember that over-stated and emotional propaganda with rambling diatribes of clicheed abuse is totally counter-productive. Cutting under statement is always the most effective, and political jargon must be avoided for it vastly limits the appeal, for example the word people should be used, not proletariat. The message and its language must be simplicity itself. Also exaggerated claims must never be made. That sort of short term morale booster does more harm than good. It is also a question of Anarchist morality. Lieing to the people is authoritarian, and that is precisely what we attack in the State.

Weapons

The reasons for not exposing the self-managed co-operatives to State attack during stage one have been explained, and they must not be involved in military preparations. This presents a problem as far as weapon manufacture is concerned, but not an insuperable one. For example there is nothing to prevent a car repair side line (which is useful in itself) from being extended. But needless to say the greatest care must be taken.

Once again the danger of impatience must be underlined. It is understandably tempting to use weapons for an action of opportunity or out of frustration. Enormous self-discipline is needed along with the realisation that only a long term strategy can succeed. Just remember how the premature attack of a few hotheads warned the Nazis of the imminent uprising in Warsaw. A guerrilla war consists of 95% self-restraint, and 5% action.

Transport

One must not be influenced by American gangster films and believe in the car. A van is obviously necessary (preferably with a false floor) but light scrambler moter bicycles have the greatest advantage. They are ideal for evading pursuit in heavy traffic, and getting round road blocks where they also present a small and fast moving target. Another advantage is that the face is well concealed by a helmet in a way that will not cause suspicion. They are also fairly cheap to buy, and thus avoid the obvious dangers associated with stealing cars. Even the pedal bicycle must be considered for it attracts little attention and is excellent for losing pursuers in heavy traffic.

Stage Three. The conduct of the guerrilla war.

A guerrilla war is not a blitzkrieg. It is a war of propaganda and attrition. The propaganda war is won by never deviating from Anarchist morality, and making this clear to the population. Innocent casualties must be avoided at all costs, and soft targets should never be attacked carelessly. The war of attrition is won by demoralising the enemy through surprise attack and bringing the machinery of government to a halt. It is war fought without fronts where the State cannot readily identify the insurgents and separate them from the population. It is a war to be won with the complete neutralisation of Statist forces. It is not a war of revenge, but a war of hope and persuasion, for a libertarian society cannot be born with continuing bloodshed and universal hate. The end must never be lost sight of by both the guerrillas and the population, or corrupted by the means used to achieve it, for we are building far more than we destroy.

A GAy MANIFESTO

Gay people, under the Straight State, are sexual anarchists. Anarchism is a philosophy that is broader than the concerns of a narrow politics. Anarchism confronts *all* institutions that dictate and enforce how one should live. Since the main areas of constraint are the work-ethic, wedlock, the nuclear family, religion and the law, gays and lesbians are de facto anarchist; that is, against *the arche* of such 'normal' institutions. As homosexuality is one of the most feared and reviled of self-expressions, living one's life as Gay or Lesbian is a triumph and an affirmation of the sovereignty of the individual, of one's basic right to self-determination.

Of course there are countless exceptions – those who live in closets of secrecy, those who are fearful, at inner odds with homosexual expression, reacting against their very nature, working to conserve oppressive institutions, trying to buy protection by suppressing their true selves. And there are those who by word and action say "I'm only different in this one small way" and imagine that they can validate their personal worth by upholding all other forms of oppression while turning their bedrooms into closets. But even the most closeted person knows of the secret inner rebellion waiting for the right moment to express itself.

The only purpose of life is in living it. We pursue 'happiness' whatever that means to us as individuals. We try to attain all the things (material, spiritual, artistic) that represent happiness to ourselves. We choose these goals, just as we choose to live. But our goals sometimes change, and in the course of our lives we may have many different and conflicting goals. Goals therefore do not seem to be the reason for living; life does seem to be the reason for living.

The work-ethic is the notion that work is in and of itself a fitting goal to which individual lives should be sacrificed. Until lately this notion was so much taken for granted that it had almost ceased to be recognisable, and only in recent years has it been weakening. We hope the trend continues. The value of and need for work is not the issue. Clearly work is necessary for survival and satisfaction. But the work-*notion* is something else altogether. Gay people, often more aware than others of situational and immediate values, are more likely to be, at least on consciousness, natural rebels against the inhuman determinism of the work-notion.

Wedlock is one of the institutions that deny sexual pleasure is valuable and good in and of itself. But a characteristic of gays, far more than of others, has been to value sexual pleasure for its own sake and to recognise that neither heterosexual marriage not any other 'exclusivity of two' need have any monopoly on it.

The Nuclear Family, abetted and institutionalised by state and religion, provides the future drudges for the factories, the future soldiers for military expansion, and the future souls for god's heaven. To maintain the family, parents and sacrifice for their children, often leaving to themselves little more than bare survival. In time their children will beget children and all who are involved will delude themselves into imagining that by getting offspring they will gain some kind of mystical immortality that will make their sacrifices and miserable struggles worthwhile. But far from finding a mythical heaven in a mythical future, the heterosexual breeders have brought us to the hell of overpopulation in the here and now. In the vicious circle of heterosexual reproductions, the present, the world we know, is continuously sacrificed and destroyed.

Lesbians and Gay Men, if true to their nature, will have none of this. Life can be enjoyed without the burden of unneeded and often unloved children. Self-expression and fulfillment are found in this world, not in the mythical next. Family is no longer a biologic chain of necessity. A gay family is formed among one's loved friends – among one's spiritual and sexual companions – often crossing lines of race and class. By redefining family as a circle of loving companions, gay people are truly revolutionary. Instead of society and sacrifice, there are free individuals defining and living their own lives in this, the true, present and only world that we can know.

(Taken from *The Storm*, 227 Columbus Ave., Apt. 2E, New York, N.Y. 10023, USA.)

POETRY

the american way

he went to the masquerade as a worm.
crawling had become
a statement of belief.

Wilson Stapleton.

EXPROPRIATION

PETER KROPOTKIN

CLIFFORD HARPER

It is told of Rothschild that, seeing his fortune threatened by the Revolution of 1848, he hit upon the following stratagem: 'I am quite willing to admit," said he, "that my fortune has been accumulated at the expense of others, but if it were divided tomorrow among the millions of Europe, the share of each would only amount to five shillings. Very well, then, I undertake to render to each his five shillings if he asks me for it."

Having given due publicity to his promise our millionaire proceeded as usual to stroll quietly through the streets of Frankfort. Three or four passers-by asked for their five shillings, which he disbursed with a sardonic smile. His stratagem succeeded, and the family of the millionaire is still in possession of its wealth.

It is in much the same fashion that the shrewd heads among the middle classes reason when they say, "Ah, Expropriation! I know what that means. You take all the overcoats and lay them in a heap, and everyone is free to help himself and fight for the best."

But such jests are irrelevant as well as flippant. What we want is not a redistribution of overcoats, although it must be said that even in such a case, the shivering folk would see advantage in it. Nor do we want to divide up the wealth of the Rothschilds. What we do want is so to arrange things that every human being born into the world shall be ensured the opportunity in the first instance of learning some useful occupation, and of becoming skilled in it; next, that he shall be free to work at his trade without asking leave of master or owner, and without handing over to landlord or capitalist the lion's share of what he produces. As to the wealth held by the Rothschilds or the Vanderbilts, it will serve us to organise our system of communal production.

The day when the labourer may till the ground without paying away half of what he produces, the day when the machines necessary to prepare the soil for rich harvests are at the free disposal of the cultivators, the day when the worker in the factory produces for the community and not the monopolist – that day will see the workers clothed and fed, and there will be no more Rothschilds or other exploiters.

No one will then have to sell his working power for a wage that only represents a fraction of what he produces.

"So far so good," say our critics, "but you will have Rothschilds coming in from outside. How are you to prevent a person from amassing millions in China and then settling amongst you? How are you going to prevent such a one from surrounding himself with lackeys and wage slaves – from exploiting them and enriching himself at their expense?

"You cannot bring about a revolution all over the world at the same time. Well, then, are you going to establish custom-houses on your frontiers to search all who enter your country and confiscate the money they bring with them? – Anarchist policemen firing on travellers would be a fine spectacle!"

But at the root of this argument there is a great error. Those who propound it have never paused to inquire whence come the fortunes of the rich. A little thought would, however, suffice to show them that these fortunes have their beginnings in the poverty of the poor. When there are no longer any destitute there will no longer be any rich to exploit them.

Let us glance for a moment at the Middle Ages, when the great fortunes began to spring up.

A feudal baron seizes on a fertile valley. But as long as the fertile valley is empty of folk our baron is not rich. His land brings him in nothing; he might as well possess a property in the moon.

What does our baron do to enrich himself? He looks out for peasants – for poor peasants!

If every peasant farmer had a piece of land free from rent and taxes, if he had in addition the tools and the stock necessary for farm labour, who would plough the lands of the baron? Everyone would look after his own. But there are thousands of destitute persons ruined by wars, or drought, or pestilence. They have neither horse nor plough. (Iron was costly in the Middle Ages, and a draught-horse still more so).

All these destitute creatures are trying to better their condition. One day they see on the road at the confines of the baron's estate a notice board indicating by certain signs adaptedto their comprehension that the labourer who is willing to settle on this estate will receive tools and materials to build his cottage and sow his fields, and a portion of land rent free for a certain number of years. The number of years is represented by so many crosses on the sign-board, and the peasant understands the meaning of these crosses.

So the poor wretches swarm over the baron's lands, making roads, draining marshes, building villages. In nine years he begins to tax them. Five years later he increases the rent. Then he doubles it. The peasant accepts these new conditions because he cannot find better ones elsewhere; and little by little, with the aid of laws made by the barons, the poverty of the peasant becomes the source of the landlord's wealth. And it is not only the lord of the monor who preys upon him. A whole host of usurers swoops down upon the villages, multiplying as the wretchedness of the peasants increases. That is how things went in the Middle Ages. And today is it still not the same thing? If there were free lands which the peasant could cultivate if he pleased, would he pay £50 to some "shabble of a Duke"* for condescending to sell him a scrap? Would he burden himself with a lease which absorbed a third of the produce? Would he – on the *metayer* system – consent to give the half of his harvest to the land owner?

But he has nothing. So he will accept any conditions, if only he can keep body and soul togehter, while he tills the soil and enriches the landlord.

So in the nineteenth century, just as in the Middle Ages, the poverty of the peasant is a source of wealth to the landed proprietor.

* * *

The landlord owes his riches to the poverty of the peasants, and the wealth of the capitalist comes from the same source.

Take the case of a citizen of the middle class, who somehow or other finds himself in possession of £20,000. He could of course, spend his money at the rate of £2,000 a year, a mere bagatelle in these days of fantastic, senseless luxury. But then he would have nothing left at the end of ten years. So, being a "practical person" he prefers to keep his fortune intact, and win for himself a snug little annual income as well.

This is very easy in our society, for the good reason that the towns and villages swarm with workers who have not the wherewithal to live for a month, or even a fortnight. So our worthy citizen starts a factory. The banks hasten to lend him another £20,000, especially if he has a reputation for "business ability"; and with this round sum he can command the labour of five hundred hands.

If all the men and women in the countryside had their daily bread sure and their daily needs already satisfied, who would work for our capitalist at a wage of half a crown a day, while the commodities one produces in a day sell in the market for a crown or more?

Unhappily – we know it all too well – the poor quarters of our towns and the neighbouring villages are full of needy wretches, whose children clamour for bread. So before the factory is well finished, the workers hasten to offer themselves. Where a hundred are required three hundred besiege the doors, and from the time his mill is started the owner, if he only has average business capacities, will clear £40 a year out of each mill-hand he employs.

He is thus able to lay a snug little fortune; but if he chooses a lucrative trade and has "business talents" he will soon increase his income by doubling the number of the men he exploits.

So he becomes a personage of importance. He can afford to give dinners to other personages – to local magnates, the civic, legal, and political dignitaries. With his money he can "marry money;" by and by he may pick and choose places for his children, and later on perhaps get something good from the Government – a contract for the army or for the police. His gold breeds gold; till at last a war, or even a rumour of war, or a speculation on the Stock Exchange, gives him his great opportunity.

Nine-tenths of the great fortunes made in the United States are (as Henry George has shown in his "Social Problems") the result of knavery on a large scale, assisted by the State. In Europe, nine-tenths of the fortunes made in our monarchies and republics have the same

origin. There are not two ways of becoming a millionaire.

This is the secret of wealth; find the starving and destitute, pay them half a crown, and make them produce five shillings worth in the day, amass a fortune by these means, and then increase it by some lucky hit, made with the help of the State.

Need we go on to speak of small fortunes attributed by the economists to forethought and frugality, when we know that mere saving in itself brings in nothing, so long as the pence saved are not used to exploit the famishing.

Take a shoemaker for instance. Grant that his work is well paid, that he has plenty of custom, and that by dint of strict frugality he contrives to lay by from eighteen pence to two shillings a day, perhaps two pounds a month.

Grant that our shoemaker is never ill, that he does not half starve himself, in spite of his passion for economy; that he does not marry or that he has no children; that he does not die of consumption; suppose anything and everything you please!

Well, at the age of fifty he will not have scraped together £800; and he will not have enough to live on during his old age, when he is past work. Assuredly this is not how great fortunes are made. But suppose our shoemaker, as soon as he had laid by a few pence, thriftily conveys them to the savings bank, and that the savings bank lends them to the capitalist who is just about to "employ labour," i.e. to exploit the poor. Then our shoemaker takes an apprentice, the child of some poor wretch, who will think himself lucky if in five years time his son has learned the trade and is able to earn his living.

Meanwhile our shoemaker does not lose by him, and if trade is brisk he soon takes a second, and then a third apprentice. By and by he will take two or three working men – poor wretches, thankful to receive half a crown a day for work that is worth five shillings, and if our shoemaker is "in luck", that is to say, if he is keen enough and mean enough, his working men and apprentices will bring him in nearly one pound a day, over and above the product of his own toil. He can then enlarge his business. He will gradually become rich, and no longer have any need to stint himself in the necessities of life. He will leave a snug little fortune for his son.

That is what people call "being economical and having frugal, temperate habits." At bottom it is nothing more nor less than grinding the face of the poor.

Commerce seems an exception to this rule. "Such a man," we are told, "buys tea in China, brings it to France, and realises a profit of thirty per cent on his original outlay. He has exploited nobody."

Nevertheless the case is analogous. If our merchant had carried his bales on his back, well and good! In early medieval times that was exactly how foreign trade was conducted, and so no one reached such giddy heights of fortune as in our days. Very few and very hardly earned were the gold coins which the medieval merchant gained from a long and dangerous voyage. It was less the love of money than the thirst of travel and adventure that inspired his undertakings.

Nowadays the method is simpler. A merchant who has some capital need not stir from his desk to become wealthy. He telegraphs to an agent telling him to buy a hundred tons of tea; he freights a ship, and in a few weeks, in three months if it is a sailing ship, the vessel brings him his cargo. He does not even take the risks of the voyage, for his tea and his vessel are insured, and if he has expended four thousand pounds he will receive more than five thousand; that is to say, if he has not attempted to speculate in some novel commodities, in which case he runs a chance of either doubling his fortune or losing it altogether.

Now, how could he find men willing to cross the sea, to travel to China and back, to endure hardship and slavish toil and to risk their lives for a miserable pittance? How could he find dock labourers willing to load and unload his ships for "starvation wages?" How? Because they are needy and starving. Go to the seaports, visit the cook-shops and taverns on the quays, and look at these men who have come to hire themselves, crowding round the dock-gates, which they besiege from early dawn, hoping to be allowed to work on the vessels. Look at these sailors, happy to be hired for a long voyage, after weeks and months of waiting. All their lives long they have gone to the sea in ships, and they will sail in others still, until they have perished in the waves.

Enter their homes, look at their wives and children in rags, living one knows not how till the father's return, and you will have the answer to the question. Multiply examples, choose them where you will, consider the origin of all fortunes, large or small, whether arising out of commerce, finance, manufactures, or the land. Everywhere you will find that the wealth of the wealthy springs from the poverty of the poor. This is why an anarchist society need not fear the advent of a Rothschild who would settle in its midst. If every member of the community knows that after a few hours of productive toil he will have a right to all the pleasures that civilisation procures, and to those deeper sources of enjoyment which art and science offer to all who seek them, he will not sell his strength for a starvation wage. No one will volunteer to work for the enrichment of your Rothschild. His golden guineas will be only so many pieces of metal – useful for various purposes, but incapable of breeding more.

In aswering the above objection we have at the same time indicated the scope of Expropriation. It must apply to everything that enables any man – be he financier, mill-owner, or landlord – to appropriate the product of others' toil. Our formula is simple and comprehensive.

We do not want to rob anyone of his coat, but we wish to give to the workers all those things the lack of which makes them fall an easy prey to the exploiter, and we will do our utmost that non shall lack aught, that not a single man shall be forced to sell the strength of his right arm to obtain a bare subsistence for himself and his babes. This is what we mean when we talk of Expropriation; this will be our duty during the Revolution, for whose coming we look, not two hundred years hence, but soon, very soon.

The ideas of Anarchism in general and of Expropriation in particular find much more sympathy than we are apt to imagine amongst men of independent character, and those for whom idleness is not the supreme ideal. "Still," our friends often warn us, "take care you do not go too far! Humanity cannot be changed in a day, so do not be in too great a hurry with your schemes of Expropriation and Anarchy, or you will be in danger of achieving no permanent result."

Now, what we fear with regard to Expropriation is exactly the contrary. We are afraid of not going far enough, of carrying out Expropriation on too small a scale to be lasting. We would not have the revolutionary impulse arrested in mid-career, to exhaust itself in half measures, which would content no one, and while producing a tremendous confusion in society and stopping its customary activities, would have no vital power – would merely spread general discontent and inevitably prepare the way for the triumph of reaction.

There are, in fact, in a modern State established relations which it is practically impossible to modify if one attacks them only in detail. There are wheels within wheels in our economic organisation – the machinery is so complex and interdependent that no one part can be modified without disturbing the whole. This becomes clear as soon as an attempt is made to expropriate anything.

Let us suppose that in a certain country a limited form of expropriation is effected. For example, that, as it has been suggested more than once, only the property of the great landlords is socialised, whilst the factories are left untouched; or that, in a certain city, house property is taken over by the Commune, but everything else is left in private ownership; or that, in some manufacturing centre, the factories are communalised, but the land is not interfered with.

The same result would follow in each case – a terrible shattering of the industrial system, without the means of reorganising it on new lines. Industry and finance would be at a deadlock, yet a return to the first principles of justice would not have been achieved, and society would find itself powerless to construct a harmonious whole.

If agriculture could free itself from great landowners, while industry still remained the bondslave of the capitalist, the merchant, and the banker, nothing would be accomplished. The peasant suffers today not only in having to pay rent to the landlord; he is oppressed on all hands by existing conditions. He is exploited by the tradesman, who makes him pay half a crown for a spade which, measured by the labour spent on it, is not worth more than sixpence. He is taxed by the State, which cannot do without its formidable hierarchy of officials, and finds it necessary to maintain an expensive army, because the trades of all nations are perpetually fighting for the markets, and any day a little quarrel arising from the exploitation of some part of Asia or Africa may result in war.

Then again the peasant suffers from the depopulation of country places: the young people are attracted to the large manufacturing towns by the bait of high wages paid temporarily by the producers of articles of luxury, or by the attractions of a more stiring life.

The artificial protection of industry, the industrial exploitation of foreign countries, the prevalence of stock-jobbing, the difficulty of improving the soil and the machinery of production – all these agencies combine nowadays to work against agriculture, which is burdened not only by rent, but by the whole complex conditions in a society based on exploitation. Thus, even if the expropriation of land were accomplished, and every one were free to till the soil and cultivate it to the best advantage, without paying rent, agriculture even though it should enjoy – which can by no means be taken for granted – a momentary prosperity, would soon fall back into the slough in which it finds itseld today. The whole thing would have to be begun over again, with increased difficulties.

The same holds true of industry. Take the converse case: instead of turning the agricultural labourers into peasant-proprietors, make over the factories to those who work in them. Abolish the master-manufacturers, but leave the landlord his land, the banker his money, the merchant his Exchange, maintain the swarm of idlers who live on the toil of the workmen, the thousand and one middlemen, the State with its numberless officials, and industry would come to a standstill. Finding no purchasers in the mass of peasants who would remain poor; not possessing the raw material, and unable to export their produce, partly on account of the stoppage of trade, and still more so because industries spread all over the world, the manufacturers would feel unable to struggle, and thousands of workers would be thrown upon the streets. These starving crowds would be ready and willing to submit to the first schemer who came to exploit them; they would even consent to return to the old slavery, if only under the promise of work.

Or, finally, suppose you oust the landowners, and hand over the mills and factories to the worker, without interfering with the swarm of middlemen, who drain the product of our manufacturers, and speculate in corn and flour, meat and groceries, in our great centres of commerce. Then, as soon as exchange is arrested, the great cities are left without bread, and others find no buyers for their articles of luxury, a terrible counter-revolution will take place – a counter-revolution treading upon the slain, sweeping the towns and villages with shot and shell; there would be proscriptions, panic, flight, and all the terrors of the guillotine, as it was in France in 1815, 1848 and 1871.

All is interdependent in a civilised society; it is impossible to reform any one thing without altering the whole. Therefore on the day we strike at private property, under any one of its forms, territorial or industrial, we shall be obliged to attack them all. The very success of the Revolution will demand it.

Besides, we could not, if we would, confine ourselves to a partial expropriation. Once the principle of the "Divine Right of Proverty" is shaken, no amount of theorising will prevent its overthrow, here by the slaves of the toil, there by the slaves of the machine.

If a great town, Paris for example, were to confine itself to taking posession of the dwelling houses or the factories, it would be forced also to deny the right of the bankers to levy upon the Commune a tax amounting to £2,000,000, in the form of interest for former loans. The great city would be obliged to put itself in touch with the rural districts, and its influence would inevitably urge the peasants to free themselves from the land-owner. It would be necessary to communalise the railways, that the citizens might get food and work, and lastly to prevent the waste of supplies, and to guard against the trusts of corn-speculators like those to whom the Commune of 1793 fell a prey, it would have to place in the hands of the City the work of stocking its warehouses with commodities, and apportioning the produce.

Nevertheless, some Socialists still seek to establish a distinction. "Of course," they say, "the soil, the mines, the mills, and manufactures must be expropriated, these are the instruments of production, and it is right we should consider them public property. But articles of consumption – food, clothes, and dwellings – should remain private property."

Popular common sense has got the better of this subtle distinction. We are not savages who can live in the woods, without other shelter than the branches. The civilised man needs a roof, a room, a hearth, and a bed. It is true that the bed, the room, and the house is a home of idleness for the non-producer. But for the worker, a room, properly heated and lighted, is as much an instrument of production as the tool or the machine. It is the place where the nerves and sinews gather strength for the work of the morrow. The rest of the workman is the daily repairing of the machine.

The same argument applies even more obviously to food. The so-called economists of whom we speak would hardly deny that the coal burnt in a machine is as necessary to production as the raw material itself. How then can food, without which the human machine could do no work, be excluded from the list of things indispensable to the producer? Can this be a relic of religious metaphysics? The rich man's deast is indeed a matter of luxury, but the food of the worker is just as much a part of production as the fuel burnt by the steam-engine.

The same with clothing. If the economists who draw this distinction between articles of production and of consumption dressed themselves in the fashion of New Guinea, we could understand their objection. But men who could not write a word without a shirt on their back are not in a position to draw such a hard and fast line between their shirt and their pen. And though the dainty gowns of their dames must certainly rank as objects of luxury, there is nevertheless a certain quantity of linen, cotton, and woollen stuff which is a necessity of life to the producer. The shirt and shoes in which he goes to his work, his cap and the jacket he slips on after the day's toil is over, these are as necessary to him as the hammer to the anvil.

Whether we like it or not, this is what the people mean by revolution. As soon as they have made a clean sweep of the Government, they will seek first of all to ensure to themselves decent dwellings and sufficient food and clothes – free of capitalist rent.

And the people will be right. The methods of the people will be much more in accordance with science than those of the economists who draw so many distinctions between instruments of production and articles of consumption. The people understand that this is just the point where the Revolution ought to begin; and they will lay the foundations of the only economic science worthy the name – a science which might be called: *"The Study of the Needs of Humanity, and the Economic Means to satisfy them."*

POETRY

Our Purpose

We come not with the blaring of trumpet,
To herald the birth of a king;
We come not with traditional story,
The life of a saviour to sing.

We come not with jests for the silly,
We come, not to worship the strong,
But to question the powers that govern,
To point out a world-old wrong.

To kiss from the starved lips of childhood
The lies that are sapping its breath,
And brighten the brief cheerless valley
That leads to the darkness of death;

With reason and sympathy blended,
And a hope that all mankind shall see,
Untrammeled by Creed, Law or Custom –
The Attainable Goal of the Free.

Mary Hansen

The Day Nixon Resigned

the crown jewels of england
were placed back on public display
children came out of hiding
women began getting pregnant again
men weren't afraid to take their pants down
all the tv law-and-order dramas were cancelled
and "love story" was broadcast again and
again and
again
all the missing p.o.w.'s were returned
and the money refunded
dope disappeared off the streets
bibles were published again
church doors left open
burglars were released on overdue paroles
and after five-and-a-half years
people slept without their clothes on

Daniel L. Klauck.

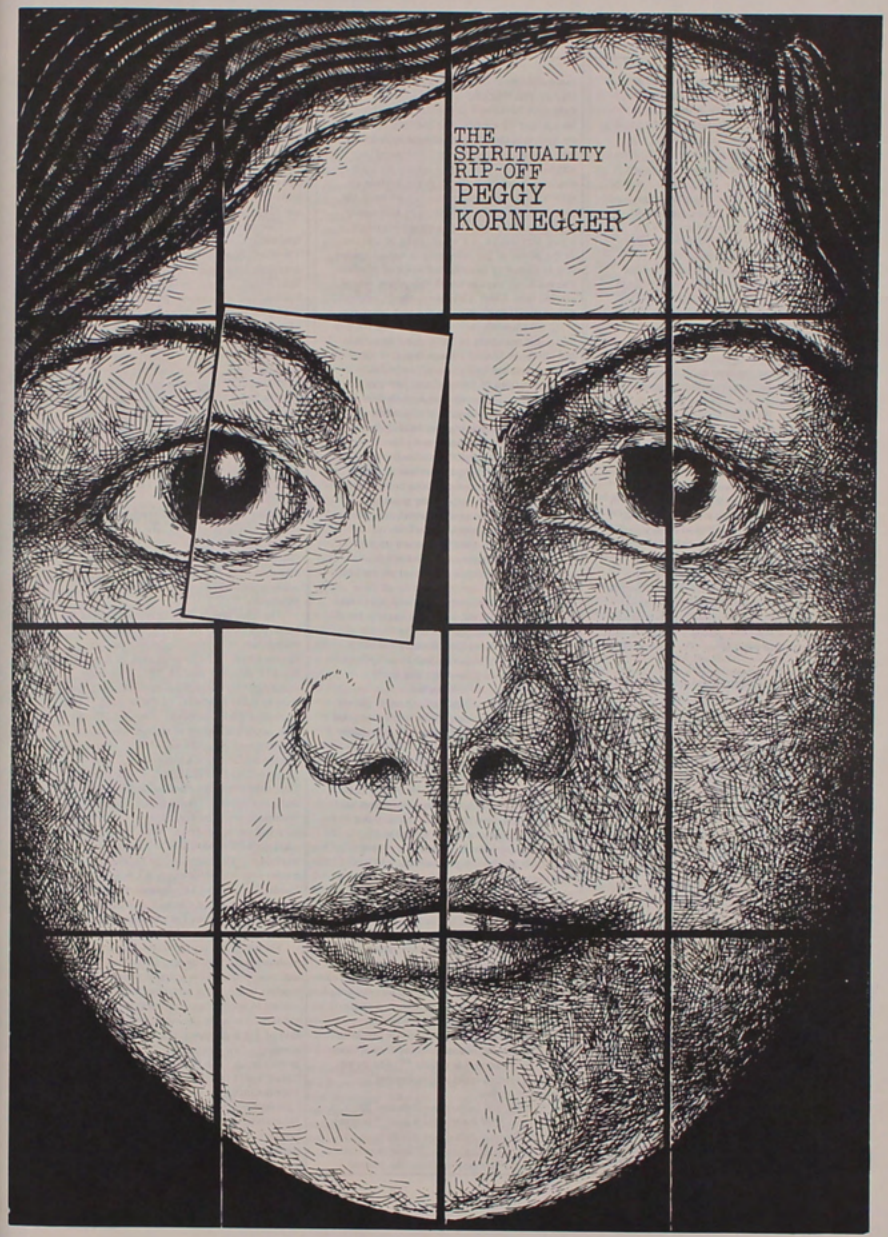
A Song For The Spanish Anarchists

The golden lemon is not made
but grows on a green tree:
A strong man and his crystal eyes
is a man born free.

The oxen pass under the yoke
and the blind are led at will:
But a man born free has a path of his own
and a house on the hill.

And men are men who till the land
and women are women who weave
Fifty men own the lemon grove
and no man is a slave.

Herbert Read.



In the past couple of years, the national and local media have given a great deal of coverage to the spread of spirituality in this country. Feature articles on Transcendental Meditation (TM), Erhard Seminars Training (EST), and the general trend towards therapeutic mysticism have appeared in newspapers and magazines of the right, left and centre. In addition, feminist publications have devoted entire issues to women and spirituality. There is no doubt that 'something is happening here." What exactly *is* happening is a matter that needs to be examined with some thoroughness. In general, both straight and alternative presses have viewed the phenomenon with scepticism. That scepticism has varied in degree and kind depending on the politics of the writer, but none of the articles I have read have made connections between the spiritual revival, patriarchal power, and women's oppression. Feminist publications have concentrated mainly on redefining spirituality, an exciting and necessary activity (and one which I'll discuss later). However, we need also to talk about what it means, and what it means specifically to women, that *patriarchal* spirituality is spreading like wildfire in the 1970s. And that it is catching on not only with men, and women who were never too interested in the women's movement, but with feminists, and many times strongly political, radical feminists. Probably most of us know someone, even a close friend, who has suddenly gone the spirituality route and "become a different person," one who unfortunately is often no longer "into" politics or such "narrow" concerns as feminism. The Rennie Davis – Sally Kempton transformation* is no isolated occurrence; it keeps happening – over and over, and to more and more of us. The question is: why?

Meditation, Mind Control, and the Politics of "Inner Peace."

Psychologically, the political perspective has become a'ienating and unsettling as support drains and the circumstances of the "real world" seem to change only for the worse . . . Now, mysticism, spiritualism and therapeutics provide the ready shelters for the politically lost or strayed . . . .[1]

Andrew Kopkind.

. . . They wante' someone to set matters right again, to tell them what to do, and it did not matter how that was done, or who did it, or what it required them to believe.[2]

Peter Marin.

There are doubtless as many reasons why people turn to spirituality for answers as there are individuals who do the turning. The fact that they are turning at all, though, suggests a commonality of need which goes beyond the simple desire to understand the meaning of life. The need to be directed, to have someone else provide the answers, rules, laws, is one which our society not only fosters but actually *creates*. From the time we are born, we are taught to submit to an authority greater than our own; we learn subservience and passivity at the feet of god, the father, and father, the god. This is the basic nature of patriarchy, as feminists have pointed out again and again. The mythical "separation of church and state" means nothing when the lesson we learn in both places is the same: follow the laws, rules, commandments. Accept whatever father, teacher, god tells you. Is there any *real* difference between a policeman and a priest? We are told we are free, but the only freedom we have is in choosing which man to follow. And women, of course, can't be trusted to will-lessly participate in this system without constant supervision (those at the bottom are always somewhat dangerous). So we need our own personal husband/dictator to accompany us through life. And if you escape somehow, if you turn out to be a witch, dyke or amazon, all the power of the patriarchy is turned against you to silence or destroy that voice of rebellion. The insidious ways in which this power can be exerted have direct relevance to the increasing popularity of spirituality in the past few years.

If the women's movement has stood for one thing, it is resistance to hierarchical structure and blind obedience. Feminists across the country have worked to break the leader/follower pattern of personal and political organisation. The issues that women have raised are a threat; by questioning the necessity for either power or authority, we have shaken the very foundations of religion and government. Those in authority and those who live by power will do anything to turn our questions aside, indeed, to keep them from being heard. But in order to stay on top they need to provide the American public with new answers, answers that will smooth over all the turmoil and confusion that the 60s churned up, ease the guilt and disillusionment, and above all, tell us that everything is okay, that we are okay, or will be soon. If anything can do all these things, it is the new spirituality, which, in every one of its many forms, throws us back to the pursuit of happiness, the search for "inner peace," which comes from losing ourselves in something greater than our individual egos, which comes from *following*: the Perfect Master; the Mahareshi, Reverend Moon, Werner Erhard, Oscar Ichazo, etc., etc. And, if there's one thing our government knows, it's that good followers make . . . good followers, especially if they're "blissed out."

The most frightening aspect of the new spiritual/therapeutic groups is that they all, without exception, easily plug into our patriarchal, capitalist society. The government has funded no less than thirty TM teaching and research programmes involving alcoholics, drug addicts, prisoners, students, and civil servants.[3] Similar programmes for EST and the Divine Light Mission have also been government-funded, but TM seems to be the most adaptable to a wide variety of "trouble areas." The Maharishi himself says: "Crime, delinquency and the different patterns of anti-social behaviour arise from a deep discontent of the mind; they arise from a weak mind and unbalanced emotions . . . (I)t has been made clear that the conscious mind may be enlarged to its fullest capacity and strengthened to its greatest extent by the practice of transcendental meditation."[4] Standford law professor John Kaplin calls it "a nonchemical tranquiliser with no unpleasant side effects."[5] The potential uses of such a quickie "cooling-out" process are endless.

The basic TM method involves two 20-minute periods of meditation a day. For many nervous, unhappy Americans unable to put a finger on the political roots of their personal misery, it is a fast easy solution, the perfect tranquiliser. And, quite handily, it can be used by those who make the laws as well as those punished by them. Thus, at one end of the spectrum is the anxiety-ridden business person who pops into the washroom twice a day to emerge a calmer, happier capitalist, more adept at ruthless, cut-throat competition. The other end of the spectrum is the man or woman locked in a prison cell, whose jailers hope to use TM as part of the "rehabilitation" process.

This universal applicability is not mere speculation. One of the sub-organisations of the TM World Plan Executive Council is the American foundation for the Science of Creative Intelligence, a group formed in 1971 for business and professional people. It lists among its goals: "to bring fulfillment to the economic aspirations of individuals and society," "to eliminate the age-old problem of crime and all behaviour that brings unhappiness to the family of man," and *"to improve governmental achievements."* (Emphasis mine). The strong links between big business and government are, of course, no secret, but now the links are being extended to a spirituality which helps both government and big business function more effectively.* In the June 1973 issue of *The New Englander*, an article entitled "Business Tries Meditating" includes a TM course description:

Mounting grievances, job alienation, absenteeism, reduced productivity, low quality of output, and lack of innovation constitute major "people problems" confronting management. One technique that is showing positive results in these problem areas is Transcendental Meditation.[6]

The same article shows a photograph of the Maharishi meeting Illinois Governor Daniel Walker, with a caption explaining that the Illinois House of Representatives, in Resolution No. 677, adopted May 24, 1972, "formally encouraged all educational institutions in the state to study feasibility of TM courses." The resolution itself points out: "school officials have noted a lessening of student unrest and an improvement in grades and student-parent-and-teacher relationships among practitioners of Transcendental Meditation." In like manner, a TM booklet entitled *Fundamentals of Progress* features a series of graphs which illustrate "increased productivity, improved job performance and job satisfaction" as we as "improved relations with supervisors" for meditating workers.[7] Motivated by the possibility of greater corporate efficiency, AT & T, General Foods, Connecticut Life Insurance Co., Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Chicago, and Crocker National Bank of San Francisco have all offered TM courses to their employees.[8]

TM brochures proclaim endless accomplishments for meditators. On request, they will send you a whole series of pamphlets and reprints which allege greater efficiency and success in everything from athletics to the military. Probably the most revealing application of TM is discussed in a reprint from the *Kentucky Law Journal*, which describes a project in La Tuna Federal Penitentiary in Texas, where twenty-three volunteer inmates were instructed in TM. The article states . . . "preliminary findings indicate that pre-meditation stress as measured by GSR, blood pressure, etc., is higher in inmates than in members of the public at large, and that TM is an effective mode of stress release and normalisation of bodily processes."[9] Obviously, what is being pedaled here is an instant cure for all "deviant" behaviour. TM proponents are covering all bases: education, business and the "criminal justice system" – each a prison of one kind or another. And TM helps us to learn to accept peacefully the iron bars in all our lives.

Transcendental Meditation is, of course, not the only spiritual group in the business of selling normality and "inner peace". The cults are multiplying so fast that it is difficult to keep up with them. I won't attempt to discuss or even name them all here. What seems more important is to talk about the similarities they share, most significantly, the perpetuation of the leader/follower syndrome. The group which most blatantly exemplifies this education for submissiveness is EST. EST is a multi-million dollar corporation headed by Werner Erhard, a former salesman of such diverse products as used cars, Grolier, Inc. encyclopedias, and Mind Dynamics. (The latter two organisations have been sued by the state of California for deceptive business practices). Erhard established the EST trainer style: visually hip, cool, casual; verbally authoritarian, manipulative, militaristic. The purpose of the training is to "tear you down and put you back together," a kind of psychological Humpty Dumpty process which leaves the participants virtually at the mercy (or more usually, cruelty) of the EST group leaders.

During the course of the two-weekend seminars, the trainees are verbally abused ("You're all assholes!") and psychologically browbeaten to the point where they are so confused and will-less that they will accept whatever they are told. And what they are finally told is that "you are perfect the way you are," a notion which seems to imply that the pinnacle of perfection is assholedom. Whatever the contradictions, the message is comforting, and that after all is what each person paid $250* for – comfort, solace, an Answer. Although the Answers may vary from spiritual group to therapy group, the actual process, whether it is called ego-reduction (Arica) or mind control (Silva), is the same in that it promotes passivity and prepares individuals for happy "well-adjusted" acquiescent lives within an authoritarian, patriarchal society. "The end result is . . . a kind of soft fascism,"[10] in which "finding yourself" means *losing* yourself to something or someone else.

Fascism has many faces, and until we exorcise the spectre of leadership, until we abolish hierarchy in *all* phases of our lives (political, personal, spiritual), we will all be susceptible to it. In 1976, nearly a decade after the era of male-defined politics and instant "Revolution," women are slowly working our way out of the old power traps and learning together new ways of being and action which will create a future untainted by either domination or passivity. But we must be extremely careful. Confusion, disillusionment, and exhaustion are everywhere these days, in or out of the women's movement. And women, always conditioned to look for answers outside of ourselves, will have to be especially vigilant against the lies which will be told in order to keep us from actualising the dreams we hold so precariously in our hands. The "new" spirituality is a weapon which is being used against us. At its most destructive, it hands us a whole new set of myths to replace those we have debunked: from romantic to spiritual love. We must resist it with all our collective strength.

Women and Spirituality: An Affair with God.

The weapons that modern technology is developing for social control of deviants, particularly women, are more subtle than burning at the stake. They merely destroy minds – the capacity for creativity, imagination, and rebellion – while leaving hands and uteruses intact to perform the services of manual work and breeding.[11]

Mary Daly

"Falling in love again,
What am I to do?"

Marlene Dietrich
in *Blue Angel*

About ten years ago, *Time* magazine carried a cover story with the banner "Is God Dead?" Last year *Ms.* magazine ran a similar feature story with one word changed – "Is Romance Dead?" At first glances these two queries may seem to have little in common. However, if one sees the challenge to patriarchal religion in the context of a more general challenge to all patriarchy, the connection begins to come clear. The conclusions of both articles were that neither god nor romance are *really* dead, a rather depressing observation for those women who came to realise that these two institutions were at the root of their oppression. Sadly enough, these conclusions are more than likely valid; at least there are those who would like us to believe they are, and that's the crucial point.

Any challenges to god the father and father (husband) the god are met with absolute denial, while in the meantime new disguises are being made for both so that the old myths can be swallowed unquestioningly again. Power is a chameleon-like entity; it can change colours in order to survive. And survive it has, over and over again. That survival has depended upon the cleverness of the disguise, and now as the new spirituality attempts to legitimise all patriarchal power, it is time for women to point out out that the emperor's new clothes are indeed an illusion.

This action on the part of women is a necessity now. We must prevent the godfather from reinstating himself in our heads or bodies. It will not be an easy task. For many of us the godfather has never been totally exorcised; we carry him around inside of us as we fight the double-passivity bind which was handed us at birth. Women have been taught to submit themselves to all authority and to all men (usually they're the same). To be assertive in any way is a struggle against outer and inner forces which attempt to hold us down, to keep us submissively feminine. The "eternal feminine" has been promulgated by religion and romance for centuries. And now when our frustration and anger are beginning to take concrete, active forms, all the power and cunning of the patriarchy are enlisted to stop us cold. The results are frightening.

A Long Island "housewife" reports that "when she found herself screaming at her two children and wondering 'Why can't I control myself?', she signed up for TM. By the end of her second week, she felt noticeably less tense and realised that her 'boiling point' had been raised to a reasonable level. 'Whatever TM does,' she says, 'it releases those pressured, tense, harried feelings we all have from life today.'"[12]

"A few months ago, I went to dinner at the house of a woman who had just been through a weekend of EST. . . she assured me that her life had radically changed, that she felt different about herself, that she was happier and more efficient, and that she kept her house much cleaner than before."[13]

Joan Apter: "I have never met a woman working in an ashram kitchen that wasn't happy, and that's what matters . . . service is service, whether designing plans for the perfect city or cooking a meal. You get the same satisfaction because of Maharaj Ji's Grace."[14]

Joanna Rotte: ". . . since my experience of deepened spirituality and femininity had been spontaneously concurrent and since woman and mother appeared to be inextricable – might not motherliness be kin to godliness?"[15]

These women are being swept along in the wave of the new spirituality. Each is part of a different group; each no doubt has a somewhat different spiritual perspective. Yet each one is expressing the same kind of mystical joy about woman's traditional role as housewife and mother. The questions and concerns of feminism are literally swept under the rug as women turn to the gurus for easy answers that will make them happy. Happiness, you remember, was the prime selling point of that old standby "romantic love." To surrender to a love which would be *all*, which would give meaning to one's entire life, this was the hope and desire of all little girls growing up in the 50s and 60s. This was the promise that romance made to us all. Then along came the women's movement and turned all the fairy tales upside down. Prince Charming wasn't so charming after all. And even though some of us were so buried in diapers and dishrags we couldn't hear, the seeds of truth had been sown.

Old myths die hard however, and if there is one person who wants us to keep believing in fairy godmothers, it's god the father. So suddenly we are presented with an updated romance-isn't-really-dead story and an even-if-it-is,-spiritual-love-is-alive-and-well sequel. If you find you can't believe one, there is always the second. And many women are finding that they can believe both simultaneously. The high incidence of women falling in love with an individual man in a spiritual group either immediately before or after their own "conversion" is alarming. Then there's always the "bride of Christ" syndrome, where women substitute god (guru or therapist) for husband, and subsume themselves to that romantic image. Any way you look at it, it's the same old "individual solution," the same old romantic bullshit, which they try to pretend isn't outright slavery.

Needless to say, most of this new line is in direct response to the growing strength of the feminist movement. It is an attempt to fool women back to their old role by remythologising it, by legitimising it in mystical terms. In a recent issue of the *East West Journal*, an internationally distributed spiritual publication, the editors came out with a stand that was not only pro-femininity and pro-heterosexual but

CLIFFORD HARPER

anti-abortion and anti-lesbian as well. In response to a reader's feminist critique of the *Journal* the following was printed:

. . . . . we do not accept the extreme feminist view that all traditional sex roles are imposed artificially by society with no basis in nature. We see man and woman as complementary rather than as inter-changeable . . . . .

We feel that birth control and abortion are to be avoided – not "lest we do something sinful", but simply because life is more enjoyable when all our actions express full awareness of our responsibility . . . .

In our opinion, homosexuality is not a crime or a "sin" but it is the manifestation of a blockage in the lower chakras which limits the natural expression of the truth inside a man or woman. People are free to dissolve that blockage – if they wish to – by dietary and other methods . . . 16

This kind of attack is not surprising when one realises that radical feminist, radical lesbian women probably constitute the greatest threat to any patriarchal structure, including the new spirituality. Independent, woman-identified anti-authoritarian women have the potential to topple the old system of power/subservience entirely. We are not only redefining the meaning of politics and spirituality, we are also trying to eliminate the dialectical/hierarchical mentality altogether. We are attempting to abolish the godfather *within* as well as without. It is no wonder that all the forces of patriarchy – spiritual and political – have been rallied against us.

Feminist Spirituality: Consciousness Leaping

The journey of women becoming, then, involves exorcism of the internalised Godfather, in his various manifestations. . . the very process of exorcism, of casting off the blinding veils, is movement outside the patriarchally imposed sense of reality and identity.17

Mary Daly.

I submit that the revolutionary leap of consciousness to which Daly refers as necessary for a woman's be-coming, eventually must include this choice of a total commitment to women . . . Lesbianism is a spiritual/political issue . . . it is a totally integrated commitment to women.18

Jacqueline St. Joan.

I have visions of becoming and
I dream in female.19

Barbara Starrett.

Why have women, sometimes radically feminist women, fallen into the traps laid by the new spirituality? Why have they failed to see women's liberation as spiritual revolution? I would say that it is because of the lingering presence of that old monarch, god the father, in our minds as well as in the outside world. His presence, what we have been conditioned to believe is Reality and Truth, follows us even when we separate ourselves from as many male institutions as possible.

It is the patriarchal either/or mentality that causes so many men and women to leave politics behind for a spiritual solution when Revolution becomes an "impossible dream." And remnants of this dualistic mind-set still persist within the women's movement. The process of eradicating this last and most persistent stronghold of patriarchy will be long and difficult. It will require of women an action one step beyond the old consciousness-raising, a revolutionary action which can only be described as a "leap of consciousness" so great that it will thrust us into totally new ways of being and becoming. Ways that eliminate all schisms, splits and dualities, ways that deny the necessity of one final answer.

Some women are beginning to make these leaps now. But because we are pushing out against nothingness, because we are defining ourselves and our world as we go along, without any one person or set of principles to tell us exactly what to do, it is a frightening process. Frightening too because we are trying *not* to fill up the gap left by god the father with a female equivalent, a penultimate Great Goddess. We seek change as a permanent process, revolution that is participatory and non-authoritarian, and be-ing inseparable from be-coming. The world that we have "split open" is one full of uncertainty and fear. Sometimes it may seem very seductive (especially to those who have been struggling a long time) to return to an easy answer, a simple solution. To have all the holes filled

up and all the dots connected would be so comforting; but oh so dangerous. For the answers and solutions are there, waiting to trap us, to enslave our minds and bodies, and pull us backward into romanticism and a spirituality based on power and mind control. Now, more than ever, we need each other's strength and support to escape the pitfalls that lie all around us.

The healing schisms, the denial of authorities, is a long term process which requires both dreams and action on the part of women. It means that we will be attempting to integrate political analysis and spiritual/psychic awareness.

Our political analysis tells us what must change; our spiritual awareness shows us how. In the process of living out the "how," new visions arise giving birth to new political analysis, which in turn stretches our spiritual awareness.20

At times discussions of spirituality drift into a vagueness and generality which can be both confusing and alienating. What we as women need to do is keep ourselves well-grounded in the real world of economic and political oppression while simultaneously dreaming and living toward our collective vision of a Utopian future. This means thought and action occurring in unison with each other. It also means that the elimination of dualism can only come from a non-dualistic process.

A woman friend of mine, who recently went through Arica training, told me that she was no longer concerned with "dialectical," "confrontation" politics, that she now realised that change can only come from "within," that the process must be "inner to outer." What she was actually doing in her anti-dialectical statement was perpetuating dialectics, i.e., seeing inner and outer as separate, opposing entities. She also talked of "ego-reduction" while at the same time affirming a solution which was individualistic and focused on personal "inner change." This kind of behavioral and intellectual contradiction springs from the dualistic foundations of patriarchal philosophical and theological systems.

[And] . . . duality, no matter which opposite is preferred, gives us only two choices. We may choose the reasoning, observing, dominating ego; or we may choose the annihilation of the personality. But if we learn to think beyond that binary, beyond the given choices we can honour, equally, the conscious and the unconscious mind. We need not believe that the only alternative to mind is its annihilation. Both of these choices express a death pattern.

In the same way we are often forced to choose between individuality and community. But we can at least imagine the possibility that we can choose both alternatives . . . We can refuse to consider one half of the dualism better than the other half. We can refuse to make ethical choices of either/or when it is possible to choose both.21

This is what women are learning to do now as we redefine spirituality and politics. As we "leap" beyond patriarchal world views, we are creating both new words and new actions.

"Renaming ourselves and the world"22 means that we need no longer separate being and action into two categories. It means that we need no longer call ourselves "cultural feminists" or "political feminists" but must see ourselves as both. It means developing our psychic, intuitive powers while simultaneously learning to confront daily oppression in concrete, specific actions. It means teaching ourselves womancraft *and* self-defence. We need both psychic energy and physical energy to change the world and ourselves. They rely on each other for effectiveness; one at the expense of the other leaves us trapped on one side or the other of a patriarchal duality. We have to leap these male-defined male-perpetuated barriers in order to come together as women-loving-women without barriers, without sides, and without mono-istic definitions of ourselves spirituality, or the future. We "seek the twin gifts of self-reliance and interdependence"23 and the end to all external "answers" which sink us deeper into passivity and inaction.

In turning to each other for love, for dreams, for active participation in new ways of Being, we are creating a space in which our individual and collective schisms can be healed. "The presence of women to ourselves which is *absence* to the oppressor is the essential dynamic opening up the women's revolution."24

The significance of that absence (and the presence which is lesbianism) is that because of it a circle of strength and energy is formed which includes all women. It is from that point that we move forward to create the future in present-time. In choosing to be witches, dykes and amazons, to be radical feminists, to be lesbian feminists, to be whole spiritual/sexual/political beings, we are choosing to make that leap of consciousness which is in the truest (female) sense of the word "revolutionary."

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* New leftist Davis became the follower of Guru Maharaj Ji, and Sally Kempton went from radical feminism to Arica.

* TM is actually a buriness itself, last year clearing $20 million in this country alone, and because TM is classified as a "nonprofit educational organisation," all of it was tax exempt.

* The price tag on personal salvation/transformation is always high. Only the rich can afford to "find themselves" except, of course, when "tranquility" is part of a package deal imposed on workers, prisoners, etc., by those in power.

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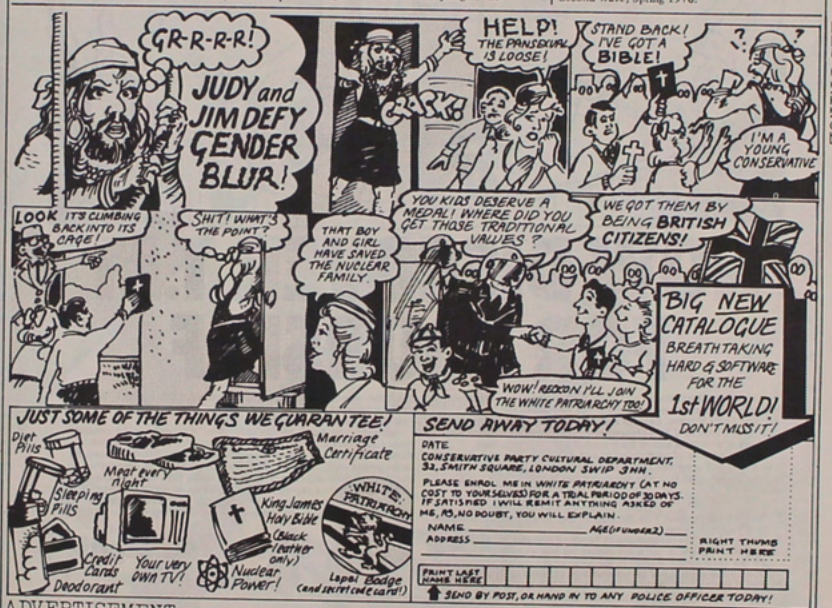

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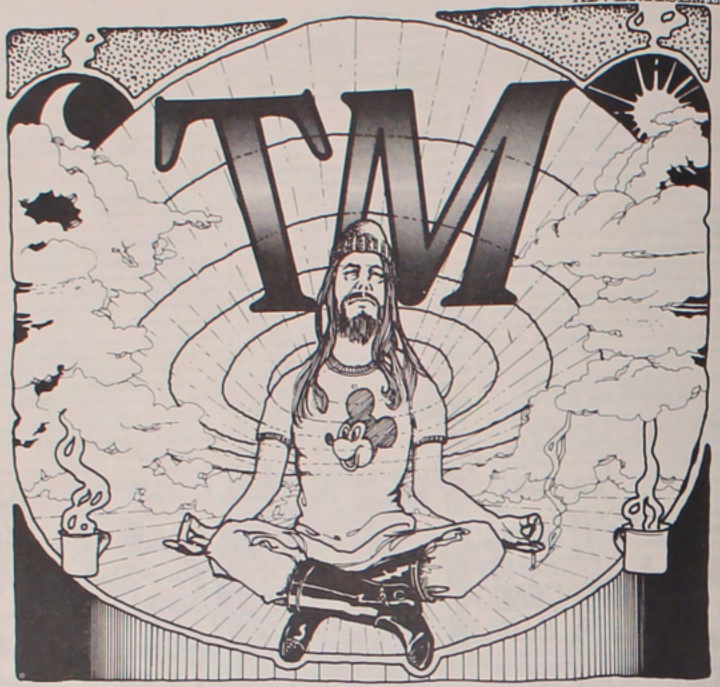

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introduction

Fernando Gomez Pelaez's article sheds light on Santiago Carrillo's past and present contradictions and manipulations of historical facts, and these days, of course, Carrillo is a deputy and is received by the Spanish premier. He is also criticised by the Soviet press and has recently returned from a trip to the U.S., where he crossed a strike picket line to cries of "scab." What in political and social terms does he stand for? Just what, in point of fact, is Eurocommunism?

The facts are so closely interrelated that it's not possible to make a separate reply to each question, but we shall try to put them into some sort of order.

The first point is the Spanish C.P.'s slow drift away from underground struggle towards acceptance of the Francoist regime. That struggle had become quite extensive about the time that a conflict arose inside the party over a "Titoist opportunism." The sacrificial victim turned out to be the Catalan, Comorera (the arch anti-anarchist of the civil war years), who was practically forced to "take refuge" in Spain and be arrested to escape the central committee's gunmen. Now the basic cause of this change was, plainly and simply, the foreign policy of the USSR. Thus after a Spain/US agreement was concluded in September 1953, we find the USSR in March 1954 releasing its prisoners from the Blue Division (which Franco sent to the Russian Front in 1943 to help out the Wehrmacht!); that November an economic treaty was signed with Poland. Next, Spain was admitted to the U.N. in December 1956 with the US and the USSR voting for her admission. All culminating in the decision by the Spanish C.P. in June 1956 to abandon all violent action and go over to a "policy of national reconciliation."

That decision was followed by an avalanche of economic agreements with the Eastern bloc and the political impact of these was clear when Poland shipped coal during the strike by the Asturian miners in 1962 (something that was to be repeated in the years to follow). In 1963, in April, a communist activist, Julian Grimau, was executed by firing squad. That March, just two weeks earlier, the first ever agreement on economic co-operation between Spain and the USSR had been signed – this in spite of the fact that the sentence on Grimau was clearly foreseeable.

Though the growth in Spain's trade with the Eastern bloc does not seem so great – from 2.9 per cent to 3.5 per cent in recent years – it does affect certain sectors, like exports of shoes, citrus fruits and confectionery. Given Spain's difficulties with the Common Market, this might well be significant for the future.

The political neutralisation of the Spanish C.P., to harmonise with the change in the emphasis of Soviet policy, had a number of effects, such as the emergence of clandestine movements to the left of the C.P. First, those with Catholic roots (F.L.P. – Frente de Liberacion Popular – People's Liberation Front), then the Maoists (under a variety of initials, the latest being F.R.A.P. – Frente Revolucionario de Accion Popular – Revolutionary Front for Popular Action). To explain itself to one flank and win recruits on the other, the C.P. had to claim that improvements were possible within the Francoist system by legal or semi-legal means (this despite the arrest of their leaders) and came to rely on well-known intellectuals – journalists and artists – to promote this image once the media were free of controls.

This policy necessitated changes inside the C.P., on account of the extreme susceptibility of its militants in the Interior (as opposed to the emigres) who had to work alongside anti-fascists generally rather than with only communists, and who gained experience by coming out into the open, relying on their own initiative and reading anything just so long as it was anti-Franco – which on many occasions meant that it had nothing communistic about it. To avert a situation where the party might be left as a rump with no following, Carrillo put some distance between himself and Moscow, by dropping the deference to the Russians. The break was finalised when a Spanish communist party was set up in Moscow (it may have been waiting in the wings, but what the hell . . .) under the leadership of Lister (the famous general who attacked the anarchist collectives during the civil war).

In spite of the great effort expended, three things are obvious: (1) criticism of the USSR is very limited (it's confined to foreign policy) and has no impact on the problem of dissidents who disagree with exploitation of workers inside the USSR; (2) the party still operates on hierarchical lines, from the top down, and thus anarchists are depicted as irresponsible provocateurs; (3) in the elections in June 1977, the C.P. took (these are figures for both chambers taken together) 9.22 per cent of the poll and 5.71 per cent of the seats, but this left it in third place behind the Socialist Party, with its 28.73 per cent of the poll and 38.71 per cent of the seats.

So, at the present time, the C.P. holds the balance between the right and the socialists and seems much more accommodating to the Government than to the Socialists. It campaigns openly for a social contract (a freeze on the workers' wage claims) and a government of national unity to tackle the economic crisis which even the most moderate experts anticipate taking a drastic turn in 1978.

It may be that the more clear cut Spanish situation forces Carrillo's C.P. to take up more extreme positions than his colleagues in France and Italy. But it is my belief that the Spanish C.P. is a long way from breaking with the USSR. Furthermore, we have the example of Tito, which demonstrates that co-operation and assistance are necessary, above and beyond many differences. And were we to cast a glance at the past, taking a look at the Czech, Hungarian, Bulgarian etc., communist press of the 1945-1948 period we should find any amount of instances of national-, original-, personal-communism all making their own ways in the world. What I mean to say is that Euro-communism, too, is a recurrent motif of communist propaganda, resurrected today with somewhat more energy.

Frank Mintz.

SANTIAGO CARILLO or History Falsified

a well orchestrated junta

Nowadays political propaganda is proliferating everywhere in book form. Sometimes the simple pragmatic manifesto or programme is repeatedly reprinted, reaching a wide public. One might be sceptical about its impact on those readers who, more or less informed as to the provenance of such publications, are capable of sorting out the straightforward from the tricky among the goods on offer, but the public as a whole is not in this position and consequently the steady chatter of propaganda always has harmful effects.

It is not our purpose to analyse the phenomenon of propaganda in the setting of the one-party states, where, as is common knowledge, the whole extravaganza goes on as a matter of course, charged up to the exchequer. Nor shall we take an overall look at its application in countries with a pluralist system, where it is no less commonly known that, whatever appearances and forms they may maintain, governing groups use, to mount the show, the funds that come to them by virtue of their holding ministerial office. Inside these systems, there are other techniques which the powerful, not always in agreement with the timidity of their representatives in office, use as they see fit. Large parties or trade union orgnaisations in their turn can fall back on investment funds, or, should these prove inadequate, they can launch subscriptions to defray the expenses of a given campaign, especially around election times. These conglomerates have a variety of business enterprises at their disposal, especially publishing houses, and whenever they choose not to use their own they can farm out to the purely commercial ones. Everything stands or falls by probable sales as the businessman doesn't go into it with his eyes shut, least of all when the material offered him is intended for more than the national market and his money is at risk.

Nonetheless every passing day throws up its possibilities . . . Chile, Palestine, Portugal, Vietnam . . . and Spain too, Spain as usual. Its "newsiness" is proved by the scurrying of the various political persuasions to steal a march before the eventual disappearance of the decrepit dictator. Now then, the lead in this race in terms of propaganda, has already been taken by the Communist Party whose rallying cry is an attractive stop-gap programme launched with much ado two years ago; the post-Franco alternative of the Spanish Democratic Junta. This fraud, with its concrete forms in the two figures of Santiago Carrillo, the Party's general secretary by the grace of Moscow – which, as was foreseeable, jettisonned the illustrious Enrique Lister – and Rafael Calvo Serer – an outstanding monarchist belonging to Opus Dei, having recently broken with the Regime, (1) is the excuse behind a book at once propagandist and commercial. We shall comment on it a little further on, but for the moment let us summarise the declared aims of the brand new Junta.

These are (1) formation of a provisional government that would grant an amnesty, as well as political and trade union liberties; (2) freedom to strike, freedom of assembly, press freedom; (3) recognition, within the unity of the Spanish State, of the political existence of the Basque, Galician and Catalan peoples; (4) separation of church and state; (5) popular elections within a period of between 12 and 18 months after the formation of the provisional government; (6) membership of the European Economic Community in accordance with international agreements and recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

In addition, the Junta makes an appeal to the patriotism and professional honour of the armed forces and invites the other shades of democratic opinion to associate themselves with their move. It also relates how the hierarchy of the church will uphold the conciliar position of defending human rights, denounces the violence of the extreme left and extreme right and, finally, appeals to the people as a whole to see to it that their wundertaking is crowned with success.

In September, in a commentary on the launching of the Junta, *Frente Libertario* made it clear that the project was unacceptable to the real opposition to Franco, even if the summarised programme could be taken as a lesser evil than Francoism, with its litany of crimes. It further refers to the conservative character of the project and its proposal to replace the dynamism of the new Spanish labour movements' claims by the Communist Party having a share in the government, this being considered the guarantee – like its fellows in France, Italy and Portugal – of "social peace", that is to say, the bourgeois status quo. Furthermore, *Frente Libertario* calls into question the various pleas for support and, in particular, notes the failure of the appeal "to the people", as not one of the responsible sectors of the opposition had had any wish to involve themselves in that seductive manoeuvre, which, were it carried out, would reactivate the monopolistic plans the Communist Party had tried to impose during the years of clandestine existence in France, by means of the late lamented National Union. (2)

In the absence of recruits, the Junta does all it can to intensify its propaganda within and beyond the frontiers of Spain. Clearly in this regard it has a springboard in the shape of dozens of hirelings, two thirds of whom distribute policy statements or news of support coming inevitably from the Workers' Commissions, and, from time to time, unspecified supposedly carlist, christian democrat or socialist groups (which means – as in the days of the National Union – that they share the same belief(s), to more or less amenable agencies and newspapers – for such there are in Franco's Spain, unlikely as it might seem. (Of course, from time to time there are negative results from this celebrated intake of converts; for example, in Catalonia the so-called Assembly of Democratic Forces – manipulated by the Party itself from the very outset – fell to pieces when an attempt was made to force it to associate itself with the Junta). Abroad, it has met with results no less unfavourable, but the propaganda barrage goes on in every sphere. Though the prize for journalistic pomposity must go to the tedious Niedergang, *Le Monde's* Spanish expert, without a contest, a number of publications – customarily well out of bounds to anything anti-fascist – have given Carrillo's appeals a friendly reception. This brings us to the launching of an eye-catching commercial edition presented as an interview, in which the wily Santiago pleasantly relates his self-important life story. The outwardly colloquial, spontaneous approach masks a studied selectiveness towards facts with flagrant omissions substituted by a hotchpotch of half-truths and lies that amount to a fraudulent misrepresentation of history. (3)

So with this optimum basis for promotion, and attracting the interest of a huge public in French, and with a series of translations into other tongues underway, Carrillo, at the head of Moscow's junior branch, probably regards his future in Spanish political life as assured. Of course there are still some hurdles to be cleared, foremost among them the fact that not a few eyewitnesses of the years of the Republic are left, world-wide, and, as such, they can see the flaw. So all of them will smile – and rightly so – when they read the ridiculous blurb on the cover, for it claims that Carrillo is eminently qualified to speak of the fight against Franco since the civil war.

One must not confuse – in intellectual or moral affairs, that is – dexterity and authority. Carrillo's authority comes from his having moved up the ladder, but that sort of authority can as easily fall apart as it can be conferred, and no one has a god given promise that what leadership he has to offer – and it's just this that discredits it in our view – will endure until he returns to Spain and after that return. That will depend on how it is put to use and to which use it is put. What is beyond question is the great dexterity of the present secretary general who, ensconced in the apparatus from the time he left Spain, has been able to have a hand in every plot and stage-manage all the purges.

the anarchists and the comintern

Now we shall examine some aspects of the interview in question, but we shall be working under the heading "history", instead of following the order of its chapter headings, even should this history be no more than a string of retrospective memories and opinions or mere anecdotes.

Our hero's political career begins in 1934, when, at the age of eighteen, he was named general secretary of the Socialist Youth (JS) which – he tells us – had around 20,000 members, and some months later, – under his management, of course – reached a figure of no less than 50,000. (Unless these are figures from the war period, when the JS had become the JSU [United Socialist Youth] and was accepting absolutely anyone, this looks like a huge exaggeration to us). Oddly, the leader adds that the young socialists were then very "leftist" and "very fond of bombs", after which, seizing the opportune moment, his interviewers ask him whether they collaborated with the anarchists. He answers them:

"No, not in Madrid, because the anarchists didn't amount to much in Madrid: we were anarchists enough ourselves at the time and that was inevitable, given the times, I think . . ." (p.32).

Short and sweet. Some lines later on, in connection with the JS's unity proposals, he grants:

"One must say that at that time the anarchists were a very powerful mass in Spain . . ." (p.33).

A powerful "mass" indeed, and one that was not an easy target for Moscow's chicanery which had been going on since the little lad's days of bottle feeding, and was certainly not

CLIFFORD HARPER

just getting off the ground when Carrillo plumped for the alternative. Though there is no shortage of documents that might clear up the question once and for all, Carrillo says of these days:

"It must be made clear that as early as the second congress (of the Communist International) in 1920 it was an anarchist who attended. It's important to emphasise that. . . "

And he continues:

"Lenin agreed that anarchists should take part, and Lenin tried to win them over. But when it returned, the anarchist delegation – and notably its most representative personality, Angel Pestana – came out against joining: Pestana had not found his anarchist ideals anywhere in the Russian revolution. In the end, the CNT reneged on its initial agreement to join the communist international, but part of its militants had been won over by the October revolution and joined the communist party."

As a matter of fact, in the congress held in Madrid in December of 1919, the CNT, quite naturally, examined the phenomenon of the Soviet revolution, and at the end of an extended debate, the following text was approved with acclamation:

"As a resume of the ideas expressed, the National Committee (. . .) proposes: first, that the CNT of Spain declares itself to be a staunch defender of the principles of the First International upheld by Bakunin, and secondly declare that it adheres provisionally to the Communist International, on account of the revolutionary character that it contains, until such time as the Spanish CNT organises and convokes the world wide labour Congress that will agree and determine the bases on which the real Workers' International is to be organised."

After some months has elapsed – for the revolutionaries then could not cross Europe with the same ease with which professionals like Carrillo rove through the world nowadays – Angel Pestana turned up in Moscow to report the CNT's conditional allegiance to the new international. But as the fellow was a genuine militant and not simply an errand boy, he took steps to inform himself about the position, as was his duty, and to this end exchanged impressions with visitors from other countries, and had meetings with Russian comrades – Kropotkin among others – and this allowed him to formulate an opinion about the Soviet experience. (4) Pestana had to take a roundabout route to get back home and was arrested and held while passing through Italy. The same thing happened again when he reached Barcelona – where the police were well aware of the reason for his being out of the country – and so he was unable for the moment, to make the report which the organisation was waiting for. One must remember that in the interim between the CNT's 1919 assembly and Pestana's return, the Comintern had adopted a dictatorial line towards its member sections, as summed up in the famous "21 Points." Had those attending the Madrid meeting, many of whom were in any case resolutely opposed to joining, known of the conditions, they would probably have rejected any association however slight. In any event, with Pestana's report still not having been delivered, a plenum held in Lerida in the spring of 1921 elected to send a delegation along to the third Congress of the Comintern. It was composed of four Sovietphiles, namely Andres Nin, Joaquin Maurin, Hilario Arlandis and Jesus Ibanez, as well as Gaston Leval, a young French anarchist who had come to Spain years before as a draft dodger and was active in the CNT unions. It was the last named who, every bit as disillusioned with all he had seen and heard in Moscow as Pestana had been, cleared things up when he arrived back in Spain. The reports made by Pestana and Leval reverberated through the various regions and a conference held in Zaragoza in June 1922 chose (moved by the same thinking that had won the day in another reunion held earlier in Logrono), to break with the Profintern, opting instead for participation in the constituent congress of the AIT (International Workers' Association) which was to be held in Berlin that same year.

Contrary to what Carrillo implies, the number of CNT militants who went over to the CP was insignificant – no more perhaps than a couple of dozen. Which explains why, regardless of the years of clandestine life under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, Bolshevism never managed to make much headway in the libertarian ranks in Spain; and whereas the CP once the fall of the dictator and the monarchy also brought the restoration of the freedoms of assembly and association, was only a grouplet with not the slightest importance for the life of the country, the CNT already had hundreds of thousands of members.

the barcelona "putsch"

Leaping ahead in historical terms, or, rather, rushing from one thing to the next only to return to the first again, and at times contradicting myself on the same point, Carrillo rakes up the memory of . . .

". . . the anarchist putsch in Catalonia in May 1937, which, with the war at its height, was a stab in the back to the armies resisting fascism . . . Now, with hindsight and learning from history, one might think that, had it been possible to avoid the re-enactment on an international scale of the internal contradictions in the process of the Soviet revolution, then the trotskyists and anarchists' putsch might likewise have been averted. But how could such a transference be avoided when the Russian revolution was, on account of its historic importance and the situation obtaining at the time, a fact in the revolutionary movement as a whole?"

In this outburst, the initial ascribing of the putsch to the anarchists alone, and then, later on, to the trotskyists as well, is less of a surprise than the twisted rhetoric used to justify *a posteriori* the CP's slavish compliance in that shameful, Moscow-inspired counter-revolutionary provocation. Like all the Stalinist chieftains of the time, Carrillo is perfectly well aware of who was behind the misrepresentation: the Russians who, out of horror at the libertarian strength in Catalonia, had wanted to destroy it from the very outset. To this end they used a string of special agents and received excellent assistance from the CP and PSUC and their temporary allies, the Catalan bourgeoisie. Consequently, the only putsch was the one methodically prepared by them for the purpose of disarming the workers and allowing the police under their control to conduct a purge against revolutionaries like the one then under way in the USSR. Control of the telephone exchange was the crucial issue and since it was the scene of vigorous resistance from the workers, Moscow's foul propaganda was spread throughout the world, with the aid of some craven politicasters that there was an anarchist plot.

The dreadful words did not however, have the desired effect in Barcelona, for the workers in their localities were quickly mobilised, and managed to occupy much of the city, forcing the attackers at the telephone exchange to beat a retreat. Faced with this answer from the workers, the real putschists had no hesitation in resorting to foul murder, such as befell the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, among dozens of others. Likewise, all manner of dirty rumours were put out, one of them claiming that anarchist units had abandoned the front in order to seize, not only the Catalan capital, but also the whole region when in reality the only military units to be found in Barcelona were communist ones, concentrated three days before, for the express purpose of carrying the counter-revolutionary scheme into effect.

Blood did flow, to put it mildly, as a result of the police attack on the telephone exchange for the purpose of wresting control from the workers, and the carnage, for the so-called authorities, or the representatives of the counter-revolution with officialdom's approval, backed the provocateurs whom they had been given 24 hours to dismiss. So the fighting went on, and just when Moscow's pawns were practically beaten, a ceasefire order went out, on the certain initiative of well-known CNT militants, two of them ministers in the central government. A short while after, some of these militants, seeing how ill rewarded was their generosity, had to ask themselves whether it might not have been more logical to crush the traitors to the revolution, who, like the cynical Carrillo, would rather see Spain defeated – as is brought out in this work – than the Soviet Union's position undermined, however slightly.

Carrillo returns to the subject later on in his meanderings (pages 55-56) and, while trying to absolve himself of blame, gets himself into worse trouble, for he says:

". . . to the eyes of the army and the people as a whole this putsch, bringing together a small group of anarchists and trotskyists, looked like a counter-revolutionary move aimed at breaching the front and easing the fascist offensive. Franco boasted of having agents among the putschists . . . Of course, I don't believe now that Nin was in Burgos or Berlin. I believe there is a possibility that he may have been executed in our zone. But at the time, in the aftermath of a putsch like that I granted (because it never really came up as a topic for discussion between us) that Nin might have escaped and gone over to the other side, as the bulk of public opinion believed. And the putsch in May 1937 only confirmed us in our belief that trotskyites were counter-revolutionaries."

There is no need to labour the point about the circumstances in which these events were planned and put into effect, but it must be said, precisely because of the vagueness in which Carrillo takes refuge, on the pretext that, for the most part, public opinion took, for granted the treachery of the trotskyists – and the anarchists to boot, for in the vocabulary of the Russophiles the word "trotskyist" covered any oppositionist at all – Moscow's plans struck at the very heart of the central government, leading to the dismissal of Largo Caballero. Only a few of his party colleagues and the anarcho-syndicalist representatives went to his defence. Public opinion had absolutely no part in the affair, for, almost always, it was conducted behind the public's back. Carrillo only gives this opinion in the knowledge that the communists had no endorsement and that the tons of paper they wasted trying to scare up some backing for themselves with the trotskyist "peril" met with no response. The fairytale didn't even influence the politicians of different loyalties who helped the Muscovites in their work of liquidators, for they were prompted by their own purposes, of getting government power re-organised so as to dismantle the work of collectivisation.

This community of interests went to work first of all to reduce the Generalitat to submission – giving up its institutional prerogatives, like the organisation of public order, to the central government – and cropped up once again in Valencia with the intention of reducing the role of the CNT, or dispensing with it should it refuse the pathetic role of supernumerary. Consequently, the peace reintroduced in Barcelona by the libertarian movement was all in vain. It was followed up by revenge, state controls and legislations imposed here and there, with everything, even military affairs, sabotaged by the powers-that-be. The repression became more severe too, directed in particular against the POUM, which, with its base in Catalonia alone, was the weakest link in the chain. The Communists and their hangers-on were left wanting to liquidate the CNT, too, for it was too outspoken. In the end, Carrillo's alibi is all the more dishonest when – coming to Nin who was murdered by the GPU – he ends up mouthing the tired refrain that the trotskyists were counter-revolutionaries; the term is applied indiscriminately to the POUM's members, for, even if some, like Nin, had been trotskyists, Trotsky did not regard them as such. And the republic's tribunal, after many rehearsals did try the surviving members of the POUM's Executive Committee did of course find them guilty . . . as *ultra*-revolutionaries. So where does that leave us?

crescendos, blustering and silences

Anxious to win over the support of today's "civilised right," the impenitent slanderer boasts elsewhere of his dealings with anarchists who, he says, launched an attack, armed with handguns and knives: " . . . on a series of meetings I was holding on behalf of the Socialist Youth in Alicante province in 1932 . ." (p.54).

Let's see: Were the libertarians so hostile to the Socialist Youth as to go to such extremes? Did the Alicante anarchists perhaps know of such a petty boss? A comrade from that province told us it was the first he had heard of it, when we told him of the occurrence related by Carrillo. The only possible explanation, therefore, is that at the time, with the socialists in the government, many CNT members were prisoners; no less than a hundred of them (Durruti was one) were deported to the African colonies of Bata and Villa Cisneros. This, it must be said, brought disapproval from many young socialists, but perhaps Carrillo, who was on the editorial staff of *El Socialista*, was one of the team who defended the application of the disgraceful "Law for the Defence of the Republic," against libertarian militants. And if that was the case the lad deserved what he got – it could not have turned out otherwise.

His resentment comes out in his anecdotes, as well as in his bragging, and we find on the very same page the following:

"I also had trouble with them (the anarchists) in the Madrid Defence Junta. During the early days of the defence of Madrid, the anarchists wanted to take over the roads leading back from Madrid, instead of the People's Army, and I remember that one of my first moves was to meet with the CNT's war committee. I told them: The Junta gives the orders now. You will pull all your detachments back from the roads and let the soldiers of the People's Army take their place. Then they threatened to storm my CP. I told them: If you do attack my CP, you'll be crushed. They never came. But it was a bad beginning, and some days later, one of their groups did fire on a member of the Defence Junta, the communist councillor, Yague. He was seriously wounded. So I didn't hesitate to move them by force."

Here we have another fiasco. First of all, we must make it clear that Carrillo was, only for a short time fortunately, in the Junta as its councillor for public order. But that isn't made clear here and the average reader might think that the acting police chief, when he talks about his CP (Command Post) was a high ranking military commander in the field, and this would be reinforced by the threat to sent in the People's Army against the anarchist detachments. Misrepresentation on a massive scale, this, for notwithstanding the fanfare about the Fifth Corps, there was no Popular Army in those days nor anything like it. There were, certainly, professional soldiers, many of them men of great loyalty and ability who commanded militia units of varying political allegiances. The CNT "detachments" to which Carrillo refers in Madrid were militias of that sort, perhaps better organised that the others, which must come as a great shock to someone who, as we showed earlier, claimed that the anarchists amounted to nothing in the capital The truth is that they were already something and would yet be much more.

With premeditation Carrillo leaves something else out here: namely, the reasons for the controls established over the road from Madrid to Valencia. The accidental reader – not the one who has been following the situation or who more or less went into the affair later – might conceive of a number of reasons, but not the real one. On the other hand, the real reason is eastly given: the government handed over its functions to the Defence Junta whenever it made the decision to move to Valencia, and when the evacuation plan was put into operation a host of functionaries and notables of every description began their flight to "lucky Levante" – without the slightest justification save "getting offside." Such disorder was foreseeable. The matter of the government shifting to Valencia was raised at the very first

cabinet meeting in which the CNT representatives took part, on 4 November 1936; these comrades were resolutely opposed to the idea, stating that, "If the people are ready to defend Madrid, then we should be here too." Although they were the only ones to think thus, yet no decision was taken to implement the official evacuation scheme. The matter of a removal came up again on the 6th when the fascists were at the very gates of Madrid, for, in the absence of reinforcements, in the opinion of the prime minister and minister of war, the position was hopeless. But, he asked with pronounced permission: "Where are we going to find reinforcements?" As a final hope, Durruti's name came up and one of the CNT ministers chipped in: "If the cabinet thinks it necessary, I shall go see Durruti right away to have him come defend the capital with his column." There was immediate agreement, and the minister involved left the cabinet meeting to carry out his mission. They kept on bringing up the question of the official evacuation without breaking down the opposition from the three libertarian representatives left there. Then the prime minister said that the only way out of the impasse was to cause a crisis, even should it be a catastrophe, given the circumstances. And so it was that, against the will of the libertarians, the government decided to move to Valencia. Understandably, this decision created great confusion, not only among the combattants and residents of Madrid, but throughout the antifascist territory and even beyond the Spanish borders for, whatever the strategic reasons put forward, it was not hard to infer that the capital was on the verge of falling to the fascists.

We don't question that, at this critical point, people in positions of responsibility made every effort to guarantee the defence and avoid a rout. From that moment on – however upstarts like Carrillo try to twist the fact – libertarians were not safe in the rear, but rather led the fighting. Immediately, the CNT's Defence Committee called for the mobilisation of the unions and the volunteers that presented themselves at CNT offices or libertarian working men's clubs could be counted in thousands. *Frente Libertario*, the mouthpiece of the CNT militias announced the ministers' removal with the headline: "Long live Madrid without its government!" Units from these responsible militias, acting on instructions from the Defence Committee, were put a halt to the flight: They were told: "No one is to leave Madrid with rifles or handguns. Confiscate all you can. There are thousands of comrades just waiting for weapons."

The most talked about checkpoint in those days was the Tarancon checkpoint, where, cavalcades of vehicles were stopped, whose occupants carried credentials claiming they were on a "special mission." They were all stripped of their weapons. This fair move was not to Carrillo's taste, and to recoup the loss, he rakes up what befell his colleague Yague, who certainly asked for what he got. All the rest is police gossip which did not have the desired effect at the time. But Carrillo rakes it up again with a few changes, to bring out the correctness of his "mailed fist" as a guarantee of order, with an eye on his future plans for a compromise with the neo-capitalism of the Opus Dei.

the libertarian units

On the next page we find another few lines in the same vein about: "... certain anarchist units, like the Iron Column who pillaged and terrorised in our rear in the early days of the war: we had to take it on and dissolve it when it tried to do the same thing in the town of Valencia ..."

Carrillo does not say who was behind this move: he is content to repeat a story put about by the Communist Party with a view to discrediting one of the libertarian units that most stubbornly resisted militarisation. This was a problem upon which the CNT could at first agree among themselves. But for the Communist Party the militarisation question was only an excuse to try to cause a rift within the CNT, and to supplant in the Levante region, where the structure of society, especially in the rural areas, was notable for the high number of small property owners. Consequently, down there communist propaganda hinged more than in other areas on the "requisitions" of the militias – of which the Party itself had been the pacesetter elsewhere – and made use of one particular weapon to make up lost ground: the Provincial Peasant Federation. This was a refuge for landowners rather than working men, which for all its talk, and for all the protection extended to it by the minister of agriculture, Uribe – the creature who distributed the land, when the peasnats had already seized it – came to represent not a thing, or rather turned out to be a cunninly divisive ploy that ought not to be forgotten.

Further on we learn in a judgment of Durruti that "like a lot of anarchists, he was a hero" and also – the compliments are flying about now – Carrillo concedes that "there was often evidence of anarchist heroism, for example in Barcelona on the day the rising began." But there are hidden thorns among the roses, or the gratuitous slander that, militarily, the libertarian units were useless. And I have his explanation here:

"... it was not through any accident that our general staff relied almost always on communist units in great battles. One thing is true: in nearly every communist unit, there were also anarcho-syndicalist militants who gave a good account of themselves in the fighting. But when they were on their own, in their own units, it was anarchy. As for Durruti, his was an exceptional personality. I think he might have become a communist, I'm certain of that. But Durruti died with his own soldiers, and after his death his unit never played an important part again."

It is not for us to assess the military worth of the libertarian units in the Spanish civil war: that's up to those with the technical know-how and who can evaluate it objectively. We can say though, that Carrillo's opinion in this connection is about as relevant – or perhaps less so – as the opinion of a graduate of the Fifth Regiment's Corporals' School, for the latter is not so quick to confuse logistics and tactics with mere propaganda. How else could the reliance on communist units in "great battles" be justified? These units were no more experienced in war than were many others but the general staff ("our general staff") on the advice of people Carrillo knows, chose them to create the impression that they were the best, indispensable if victory was to be assured. Thus do we judge by appearances.

It might be as well to remember Guadalajara (March 1937) which is ranked among the greatest battles and which had the greatest impact internationally, though it was no harder fought than many others. The advance begun by the Italian Expeditionary Corps at La Alcarria had to be halted, and various units from the recently formed People's Army were rushed in, among them the units of the well known communist commanders. Curiously enough, though, these famous units played only a secondary role, for the success of our army was decided by the taking of Brihuega by the forces of the CNT commander Cirpriano Mera (14th Division). Nonetheless, the communists tendentious propaganda gave out a twisted version of the realities of the battle abroad, with their "glorious" military leaders

given prominence, as if it had been they, along with some foreign colleagues, who were the real victors. Even today, the same lie persists, with the acquiescence of some fascist historians.

The Durruti issue is yet another side to stalinist opportunism propaganda. A legendary figure truly immune to attack on account of his record as a fighter prior to the war, his heroic activity in the July fighting, and his unhesitating turn to the problem of winning back Aragon, and because of his final presence in the defence of Madrid, communism a la Russe wanted to "adopt" him posthumously. As we know, one can speculate with the dead: but, let it be said, speculation to the effect that a man like Durruti might have joined the Communist Party, is so utterly absurd as to be undeserving of comment.

the revolution betrayed

Carrillo's warped explanations are no less useless when he deals with the revolutionary achievements during the war – which are a favourite subject for study by young historians uninfected by the Moscovite bug. For example:

"... the collectivisation imposed upon the peasants, small landowners, whose livestock, ham, and products were taken from them in exchange for worthless vouchers, alienated a portion of the social stata from the battle for the Republic. Even later, in the era of the guerrillas, especially in Aragon, the partisans had difficulties with the peasants who used to confuse the communists with the 'libertarian communists'..."

That final flourish, "guerrilla" – to which we shall turn later – does not disguise the old stalinist stereotype. Aragon was an instance of social reconstruction in which historical analysis might unearth failings and even glaring failures. No work of man is perfect, especially in a war-time situation fraught with difficulties. But, given the bad example set above all by the USSR in connection with agricultural collectivisation, Moscow-inspired carping is utterly absurd. (5)

The basis for it is the miserable arguments from the sectarian propaganda of the period, when anything which might help the party win the favour of the discontented so as to make new recruits in the world of the soil, recruits who were not quite workers or independent peasnats (who till the soil that belongs to them, with help from their families) – but landlords or rentiers who sometimes did not even live in the area – was regarded as valid.

The claim that there was compulsory collectivisation in Aragon or any other region is all the more unfounded for collectivisation was not implemented through rigid programmes emanating from above, but rather on the initiative of the workers concerned who, often, were not even libertarians, for, in many cases, particularly in Castille joint UGT-CNT collectives were set up and functioned in exemplary fashion throughout the duration of the war. The communists' dislike for this work of the grass-roots, this genuine self-management, was revealed in their outrageous anti-trade union campaign which, with assistance from conservative elements, led to attempts at state take-over, and ultimately, to the military aggression led by Lister's troops right after the dissolution of the Council of Aragon. That's where we must look to, and not elsewhere, for an explanation why, according to Carrillo, certain of his guerrillas met with hostility in these areas.

On the other hand, Carrillo presents the control of important firms and large estates as if this had been the government's work from the very beginning:

"... not only did we install workers' councils, but we tried to do so in such a way that the councils were directly elected by the workforce of the firms ... That is to say, that all accusations of bureaucratic distraint which have been launched against the Spanish revolution bear hardly any relation to the facts, for the bureaucracy was the committees who had not been elected by anyone, but were designated by the trade union leaders!"

Seizure and control of firms were implemented directly, with no need for authorisation of any sort, and especially without regard for the communists' anti-trade union whimsies, which later turned into systematic attacks, and by mid-1937 the Negrin Government was cooperating in the wrecking of the new order in industry, their first move being the militarisation of the war-production sector. Thus an industry which had been created out of nothing, and had reached abundant production of good quality, turned into a sort of host for government parasites, which led to widespread discontent among the workers, not to mention that some authorities made protests, such as the Catalan president Luis Companys, for example, who sent an indignant letter on the subject to the then minister of national defence, Indalecio Prieta. Other key industries went the same way, especially the railways which went from bad to worse. Here we have the upshot of the communists' frenzied anti-trade unionism, they who were concerned only to reinforce the power of the state and find posts for their obedient followers, who were sometimes reactionaries or known fascists. Such was their opportunism in recruitment that they went so far as to speak up in favour of free trade in the shops, at a time when everything was becoming scarce and what was needed was a thorough coordination of supply services.

the end of the war

In other fraudulent passages, Carrillo turns his attention to the policy of unity which was for a long time one of the favourite Party slogans, even though the Party practically poisoned whatever collaboration they achieved everywhere, in the trade union field in particular. To keep it short, let us have a look only at what concerns us:

"... relations between the CP and the CNT

Enrique Lister, currently leader of a dissident faction of the Spanish Communist Party, pictured in July 1938 when he was a colonel commanding Loyalist troops in the Guadalajara region during the Spanish Civil War.

[he says] remained good for most of the war: quite a few CNT leaders later joined the CP when the war was over. What led to the tragic end of the Casado-Besteiro Junta was essentially military defeats due to the enemy's vast superiority in weaponry, international isolation, and the prospect of more defeats ..."

Relations with the CNT could have been better and more durable, but they later fell apart because the Communist Party in the civil war showed that it is incapable of honest relations with anyone. It is not an independent agent and, as its orders dictate, it will argue today that what it maintained yesterday was white, is in fact black. Its leaders turn their hand equally as well to the one as to the other, and the only thing they are consistent in is their obedience to directives from the Kremlin. We have no information on the "many" CNT members who may have been netted as converts by the stalinists once the war was over; there were some, no doubt, but not many. They were scattered everywhere and it's no surprise if in a mass organisation like the CNT, there were these defections, and others, too. This was no less so, in fact it was more true if anything, of other groups, especially among the communists. When all is said and done, Carrillo is lying when he refers to "CNT leaders", because he cannot give specific names of prominent militants converted to his sect in exile. So his aside has no other purpose than to hide what cannot be hidden, namely, the defection of big-name leaders from his own side.

And as for the so-called Casado-Besteiro Junta: it's rather a surprise that, when speaking of it, Carrillo has dropped the epithets, "betrayers" and "traitors" which were obligatory among his kind. Even more surprise is in store when later on (page 56) he gets around to talking about the Junta – which, truth to tell, was led by a party devotee, general Miaja, and the proper title of which was National Defence Council – stating:

"Second-hand, I learned how Togliatti

responded during Casado's coup. Once the Junta had imposed itself in Madrid, there was nothing left for it but to try and seek out the best possible ending, reaching an agreement with Casado to evacuate the great bulk of military cadres and soldiers, or even trying to see whether, with the Junta's agreement, a certain front might not be opened up in the future, not an opening for victory or even the impossible 'peace with honour', but which might at least spare the army, which, in the event of a world war, was of supreme importance, as we saw it."

Togliatti argued with precision, although what with his being a Comintern delegate one might have one's doubts about whether such a strategem was his work alone. Once defeated, the communists sought to get whatever they could out of the Council. Officially, of course, the CP has not broken its silence, for the mere attempt at a negotiation naturally makes nonsense of the charge of "treason." The Council had in fact been set up not to take on the communists but rather to try to find a way out of the dead-end in which their attempt, with Negrin's complaisance, to monopolise command in the centre-south zone, had left everyone who disagreed with the late conduct of the war. Internal fighting had to be faced up to, because the CP whipped it up, and it took a lot of nerve after the blood had, once again, flowed shamefully in our land, to want to join the Council as if nothing had happened, and to want to work alongside people whom communist colleagues abroad had accused of every base action. And among those colleagues was Santiago Carrillo who had penned a deplorable letter against his own father.

attack then reconciliation

The progress we thought we saw in the shape of the bid to deal with the problem of the National Defence Council, Carrillo proceeds to bury on page 70 in his attempt to explain away that letter to which we referred:

"We had always been on the same side. Then, at a given moment, we found ourselves in opposite camps. My father in the Casado Junta, which was, in effect, a betrayal of armed resistance and a witch-hunt against communists, my comrades under the pretext of concluding a 'peace with honour' with Franco."

And he adds a little further on:

"I wanted to get back to the centre-south theatre to have a hand in the fighting, alongside my party comrades and fellow members of the youth. But the party held up my return and the fighting ended, unfortunately."

Leaving aside the wearisome litany of political obstacles to his implementing his occasional urge to do some fighting – which accounts for why he spent the whole war making speeches in the rear, although he was eligible for active service – we can see that Carrillo sticks to his guns, not only when it comes to the "act of betrayal", but also in the invective against his father, as is shown particularly well on the next page:

"It made me sick at heart, but I had to write the letter to let my comrades fighting in Madrid know I was with them, and not with those backing Casado. Later, I came in for criticism because of the letter, first of all from the Casadists, and more recently from Giron, Franco's former minister, who has said that I had 'sold out' my father . . . ."

Speaking of the two criticisms in the same breath is only a justification ever for dishonesty or bad faith in the speaker. Little matter whether Giron said this, or something different – for us, anyway. We don't need Carrillo's help to discover the warts on that cunning fascist. That's not the point at issue. And even if Carrillo tries to write off criticism by such association, he knows perfectly well that he is lying, as some of his own comrades even voiced it. His father was a worker militant, and deserved the greatest respect even if he was in disagreement. So unfortunate behaviour cannot even claim that it was just a spontaneous outburst' no such spontaneities are allowed leaders in the Party. These remarks were written to order, then corrected and polished, exactly like the ones Comorera's daughter was to write, years later. Consequently the maverick is wasting his time trying to advance excuses, for any beginner knows that betrayal by son of father, then something new to Spaniards, had been a matter of course in Russia since the beginning of stalinism.

The slanderer himself then goes on to prove how unlikely it was to have been a spontaneous thing, when he reveals how he made his peace with his offended father:

" . . . when we worked out the policy of national reconciliation in 1956, the party leadership, Dolores Ibarruri and the other comrades, said to me: Since this is national reconciliation, why don't you make your peace with your father? And so aganst this background, I made it up with my father."

As the proverb has it – no crewman rules as long as the captain is in control. Santiago needed the "friendly" political advice of the leadership to make up his mind to visit his father in the hospital in Charleroi. And yet, after such a cold-blooded act he still has the neck to tell us that, in his last moments, the much insulted Wenceslao " . . . moved closer to our position." The dead Durruti was annexed, then his father . . . When it comes to Opus Dei even the Holy Spirit will be subject to annexation.

the ashes of defeat

Though it might seem an irrelevant subject, one must turn back to the National Defence Council, as it's not right that something the party fought against so, should be let slip. Carrillo's allusion to what Togliatti was thinking in part, though only in part, confirms what Negrin said to the military leaders on his return to the centre-south theatre. They both believed that, if only the resistance could go on a little while longer, the outlook would change for the better when the continental war broke out. Nevertheless, however inevitable it might have been, neither the Axis powers not the so-called democracies had anything at all to gain from a confrontation before the left in Spain had been smothered, however long, however very long that might take, and resistance was out of the question. That left negotiation therefore, a suggestion Negrin repeatedly raised, but not Togliatti though the fact that the latter never spelled it out does not mean he did not envisage it in his plans. Talk of negotiation, after having whipped up such a furore against it, would be tantamount to a plain and unmistakable admission that the communist rising against the Council had been a blunder. And this will never be admitted. On the other hand Carrillo does advance some reasons why resistance was difficult, as the military reserves inflicted seriously affected the troops' morale. In dire straits and without hope of any help at all, the only course open was the one they took, to which our comrades from the centre who were staring disaster right in the eye, made their contribution. So to accuse them of treachery when it was they who were most resolutely opposed to any compromise, is a grave injustice.

One might, in all honesty, question the Council's conduct and its shortcomings, for in fact the plan was not carried out as agreed. What failed? First the intention to show a united front that would make the enemy accept some basic conditions. The rebellion by the communist units of the centre, even though defeated, created a considerable weakness militarily, aggravated the discomfiture of the population and made the fifth columnists bolder. When it came to making arrangements, the negotiators found the enemy in the devil of a black mood. Could anything else have been expected from Franco and his jackals? Standing empty-handed before the Burgos powers, certainly not. This had been foreseen – and the Council had certain tricks up its sleeve, suggested by none other than our own comrades – to make those who already regarded themselves as the victors stop and think. Was an attempt made to try them out? The contraction of the fronts probably prevented that. Whatever the case, there are no grounds for laying the blame at the feet of the CNT's militants, and if the communists persist in babbling away, it's only because of their chagrin at having been beaten in a bloody fight which they had provoked, to the enemy's delight.

¡PROLETARIOS DE TODOS LOS PAISES UNIOS!
Mundo Obrero
ORGANO DEL COMITE CENTRAL DEL PARTIDO COMUNISTA DE ESPAÑA

the rush to bury anarchism

We have spoken of the way in which Carrillo twists what the anarchists did and even misrepresents some important instances when they were to clash with the communists. That still leaves other references, or should we say dismissive repetitions which are not worth the bother of picking up. One of them, though, does deserve special attention, for it has a bearing on the present day and that's what ought to concern us most of all. The question is asked: Might not the anarchist movement live again? and here's our comrade leader's reply:

"No, it's all over, as it is everywhere: it's an irreversible process. It might linger on in the form of tiny groups, like the ones in Barcelona, who were unknown until they attacked some banks. They might be leftist groups. But circumstances have changed since 1936-1939. As I said in Geneva: we will play the democratic game . . . " (p.26).

Let's take this bit by bit. Since the end of the civil war, the CP has buried Spanish anarchism countless times, and yet . . . there it is, alive and kicking. It has not the benefit of publicity, especially when it comes to its reactivation in the day-to-day struggle, as these lend themselves to the Agit-prop experts, promoted as they are by new comers with little taste for the niceties. But it is obvious that anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, or, if you prefer, revolutionary syndicalists, are present everywhere and this is usually mentioned in the more or less conservative reports of Spanish or foreign organisations, even if not in the large circulation newspapers or the T.V. Even in Marxist-Leninist papers an alert is sounded against the anti-authoritarian or independent working class currents influenced by anarcho-syndicalism, who are cutting the ground from under the Workers' Commissions. Carrillo is aware of this fact, but, with an ulterior motive, he tries to caricature anarchism with talk of bank robberies. It's an old trick and the communists have used it on more than a few occasions to alienate the labour movement from anarchism. There was even a minister under the Second Republic who became famous for the ill-chosen dictum that the members of the CNT were "bandits with a union card." So with Carrillo's obscenity holding no fear for us, let us pass on. But we might point it out, not merely on account of his denigration of the "groups in Barcelona," among whom the young friends of Salvador Puig (the latest victim of Franco at the garotte) can be numbered – but also on account of its odious intent of discrediting anarchism as a whole. That is to say, on a movement which has given most martyrs in the fight against dictatorship.

We reaffirm that Carrillo is well aware that anarchism is not a thing of the past, far from it, indeed. Certainly, its activity is much less organised than other tendencies, especially the Communist Party, but that's easily understandable. The libertarian organisation, and here we'll refer only to the CNT wing – which has known a most severe repression under Franco, with some twenty-odd national committees and dozens of regional ones smashed – is harried by the powers that be with a severity unexampled for any other organisation, with the current exception, of the new underground phenomenon of ETA. We might, at the same time, mention hundreds of murders and monstrous executions in recent times, sometimes with the libertarian beliefs of the victims the only motive. And, with the exception of their comrades, there were never any demonstrations outside Spain on their account. So it is hardly surprising if the libertarians became more wary in how they organised themselves.

If Carrillo thinks this gives him the right to say that "it's all over," that the tradition has ended, there is little point in contradicting him: the rebirth of the Confederation throughout the length and breadth of Spain will show him for a liar when the time comes. It'll take more effort than it costs Moscowism today, with its coffers full as usual, to start the papers talking – but the new militants being thrown up will have mettle enough to break through the oppressive wall of silence. So let the Muscovite leader not expect a re-enactment in Spain of what happened in Portugal, that is, that in the very unlikely event of a repetition of communsit participation in government, his "co-ordination" could quietly direct the trade union movement. For he will come up against other organisations, with the CNT foremost among them, resolutely opposed, as ever, to the political monopoly of the Communist Party.

the guerrilla reference

It might be as well to shoot down one of the exaggerations offered to us in this publication, when it comes to the postwar period. One of them concerns the roots of the CP guerrillas, which have been the subject of a number of pamphlets and books. Carrillo choose the Aragon-Levant group as an example: there, if he is to be believed, his guerrillas were in complete control. As proof of the immense strength he falls back on a list of fatalities in a Civil Guard report (6), or a total of 15,000 between 1939 and 1949. Surprised, no doubt, at the figure, he reduces the proportions saying:

"Not only partisans, but also supporters in the villages."

It's clear, though, that the figures quoted are those for the whole of Spain, and include the victims of the severe "clean-up" operations carried out in the years right after the Francoist "victory." Operations in which, obviously, communists were murdered, but no more so than non-communists. This is a detail which Carrillo could not have failed to include, for decency's sake if nothing else. That he does not cannot be surprising, for his purpose is to confuse, not to clarify. So, when he is asked

Spanish Communist chief Santiago Carrillo meets with Keng Piao of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee during an October 1971 visit to Peking.

whether other groups had guerrillas of their own, he ventures to reply:

"The anarchists had only a little group operating near Barcelona: it wasn't even a guerrilla group. This is another reason why anarchism fell by the wayside."

And he continues:

"They didn't fight back, not even in France."

What the anarchists never did is order people about the way Carrillo and his like did. That is, the libertarian committees never ordered anyone to get involved in this or that guerrilla activity. But guerrilla formations grew up spontaneously not only in Catalonia, but also in Andalusia, La Mancha, Santander, Asturias and Galicia, some of them going back to the war years. There were also other, socialist groups in the mountains, especially in Asturias. Where they differed from the communist guerrillas was that they were frank enough to admit what they stood for and didn't exaggerate the importance of their work by extravagant propaganda, such as attended a supposed group, at one time, in the north-west. When they talked about a meeting of several hundred guerrillas on the frontier between Galicia and Portugal in fact it was only half a dozen guerrillas meeting in Toulouse in a quarter not far distant from the Place de la Capitale. (7).

Carrillo seems to be much given to this sort of juggling with the facts, although, to excuse himself, he reveals that he too had wanted to dabble in guerrilla warfare in 1944, when he was in North Africa. He informed Moscow to this effect: "We're making ready for a landing in Malaga." As usual, he didn't get the chance to make a name for himself as a fighting man, for the leadership turned up like his guardian angel and warned: "Nothing doing. Forbidden." (p.95).

So, by 1950 the brilliant guerrilla of the Levant found himself in a very ugly position: each passing day brought new vexations and he was forced to fall back . . . to France. Carrillo, with the same talent for guerrilla tales as Jesus Izcaray years afterwards, tells us that villages had to be moved and people collected in one spot; he adds,

"To evacuate them, we had organised passage for small groups marching by night,

resting by day until they reached France where they were dispersed . . . We had only two arrests, two comrades who had taken the train."

In short, and on a smaller scale, a success story on a par with Mao's Long March. But here, as on other questions, Lister's memories are not the same as Carrillo's, for in his book *Basta!* ("Enough") published (with no indication as to where) a few years back, he accuses the comrade of having "made political capital out of the guerrillas so as to get to the top, politically"; and that when the decision was made to call off that sort of struggle, not in 1950, but in 1948, he failed to take "the necessary steps to save the guerrillas and those who might have faced persecution for helping them, from the repression." Live and learn.

opportunist unionism

Nor do we find the general secretary sparing with his words in pointing out the success of the workers' struggle under Franco, for he presents it as being due to him, right up as far as the Barcelona general strike in March 1951. (8). Certainly, at the time the communists wanted to present themselves as the organisers of the move, even though, like other groups, the proportions it had assumed had taken them by surprise. What's new in Carrillo's account is the emphasis placed on the Party's infiltration of the machinery of the vertical syndicates. The earlier version – which the trickster thinks we must have forgotten – was not without its merits: credit was given to a second-rate militant known as Lopez Raimundo who had been arrested in Barcelona on his arrival there from Mexico. The call came from his cell, so it was said, and in an atmosphere ready-made on account of the student-promoted campaign of boycott against the trams, hundreds of thousands of workers downed tools straight away. The object of highlighting Lopez Raimundo's lucky shot was to endow him with a certain charisma, so that, as the obedient secretary of the new PSUC he might be able to launch the Communist Party's satellite in Catalonia once more. (9). Now of course, Carrillo sets the Lopez Raimundo move aside and reveals instead the successes in the elections for the vertical syndicates:

"We were making progress everywhere in the industrial centres, sometimes even winning over the leadership at a local and provincial level." (p.113).

As this is in the early '50s it comes as something of a shock, especially the scale of the success, though not the opportunism in the participation. The Party, changing tack, had – with the blessing of Moscow, in fact Stalin's blessing – abandoned "its" UGT and sought new pastures: the National Syndicalist Centre. And a number of years were spent under those false pretences until a brand-new form of advancing claims arose in Asturias: the Workers' Commissions. These commissions, which soon spread, were a revelation to the Muscovite chieftains who, without having had anything to do with their creation, hastened to throw together a National Coordination to give leadership. A new fraud, which, with the backing of an effective Exterior Delegation, was to help the Party exploit international solidarity once again to its own advantage.

changing forms of submission

We have perhaps devoted too much time to those parts of Gallo's and Debray's conversations with Santiago Carrillo where he refers to the Spanish anarchists, and we cannot go in for minute attention to the passing comments made in these lines on various facts, bodies and persons, for that we would need much more space than is available to us in this review. So let us finish off without dwelling too long on the supposed theoretical arguments of the section devoted to "the problems of socialism," which are only a roundabout way of justifying Soviet policy, even if there are occasional carpings about the purges that followed Lenin's death, "dogmatism" in the CPSU (the Russian party), the Czechoslovakia episode and stuff like that, all cleverly thrown together to create the impression that, without a violent break, each communist party can pursue an independent line determined by the class struggle situation in its particular national context.

In common with the Italian CP, the Spanish CP headed by Carrillo has broken with the Spanish CP based in Prague by its balanced outlook, keeping well clear of the conflicts of Soviet hegemony with some countries in the so-called socialist world, especially China and Rumania. This is a logical tactic to adopt when one is trying to prove that a position of polycentrism in which each party's autonomy is guaranteed, is a valid one. Of course, though this seems a likely thing when dealing with parties already in power, it is not a definite proof, as the Rumanian case shows, for when it came to helping out Dubcek, comrade Ceaucescu, who has his own problems, did not lift a finger. Consequently one can say that parties in capitalist countries have less freedom or manoeuvre though the risks are less great, for none of them, however important it may seem, is in a position to move forward towards the conquest of power without the go-ahead from the Kremlin.

Carrillo, for example, assures us that once the Comintern had been dissolved, the Spanish CP never had to seek Moscow's advice before making any move. It would be interesting to know what sort of political decisions the Spanish CP was able to make without prior permission from above, because if it did not the relationship served the purpose. What is certain is that every time the supreme leaders called them, the Spanish CP leaders used to go running promptly – Carrillo shows this himself when he mentions his meeting with Stalin. Furthermore, after the Comintern went, they set up the Cominform, which came to more or less the same thing, and until such time as Moscow buries the hatchet with Belgrade, the only change we can see in the Spanish CP was a switch away from the old catchcries about "the trotskyist clique" to a similarly unchanging litany of "Titoist crew."

Not even when the USSR voted in favour of the diplomatic rehabilitation of Franco's Spain in the United Nations, negotiating its membership so that Mongolia was admitted at the same time, did the Spanish CP show any disagreement. One might add that once Spain had been admitted into the UN, the Spanish CP dropped its redundant calls for an international boycott, and the recognition of the USSR moved into position as its number one objective. That is the background to the Spanish leadership's big U-turn towards so-called national "reconciliation", a notion with a none too Leninist basis but which was easily sold to the comrades by reference to Stalin's war-time policy. So there is no originality worthy of the name in the Pact for Liberty proposal recently adopted by the Spanish Democratic Junta – though, ever the opportunist, Carrillo does, from time to time, drop hints about the East's economic relations with Franco's Spain, and tries to portray himself as the discoverer – there's one in every country – of a new "road" to socialism.

In conclusion, if anything did surprise us in the revelation of the Spanish party's disagreement with Moscow over the Czech affair it was the CPSU's apparent backing for the Lister tendency, for even if that group did toe the Soviet line more faithfully, in reality – and setting aside the problems of "restoring normality" to Czechoslovakia – it got on better with the Carrillo faction. That means that the CPSU was putting its eggs into two baskets, and when it became clear that Lister's propaganda was only increasing confusion among what followers it already had, instead of winning ground, it chose to give its backing to the best situated group, which everybody knows is Carrillo's, even if his authority is no greater. That's the simple reason why the Democratic Junta was launched at the same time as Lister was dropped. Today's winner could go the same way tomorrow, but he is noted for his stature, among other things, and this book we've been discussing will enhance that. It is a monument in hypocrisy which might perhaps seem impressive to poor folk knowing nothing of their past, but which deserves to be resolutely opposed by all Spanish antifascists, not merely ourselves.

Fernando Gomez Peláez (Translated by Paul Sharkey).

A July 1974 press conference of the Spanish Communist Party in Paris: to the left, Secretary General Santiago Carrillo; to the right, Central Committee member Manuel Azcárate, the party's chief ideologist and international affairs expert.

"Why are you always standing on your head? Get up!"

NOTES

(1) By way of an aside, we might mention that among the vast publicity given to the Junta programme abroad was a number of television interviews. In one of these, in Holland, the presenter, somewhat confused, introduced Calvo Serer as Carrillo and vice versa, and also mixed up the meaning of each one's contribution. This was not a very serious error, though, because the two champions of reconciliation were indistinguishible in what they had to say.

(2) The Spanish National Union was a bid by the Communist Party, just after the Allied landings in N. Africa, to flank the Spanish resistance forces. It amounted to the application to Spain of the moves worked out in Moscow for the seizure of power in the Central and Eastern European countries once they had been freed from Nazi occupation. The device of a National Liberation Committee or Front was merely replaced by that of the National Union with a broad base: its Supreme Council claimed to be operating inside Spain with the backing not only of all the civil war anti-fascist groups, but likewise cedistas (supporters of Gil Robles), carlists and some disenchanted falangists. This abortive scheme enjoyed official French backing, but was utterly repudiated by the organised Spanish resistance, so that the Communist Party finally decided to drop the ploy: but, to cover up the trickery, they blamed the "adventure" on militants who had greeted it with enthusiasm. Some of them, in Spain, were later to be the victims of Franco's repressive measures over a long span of years. The man charged with leading the campaign against those militants, was a leader called Carrillo, who is pushing the same stratagem today, only under the name of the Democratic Junta.

(3) *Demain L'Espagne*, Paris, Le Seuil (coll-Combats)1974, 226 pages. Two big names highly regarded in progressive circles have lent themselves to the operation: Regis Debray, famous mostly for his youthful adventure in the footsteps of Che in Bolivia and the long imprisonment he suffered there; and Max Gallo, a historian with an interest in the problems of contemporary Spain, and author of a difficult study of Franco's Spain. The choice of both interviewers is worthy of note, especially the latter, for as for the former, whatever notoriety his experience in Bolivia and his visits to other Spanish-speaking countries (especially Cuba and Chile) might have brought him, as well as whatever sympathy his revolutionary dilettantism might elict – there is no doubt that his knowledge of the Spanish labour movement is very superficial. Max Gallo is another matter, for he is the master of his subject, and handles it with ease, sometimes too easily. Thus, in his *Histoire de l'Espagne franquiste*, recently translated into Spanish and published by Ruedo Iberico, any informed reader could discover repeated under-emphases, let alone striking misrepresentations, understandable say in someone like Tunon de Lara but hardly so in the case of a respectable historian. On the other hand, Gallo, in the large bibliographic appendix to his book, barely mentions libertarian publications and in the list of periodicals he saw fit not to cite a single CNT paper. Then, it might have been overlooked as an oversight, nothing more; now it seems – since the historian has allowed himself to be used as Carrillo's stooge – more like premeditation.

(4) The essence of Pestana's observations was collected in a book in travelogue form, published with the title *Seventy Days in Russia*.

(5) Oddly enough, the CP raked up these criticisms again with the publication of *Guerra y Revolucion en Espana*, Moscow, 1971, 3 volumes . . . a collection of lies on the various facets: political, military and social. As for their references to libertarian collectivisation, their pathetic arguments have been shamelessly plagiarised by an economist well-esconced in the Franco administration and yet usually regarded . . . as a progressive. For final proof, Ramon Tamames.

(6) He is probably referring to *Resena general del problema del bandolerismo en Espana despues de la Guerra de Liberacion*, by Eulalio Limia Perez, head of the Special Operations section of the Civil Guard (Madrid 1957).

(7) As in Spain, there was a considerable number of libertarians in the "maquis" in France, some of them in contact with the underground anarchist organisation, while others kept their distance from it: the CP certainly did try to exploit them through a so-called CNT Group of National Union, which they left once they learned what was afoot. Carrillo also feigns ignorance of the fact that a CNT battalion, "Libertad" together with some Basques wiped out the Nazis at Cape Greve and finally ended up with Leclerc's forces like so many others – less libertarians than communists? Nonsense!

(8) It's surprising, of course, that Carrillo makes no mention of earlier strikes, for there were some, though they weren't big ones, which met with some success: The May 1st one in Vizcaya in 1947, for one. His silence is explained by the fact that just then the communist hope for the trade unions was the UGT, whose initials allowed them to make abundant use of the solidarity of the affiliated unions of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The strike alluded to brought them many millions of which the organisations pushing the strike, who had opened a common fund with the Basque Resistance Council, saw not one penny. This was one of the reasons why the CP was ousted from the Basque Government.

(9) We speak of the PSUC because a short time earlier the secretariat headed by Comorera had been liquidated, and he and his followers were excommunicated for not complying with the plans of the "ultra-Spanish" leadership. Comorera, their erstwhile eulogised leader, they tried to kill while passing through Andorra en route for Catalonia. But he managed to survive the attempt and later made his way to Barcelona, where he was picked up on a tip-off, he died in Burgos prison.

CLIFFORD HARPER

There are still a few things which bring a naive sense of shocked astonishment to me whenever I experience them – a church service in which the rituals of Dark Age superstition are performed without any apparent sense of incongruity in the participants – a fat Soviet bureaucrat pontificating about bourgeois decadence – a radical singing the praises of Ayn Rand or Robert Heinlein. If I were sitting in a tube train and all the people opposite me were reading *Mein Kampf* with obvious enjoyment and approval it probably wouldn't disturb me much more than if they were reading Heinlein, Tolkein or Richard Adams. All this visionary fiction seems to me to have a great deal in common. Utopian fiction has been predominantly reactionary in one form or another (as well as being predominantly dull) since it began. Most of it warns the world of 'decadence' in its contemporaries and the alternatives are usually authoritarian and sweeping – not to say simple-minded. A look at the books on sale to Cienfuegos customers shows the same old list of Lovecraft and Rand, Heinlein and Niven, beloved of so many people who would be horrified to be accused of subscribing to *The Daily Telegraph* or belonging to the Monday Club and yet are reading with every sign of satisfaction views by writers who would make *Telegraph* editorials look like the work of Bakunin and Monday Club members sound like spokesmen for the Paris Commune.

Some years ago I remember reading an article by John Pilgrim in *Anarchy* in which he claimed Robert Heinlein as a revolutionary leftist writer. As a result of this article I could not for years bring myself to buy another issue. I'd been confused in the past by listening to hardline Communists offering views that were somewhat at odds with their anti-authoritarian claims, but I'd never expected to hear similar things from anarchists. My experience of science fiction fans at the conventions which are held annually in a number of countries (mainly the US and England) had taught me that those who attended were predominantly reactionary (often claiming with familiar phrases, to be 'apolitical' but somehow always happy to vote Tory and believe Colin Jordan to 'have a point,') but I had always assumed that these were for one reason or another the exceptions among sf enthusiasts. Then the underground papers began to emerge and I found myself in sympathy with most of their attitudes – but once again I saw the old arguments aired:– Tolkein, C.S. Lewis, Frank Herbert, Isaac Asimov and the rest, bourgeois reactionaries to a man, Christian apologists, crypto-Stalinists, were being praised in *IT*, *Frendz and Oz* and everywhere else by people whose general political ideals I thought I shared. I started writing about what I thought was the implicit authoritarianism of these writers and as often as not found myself accused of being reactionary, elitist or at very best a rotten spoilsport who couldn't enjoy good sf for its own sake. But here I am again at Stuart Christie's request, to present arguments which I have presented more than once before – indeed in issue after issue of *New Worlds* which the majority of sf fans accused of being insanely radical and given to promoting according to many critics, anarchistic notions of a distasteful nature . . .

In common with many other periodicals *New Worlds* believed in revolution. Our emphasis was on fiction, the arts and sciences, because it was what we knew best. We attacked and were in turn attacked in the all-to-familiar rituals. Smiths refused to continue distributing the magazine unless we 'toned down' our contents. We refused. We were, they said, obscene, blasphemous, nihilistic etc., etc. *The Daily Express* attacked us. A Tory asked a question about us in the House of Commons – why was public money (a small Arts Council grant) being spent on such filth. I recount all this not merely to establish what we were prepared to do to maintain our policies (we *were* eventually wiped out by Smiths and Menzies in a cynical series of manouevres) but to point out that we were the only sf magazine to pursue what you might call a determinedly radical approach – and sf buffs were the first to attack us with genuine vehemence. Our main serial running at the height of our troubles was called *Bug Jack Barron* written by Norman Spinrad, who had taken an active part in radical politics in the US and used his story to display the abuse of democracy and the media in America. He later went on to write a satirical sword-and-sorcery epic, *The Iron Dream*, intended to display the fascist elements inherent to the form. The author of this novel existed, as it were, in an alternate history to our own. His name was Adolf Hitler. The book was meant to point up the number of sf authors who were, in a sense, 'unsuccessful Hitlers.'

Many other Americans came to use the NW as a vehicle because they couldn't get their stories published in the US. Thomas M. Disch, John Sladek, Harvey Jacobs, Harlan Ellison and many others published a good deal of their best and at the time most controversial work in NW – and Heinlein fans actually attacked us for 'destroying' science fiction. Escapism this mainly American form might be, but it posed as a 'literature of ideas' and that, we contended, it wasn't – unless *The Green Berets* was a profoundly philosophical movie.

Another example: In 1967 Judith Merril, a founder member of The Science Fiction Writers of America, an ex-Trotskyist turned libertarian, proposed that this organisation would buy advertising space in the sf magazines condemning the war in Vietnam. I was around when this was proposed. A good number of members agreed with alacrity – including English members like myself, John Brunner, Brian Aldiss etc. Robert Silverberg and Harry Harrison were keen, as were Harlan Ellison, James Blish and, to be fair, Frank Herbert and Larry Niven. But quite as many were outraged by the idea, saying that the SFWA 'shouldn't interfere in politics.' Okay, said Merril, then let's say 'The following members of the SFWA condemn American involvement in the Vietnam War etc.' Finally the sf magazines contained *two* ads – one against the war and one in support of American involvement. Those in support included Poul Anderson, Robert Heinlein, Ann MaCaffrey, Daniel F. Galouye, Keith Laumer and as many other popular sf writers as were against the war. The interesting thing was that at the time many of the pro-US-involvement writers were (and by and large still are) the most popular sf writers in the English speaking world, let alone Japan, the Soviet Union, France, Germany, Italy and Spain, where a good many sf readers think of themselves as radicals. One or two of these writers (British as well as American) are dear friends of mine who are personally kindly and courageous people of considerable integrity – but their political statements (if not always, by any means, their actions) are stomach-turning! Most people have to be judged by their actions rather than their remarks, which are often surprisingly at odds, but writers, when they are writing, can only be judged on the substance of their work – it is where they have the greatest influence. The majority of the sf writers most popular with radicals are by and large crypto-fascists to a man and woman! There is Lovecraft, the misogenic racist; there is Heinlein, the authoritarian militarist; there is Ayn Rand, the rabid opponent of trade unionism and the left, who, like many a reactionary before here, sees the problems of the world as a failure by capitalists to assume the responsibilities of 'good leadership'; there is Tolkein and that group of middle-class Christian fantasists who constantly sing the praises of the bourgeois virtues and whose villains are thinly disguised working class agitators – fear of the Mob permeates their rural romances. To all these and more the working class is a mindless beast (the Id perhaps) which must be controlled or it will savage the world (i.e. bourgeois security) – the answer is always leadership, 'decency,' paternalism (Heinlein is particularly strong on this), Christian values . . . What can this stuff have in common with radicals of any persuasion? The simple answer is, perhaps, Romance. The dividing line between rightist Romance (Nazi insignia and myth etc) and leftist Romance (insurgent cavalry etc) is not always easy to determine. A stirring image is a stirring image and can be employed to raise all sorts of atavistic or infantile emotions in us. Escapist or 'genre' fiction appeals to these emotions. It does us no harm to escape from time to time but it can be dangerous to confuse simplified fiction with reality and that, of course, is what propaganda does.

The bandit hero – the underdog rebel – so frequently becomes the political tyrant; and we are perpetually astonished! Such figures appeal to our infantile selves – what is harmful about them in real life is that they are usually immature, without self-discipline, frequently surviving on their 'charm.' Fiction lets them stay like Zorro or Robin Hood perpetually charming. In reality they become petulant, childish, relying on a mixture of threats and self-pitying pleading like any baby. These are too often the revolutionary figures on whom we pin our hopes, to whom we sometimes commit our lives and whom we sometimes try to be; because we fail to distinguish fact from fiction. In reality it is too often the small, fanatical men with the faces and stance of neurotic clerks who come to power while the charismatic heroes, if they are lucky, die gloriously, leaving us to discover that while we have been following them, imitating them, a new Tsar has manipulated himself into the position of power and Terror has returned with a vengeance while we have been using all our energies in living a romantic lie. Heroes

betray us. By having them, in real life, we betray ourselves. The heroes of Heinlein and Ayn Rand are forever competent, forever right: they are oracles and protectors, magic parents (so long as we obey their rules). They are prepared to accept the responsibilities we would rather not bear. The are 'leaders.' Traditional sf is hero fiction on huge scales, but it is only when it poses as a fiction of ideas that it becomes pernicious. At its most spectacular it gives us Charlie Manson and Scientology (invented by the sf writer Ron Hubbard and an authoritarian system to rival the Pope's). To enjoy it is one thing. To claim it as 'radical' is quite another. It is rather unimaginative; it is usually badly written; its characters are ciphers; its propaganda is simpleminded and conservative – good old-fashioned opium which might be specifically designed for dealing with the potential revolutionary deals with the society this stuff works so hard to protect.

In a writer like Lovecraft a terror of sex often combines (or is confused for) a terror of the masses, the 'ugly' crowd. But this is so common to so much 'horror' fiction that it's hardly worth discussing. Lovecraft is morbid and equates to that negative romanticism found in much Nazi art. He was a confused anti-semite and misanthrope, a promoter of anti-rationalist ideas about racial 'instinct' and so on which have much in common with ideas found in *Mein Kampf*. A dedicated supporter of 'Aryanism' and conservatism, a hater of women, he wound up marrying a Jewess (which might or might not have been a sign of hope – we haven't her view of the matter). Lovecraft appeals to us primarily when we are feeling morbid ourselves but apart from his offensively awful writing and a resultant inability to describe his horrors (leaving us to do the work – the secret of his success – we're all better writers than he is!) he is rarely as frightening, by implication, as most of the other highly popular writers whose concerns are not with 'meeping Things' but with idealised versions of society. It's not such a big step, for instance, from Farnham's Freehold to Hitler's Lebensraum.

I must admit I'm not describing the books I mention or following a properly argued critical line. I'm arguing on the assumption that my readers are at least familiar with some of the books and authors I mention. I would not be attacking these books if they were not the favourite reading of so many radicals. Geogette Heyer, Agatha Christie and the rest, are read pretty much entirely by the bourgeoisie; we take for granted that they promote certain assumptions about society. Nor am I attacking the books for their superficial fascination with quasi-mediaeval social systems (a la Frank Herbert). Fiction about kings and queens is not necessarily royalist fiction any more than fiction about anarchists is likely to be libertarian fiction. As a writer I have produced a good many fantastic romances in which kings and queens, lords and ladies, figure largely – yet I am an avowed anti-monarchist. *Catch 22* never seemd to me to be in favour of militarism. And just because many of Heinlein's characters are soldiers or ex-soldiers I don't automatically assume he must therefore be in favour of war. It depends what use you make of such characters in a story and what, in the final analysis, you are saying.

Jules Verne in *The Masterless Man* put some pretty decent sentiments in the mouth of Kaw-djer the anarchist and his best characters, like Captain Nemo, are embittered 'rebels' who have retreated from society. Even the aerial anarchists of *The Angel of the Revolution* by George Griffiths have something to be said for them, for all their inherent authoritariansism, but they are essentially romantic 'outlaws' and the views they express are not sophisticated even by the standards of the 1890s.

H.G. Wells was no more the 'father' of science fiction than Jules Verne. He inherited a tradition going back some thirty or forty years in the form he himself used and several centuries in the form of the Utopian romance. What was unusual about Wells, however, is that he was one of the first radicals of his time to take the trappings of the scientific romance and combine them with powerful and telling *images* to make Bunyanesque allegories like *The Time Machine* or *The Invisible Man*. Wells didn't have his characters *talking* socialism. He showed the *results* of capitalism, authoritarianism, superstition and other evils and because he was a far better writer than most of those who have ever written sf before or since he made his points with considerable clarity. Morris had been long-winded and backward-looking. Wells took the techniques of Kipling and preached his own brand of socialism. Until Wells – the most talented, original and intelligent writer of his kind – almost all sf had devoted itself to attacks on 'decadence' and military unpreparedness, urging our leaders to take a stronger moral line and our armies to re-equip and get better officers. By and large this was the tone of much of the sf which followed Wells, from Kipling's effective but reactionary *With the Night Mail* and *As Easy as ABC* (paternalistic aerial controllers whose rays pacify 'the mob') to stories by John Buchan, Michael Arlen, William Le Quex, E. Phillips Oppenheim and hundreds of others who predominantly were following Kipling in warning us of the dangers of socialism, mixed marriages, free love, anarchist plots, Zionist conspiracies, the yellow peril and so on and so on. Even Jack London wasn't what one might call an all-round libertarian any more than Wells was when he toyed with his ideas of an elite corps of 'samurai' who were actually not a great deal different to how Soviet Communist Party members saw themselves, or were described in official fiction and propaganda. The quasi-religious nature of sf (which I describe in a collection of pre WWI sf *Before Armageddon*) was producing on the whole quasi-religious substitutes (a variety of 'scientologists' and authoritarian socialist and fascist theories). A few attacked the theories of the emerging dictators (Murray Constantine's *Swastika Night*, 1937, seems to think that Christianity could conquer Hitler but is otherwise a pretty incisive projection of Nazism several hundred years in the future) but by and large the world we got in the thirties was the world the sf writers of the day hoped we would have – 'strong leaders' reshaping nations. The reality of these hero-leaders was not, of course, entirely what had been visualised – Nuremberg rallies and Strength Through Joy, perhaps – but Kristellnacht and gas ovens seemed to go a bit over the mark.

At least the American pulp magazines like *Amazing Stories* and *Thrilling Wonder Stories* were not, by and large, offering us high-profile 'leadership' – they just gave us the good old-fashioned mixture of implicit racialism/militarism/nationalism/paternalism carried a few hundred years into the future or a few million light years into space (E.E. Smith remains to this day one of the most popular writers of that era). John W. Campbell, who in the late thirties took over *Astounding Science Fiction Stories* and created what many believe to be a major revolution in the development of sf, was the chief creator of the school known to buffs as 'Golden Age' sf and produced by the likes of Heinlein, Asimov and A.E. Van Vogt – wild eyed paternalists to a man, fierce anti-socialists, good Americans (though only Heinlein was actually born there) whose conservatism reflected the deep-seated conservatism of the majority of Americans, who saw a Bolshevik menace in every union meeting and believed, in common with authoritarians everywhere, that any radical wanted to take over old-fashioned political power, turn the world into a uniform mass of 'workers' with themselves (the radicals) as commissars. They offered us such visions, when they made any overt discussion of politics at all. They were about as left-wing as *The National Enquirer* or *The Saturday Evening Post* (where their stories eventually, and occasionally, were to appear). They were xenophobic, smug and confident that the capitalist system would flourish throughout the universe, though they were, of course, against dictators and the worst sort of exploiters (no longer Jews but often still 'aliens'). Rugged individualism was the most sophisticated political concept they could manage – in the pulp tradition, the Code of the West became the Code of the Space Frontier, and a spaceship captain had to do what a spaceship captain had to do . . .

The war helped. It provided character types and a good deal of authoritative sounding technological terms which could be applied to scientific hardware and social problems alike and sounded reassuringly 'expert.' Those chaps had the tone of Vietnam twenty years earlier, and indeed, it's often been suggested that sf supplied a lot of the terms and atmosphere for American military and space technology (a 'Waldo' handling machine is a term taken straight from a Heinlein story, for instance). *Astounding* became full of crew-cut wisecracking, cigar-chewing, competent guys (like Campbell's image of himself) of the kind often seen in John Ford/John Wayne movies. Nothing much wrong with that, really. Who doesn't enjoy a Ford Western? But Campbell and his writers (and they considered themselves something of a unified *team*) were not producing Westerns. They claimed to be producing a fiction of ideas. These competent guys were suggesting how the world should be run. By the early fifties *Astounding* had turned by almost anyone's standard into a crypto-fascist deeply philistine magazine quite as horrifying as any mid-West newspaper of the period but pretending to intellectualism and offering idealistic kids an 'alternative' that was, of course, no alternative at all. Through the fifties Campbell used his whole magazine as propaganda for the ideas he promoted in his editorials. His writers, by and large, were enthusiastic. Those who were not fell away from him, disturbed by his increasingly messianic disposition (Alfred Bester gives a good account of this). Over the years Campbell promoted the mystical, quasi-scientific Scientology (first proposed by one of his regular writers L. Ron Hubbard and aired for the first time in *Astounding* as 'Dianetics: The New Science of the Mind'), a perpetual motion machine known as the 'Dean Drive,' a series of plans to ensure that the highways weren't 'abused,' and dozens of other half-baked notions, all in the context of cold-war thinking. He also, when faced with the Watts riots of the mid-sixties, seriously proposed and went on to proposing that there were 'natural' slaves who were unhappy if freed. I sat on a panel with him in 1965, as he pointed out that the worker bee when unable to work dies of misery, that the moujiks when freed went to their masters and begged to be enslaved again, that the ideals of the anti-slavers who fought in the Civil War were merely expressions of self-interest and that the blacks were 'against' emancipation, which was fundamentally why they were indulging in 'leaderless' riots in the suburbs of Los Angeles! I was speechless (actually I said four words in all – 'science-fiction' – 'psychology' – Jesus Christ!' – before I collapsed), leaving John Brunner to do an excellent job of cool demolition of Campbell's arguments, which left the editor calling on God in support of his views – an experience rather more intense for me than watching Doctor Strangelove at the cinema.

Starship Troopers (serialised in *Astounding* as was most of Heinlein's fiction until the early sixties) was probably Heinlein's last 'straight' sf serial for Campbell before he began his 'serious' books such as *Farnham's Freehold* and *Stronger in a Strange Land* – taking the simplified characters of genre fiction and producing some of the most ludicrously unlikely people ever to appear in print. In *Starship Troopers* we find a slightly rebellious cadet gradually learning that wars are inevitable that the army is always right, that his duty is to obey the rules and protect the human race against the alien menace. It is pure debased Ford out of Kipling and it set the pattern for Heinlein's more ambitious paternalistic, xenophobic (but equally sentimental) stories which became for me steadily more hilarious until I realised with some surprise that people were taking them as seriously as they had taken, say *Atlas Shrugged* a generation before – in hundreds of thousands! That middle-America could regard such stuff as 'radical' was easy enough to understand – but I kept finding that supporters of the Angry Brigade were enthusiastic about Heinlein, that people with whom I thought I shared libertarian principles were also getting off on every paternalistic, bourgeois writer who had ever given me the creeps! I still can't fully understand it. Certainly I can't doubt the sincerity of their idealism. But how does it equate with their celebration of writers like Tolkein and Heinlein? The clue could be in the very vagueness of the prose, which allows for liberal interpretation; it could be that the ciphers they use instead of characters are capable of suggesting a wholly different meaning to certain readers. To me, their naive and emblematic reading of society is fundamentally misanthropic and therefore anti-libertarian. We are faced, once again, with quasi-religion, presented to us as radicalism. At best it is the philosophy of the Western applied to the complex social problems of the twentieth century – it is Reganism, it is John Wayne in *Big John Maclean* and *The Green Berets*, it is George Wallace and Joe McArthy – at its most refined it is William F. Buckley Jr., who is already a long way more sophisticated than Heinlein and is still pretty simple-minded.

Rugged individualism also goes hand in hand with a strong faith in paternalism – albeit a tolerant and somewhat distant paternalism – and many otherwise sharp-witted libertarians seem to see nothing in the morality of a John Wayne Western to conflict with their views. Heinlein's paternalism is at heart the same as Wayne's and in the final analysis it is a kind of easy-going militarism favoured by the veteran professional soldier – the chain of command is complex – many adult responsibilities can be left to that chain as long as broad, but firmly enforced, rules from 'high up' are adhered to. Heinlein is Eisenhower Man and his views seem to me to be more pernicious than ordinary infantile back-to-the-land Christian communism, with its mysticism and its hatred of technology. To be an anarchist, surely, is to reject authority but to accept self-discipline and community responsibility. To be a rugged individualist a la Heinlein and others is to be forever a child who must obey, charm and cajole to be tolerated by some benign, omniscient father: Rooster Coburn shuffling his feet in front of a judge he respects for his office (but not necessarily himself) in *True Grit*.

An anarchist is not a wild child, but a mature, realistic adult who imposes laws upon himself and modifies them according to his experience of life, his interpretation of the world. He is a 'rebel', certainly, but he does not assume 'rebellious charm' in order to placate authority, which is in essence what the rebel heroes of all these genre stories do. There always comes the depressing point where Robin Hood doffs a respectful cap to King Richard, having clobbered the rival king. This sort of implicit paternalism is seen in high relief in the currently popular *Star Wars* which also promotes a somewhat disturbing anti-rationalism in its quasi-religious 'Force' which unites the Jedi Knights (are we back to Wellsian 'samurai' again?) and upon whose power they can draw, like some holy brotherhood, some band of Knights Templar. *Star Wars* is a pure example of the genre (in that it is a compendium of other people's ideas) in its implicit structure – quasi-children fighting for a paternalistic (or maternalistic) authority who win through in the end and are praised, standing bashfully before the princess while medals are placed around their necks. They might as well be nooses.

Star Wars carries the characteristic paternalistic messages of almost all generic adventure fiction (may the Force never arrive on *your* doorstep at three o'clock in the morning) and has all the right characters. It raises 'instinct' above reason (a fundamental to Nazi doctrine) and promotes a kind of sentimental romanticism attractive to the young and idealistic and protective of existing institutions. It is the essence of a *genre* that it will continue to promote certain implicit ideas even if the author is unconscious of them. In this case the audience also seems unconscious of them.

It was Alfred Bester who first attracted me to science fiction as such. I'd read some fantasy and Edgar Rice Burroughs before that, but I thought that if *The Stars My Destination* (also called *Tiger! Tiger!*) was sf, then this was the fiction for me. It took me some years to realise that Bester was one of the few exceptions. At the ending of *The Stars My Destination* the self-educated, working class, 'scum of the spaceways,' Gully Foyle, comes into possession of the substance known as PyrE, capable of detonating at a *thought* and probably destroying the solar system at very least. The plot has revolved around the attempts of various powerful people to get hold of the stuff. Foyle has it. Various moral arguments or forceful persuasions are brought against him to make him give the stuff up to a 'responsible' agency. In the end he scatters the stuff to 'the mob' of the solar system. Here you are, he says, it's yours. Its your destiny. Do with it how you see fit.

This is one of the very, very few 'libertarian' sf novels I have ever read. That it was the first and turned me on to reading sf is probably the purest accident. If I hadn't read it, I very much doubt I should have read any more sf. It's a wonderful adventure story. It has a hero developing from a completely stupified, illiterate hand on a spaceship to a brilliant and mature individual taking his revenge first on those who have harmed him and then gradually developing what you might call a 'political conscience.' I know of no other sf book which so thoroughly combines romance with an idealism almost wholly acceptable to me and it is probably significant that it enjoys only a relatively small success compared to, say, *Stranger in a Strange Land*.

Leaving aside the very worthy but to my mind dull and journalistic *The Dispossessed* by U.K. Le Guin, leaving aside my own books which I should like to think speak for the same ideas of liberty and self-reliance and mutual cooperation which Bester speaks for, it is quite hard for me to find many other examples of sf books which, as it were, 'promote' libertarian ideas. M. John Harrison is an anarchist and his books are full of anarchists – some of them very bizarre like the anarchist-aesthetes of *The Centauri Device*. Typical of the *New Worlds* school he could be described as an existential anarchist. There is Brian Aldiss with his *Barefoot in the Head* vision of an LSD 'bombed' Europe almost totally liberated and developing bizarre new customs. There are J.G. Ballard's 'terminal ironies' such as *The Atrocity Exhibition* and *Crash* and so on, which have brought criticisms of 'nihilism' against him. So little sf has fundamental humanitarian values, let alone libertarian ones, that one is hard put to find other examples. My own taste, I suppose, is sometimes at odds with my political views. I admire Barrington J. Bayley, whose stories are often extremely abstract. One of the most enjoyable recently published is *The Soul of the Robot* which discusses the nature of

individual identity. Charles L. Harness is another favourite of mine. *The Rose*, in particular, lacks the simplifications of most sf, and *The Paradox Men* with its sense of the nature of Time, its thief hero, its ironic references to America Imperial, is highly entertaining. I also have a soft spot for C.M. Kornbluth who to my mind had a rather stronger political conscience than he allowed himself, so that his stories are sometimes confused as he tried to mesh middle-American ideas with his own radicalism. One of my favourites (though structurally it is a bit weak) is *The Syndic* (about a society where a rather benign Mafia is paramount). Fritz Leiber is probably the best of all the American sf writers for his prose-style, his wit and his humanity, as well as his abiding contempt for authoritarianism, and *Gather, Darkness* is one of the best sf books to relate political power to religious power (to be fair, this was also serialised in *Astounding* during the forties). John Brunner, who wrote the CND marching song 'H-Bomb's Thunder,' often writes from a distinctly socialist point of view. Harry Harrison wrote a send-up of Heinlein which I found very funny, *Bill, the Galactic Hero*. Harlan Ellison, who for some time belonged to a New York street gang and who has identified himself for many years with radicalism in the US, writes many short stories whose heroes have no truck with authority of any sort, though the conventions of the genre sometimes get in the way of the essential messages of his stories. This has to be true of most genre fiction. Ellison's best work is written outside the sf genre. Although I find *Illuminatus* a bit 'ordinary' myself, seeming to be a noisy compendium of rather conventional imaginative ideas, a great many people have enjoyed it. To my mind one of the best examples of imaginative fiction to appear in England since the war is Maurice Richardson's *The Exploits of Engelbrecht*, written in the forties and recently republished by John Conquest (available from him at Compendium Books). These 'Chronicles of the Surrealist Sportsman's Club' are superbly laconic pieces, concentrating more original invention into fewer words than almost any writer I can think of. They outshine, for me, almost anything else remotely like them, including the stories of Borges and other much admired imaginative writers. Borges tends to make a meal of one idea (something, at least, you can't say of van Vogt) whereas Richardson goes swiftly from one to the next, using a beautifully disciplined prose. He has the advantage of being a great ironist and I find that the more ironic humour any book contains the more palatable it is. There is often an element of self-mockery in a good ironic style which will make it for me essentially enjoyable, whatever the subject matter or ostensible 'message' of the text. Yet such a style, controlled in a particular way, can become one of the most convincing weapons in the literary arsenal and it often astonishes me how cleverly Kipling influenced generations of writers by disguising his romantic imperialist notions behind that superb matter-of-fact ironic prose, using it to give dignity to sometimes quite bloodthirsty authoritarian ideas. Many writers, not necessarily of Kipling's views, have used it since. We find a debased version of it in the right-wing thrillers and sf novels of our own day and it is probably more than anything else this 'tone' employed to suggest the writer's basic decency and commonsense which enables many people to accept ideas which, couched differently, would revolt them. What Heinlein or Ayn Rand or Tolkein, for instance, all lack is any trace of self-mockery. They are nature's urbane Tories. They'll put an arm round your shoulder and tell you that their ideas are quite radical too, really; that they used to be fire-eaters in their youth; that there are different ways of achieving social change; that you must be realistic and pragmatic. Next time you pick up a Heinlein book think of the author as looking a bit like General Eisenhower or, if that image isn't immediate enough, some chap in early middle-age, good-looking in a slightly soft square-jawed sort of way, with silver at the temples, a blue tie, a sober three-pieced suit, telling you with a quiet smile that Margaret Thatcher cares for individualism and opportunity above all things, as passionately in her way as you do in yours. And then you might have some idea of what you're actually about to read.

Michael Moorcock.

BOOK REVIEW

Bill, The Galactic Hero, Harry Harrison, Penguin Books, 1977.

Harrison's *Bill, The Galactic Hero* is one book in a trend of sf books recently produced that set out to parody the Flash Gordon style of romantic interplanetary warfare, duels to the death, etc. As in Haldeman's *The Forever War* these parodies use a jokey pseudo-realism to tell war as it really is. The drawback with repeating this parody, chapter after chapter, is that the resulting book is no longer a parody of the martial spirit, but just another plug for the military.

E.g. Norman Spinrad's *The Iron Dream* is written as a parody of the Adolf Hitler/fascist/Aryan ethos. Taken in small doses it is very funny. But the parody of fascism repeated over and over again numbs the mind and becomes a subliminal plug *for* fascism. A quote from *Bill, the Galactic Hero:*

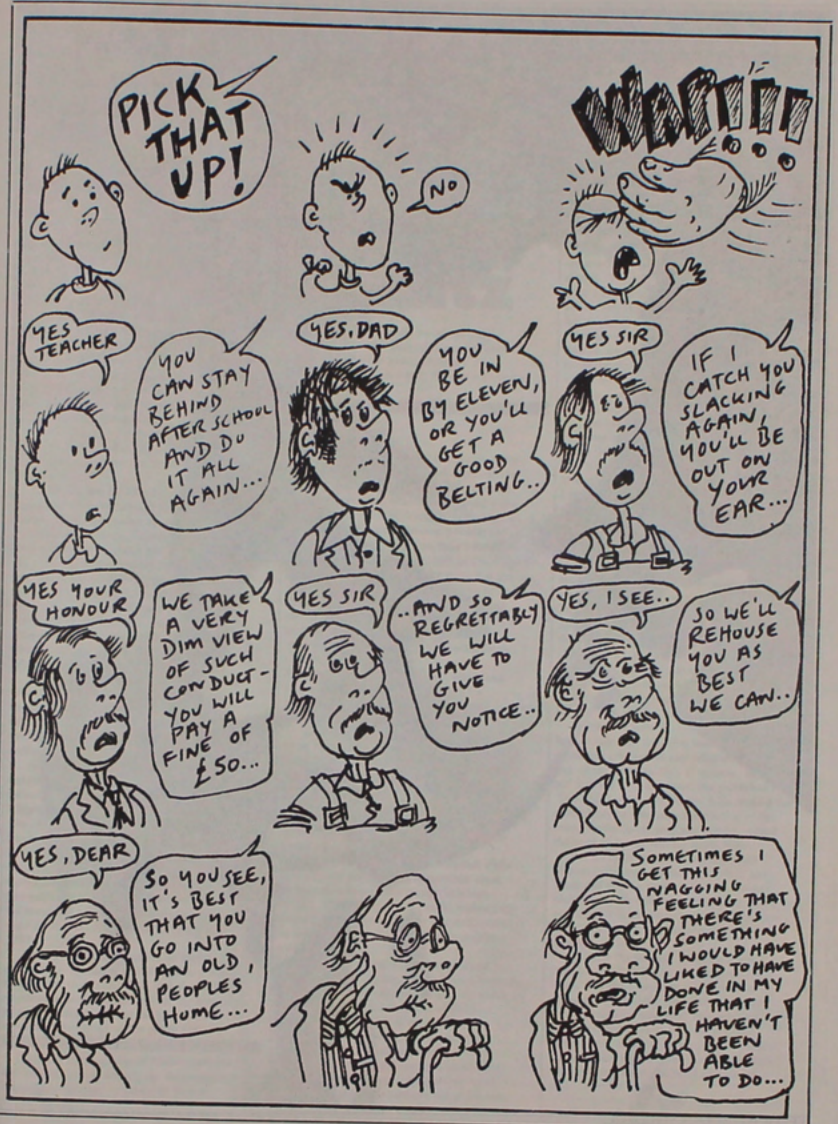
"Fight wars? I don't know," Bill said, distracted by the soundless approach of the giant snake. "I guess because we like to, there doesn't seem to be any other reason."

"You like to!" the Chinger squeaked, hopping up and down with excitement. "No civilised race could *like* wars, death, killing, maiming, rape, torture, pain to name just a few of the concomitant factors. Your race can't be civilised!"

The snake struck like lightning and Eager Beaver Chinger vanished down its spine covered throat with only the slightest of muffled squeaks.

"Yeah . . . I guess we're not just civilised" Bill said, gun ready, but the snake kept going on down. At least 50 yards of it slithered by before the tail flipped past and it was out of sight. "Serves the damn spy right!" Bill grunted happily and pulled himself to his feet."

Harrison's book is full of this crap. Would 1984 be an anti-utopia unless it contained some criticism of totalitarian states? Is *L'Histoire d'O* really a parody of the sexual exploitation of women? No. **P.S.**



THE WRITINGS OF CAMILLO BERNERI

by Frank Mintz

(Sources of information and quotations: U Marzocchi and V Rabitti, *Umanita Nova* 16th July 1966; U Fedeli *Adunata dei Refrattari* December 1961; *Pensieri e Battaglie* 1938).

Preface

'To guarantee revolution, it is not enough for the mob to be armed or for them to have expropriated the bourgeoisie: it is necessary for them to destroy the capitalist state entirely and to organise their own system. They must be able to combat the ideas put forward by Stalinist and reformist leaders with the same vigour with which they attack capitalist individuals and the leaders of the bourgeois parties. As of May 1937, any revolutionary endeavour that does not remain faithful to this experience condemns itself purely and simply to not existing. Attacking the state, unhesitatingly confronting the Stalino-reformist counter-revolution: such are the distinctive characteristics of the coming revolution.'

These extracts from the secret republication in Spanish of Berneri's writings in 1973 by the Iberian Liberation Movement (whose symbolic figure is Puig Antich who was garroted on 2nd March 1974) explain the reason for the publication of these writings.

We have added some pages of Berneri's from this period which best reveal his thoughts on Marxism and the militias.

It is necessary to know that Berneri and numerous other Italian anarchists and anti-fascists made their way to Spain to fight, weapon in hand.

Having arrived on 29th July 1936, on 7th August Berneri put forward his plan for an Italian column composed of anarchists, independent socialists (*Giustizia e Liberta*), communists, monarchists and republicans. On 17th August the column was formed (text in *L'Autogestion dans l'Espagne revolutionnaire* p.278). The next day, the column set out for Aragon with 130 men. It eventually contained about 450. On the 28th they received their baptism of fire at Monte Pelado, which they held despite their numerical inferiority.

Berneri was sometimes at the Front, sometimes in Barcelona to organise the column and propaganda. And as of October 1936, with the appearance of *Guerra di Classe*, he settled in Barcelona, without completely ending his contact with the Front in person.

So Berneri was at one and the same time fighting with the rifle and with the pen. The reformist course of the Revolution was bringing ever stronger pressure to bear: 'Spending from 20 to 22 hours on end immersed in political and military problems inevitably results in a sort of mental nausea. . .' (16th January, 1937); 'Issue Number 8 of *Guerra di Classe* will appear when it can. The Committee (CNT-FAI) has dealt with in in the same way as with *L'Espagne Anti-fasciste*[1] and I don't want to be accused.' (February 1937).

Berneri's articles reflect the feelings of the anarchists – Spaniards and foreigners – who volunteered to sacrifice their lives for anti-hierarchical social change and for the benefit of all workers and not for the patriotic and republican demagogy of the privileged.

1. This was the magazine of Prudhommeaux and his comrades in Barcelona. To avoid CNT censorship, they had to return to Beziers in France.

Camillo Berneri

Born in Lodi on 28th May 1897, he spent his childhood at Reggio Emilia and was active in Socialist youth group. He decided to resign by sending an open letter which caused some disturbance: '. . . the Socialist movement has started on a disastrous descent towards the depths of destructive egoism, thus following in the path of the moral strength of Christianity, which grew strong thatnks to its martyrs and fell into decay when the sacrifices of its followers ceased.' 'We need a new burst of energy, we must return to a time when to love an idea meant not to dear death and to sacrifice one's whole life to total submission.' (1915).

This deep, militant commitment which one meets again and again right up until his assassination was never, however, a blind faith, as we shall see.

In 1917 he was drafted. Did he want to be an objector or desert? 'There are occasions when to get oneself killed is the most logical solution, and to get oneself killed becomes a moral necessity. Cases of conscience are more terrible than Austrian bullets or asphyxiating gases.' 'One fights and one dies. Violets grow on the blood-soaked earth, along the ditches of red water.'

After the war he finished his studies while very actively involved in the anarchist press. He became a humanities teacher in a high school. The coming of the Fascist regime and his refusal to give any loyalty as a civil servant to this regime meant that he had to go into exile.

Thus began a long series of arrests and expulsions from France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland, to which were added the usual problems of political exiles: arguments, fits of enthusiasm, disappointments, spying etc. 'I dreamt of building a solid and spacious edifice, but I have found out that my energy is short-lived: I have weighed my brain, X-rayed my heart and I feel that I am sometimes vile and sometimes proud. I wonder whether my political activity is no more than a pointless stirring of the dry leaves of an ideology in decline: my faith which was a fine, tender and rich green is now brown like the vines in autumn.'

Berneri was living with his wife and two daughters who were in France. In 1930 he wrote from a Belgian prison to his daughter Giliana: 'One day you will perhaps understand how much papa loved your mother and you two, although he so often made her suffer, and although he has not been so affectionate with you.' (written in French).

But despite these physical and moral obstacles, Berneri was intellectually fully active: 'The curious thing is that on the one hand I am compelled towards militant politics, and on the other hand, in the field of culture, my preferred studies are either of a most peculiar erudition (I have squandered so much time on stupid things: psychology, zoology, telepathy etc) or extremely abstract (I have a large book of material on Finalism). The result is a general unease.' (Letter to Luigi Fabbri, September 1929).

'The more I read our press the more I think I am dreaming. You know that I can't help it and that I hardly agree with anyone. (. . .) As for the unions, I believe that it is the only area in which we could build anything, although I cannot accept union officials and I can clearly see drawbacks and dangers in anarcho-syndicalism in practice. If I blame individualism, it is because, although less important numerically, it has succeeded in influencing virtually all of the movement. (. . .) My dream is to instigate the investigation of a long succession of problems, and then, by collecting together critical remarks, annotations, solutions etc., from the people who will be discussing them, to arrive at a programme for 1932 or 1933, to put it forward as the programme of a group of anarchists who will let others live in peace but who wish to advance by a route of their own.' (Letter to Luigi Fabbri, July 1930).

It does not seem that this project saw the light of day. On the other hand, Berneri wrote numerous articles and anti-religious leaflets and on the emancipation of women. He also put forward a theory which was published as 'The Anti-Semitic Jew' in which he studied the compulsory or voluntary assimilation of the Jews. Andre Spire, poet and Zionist, judged the book to be 'of primary importance.'

But his most important writings were 'Fascist Espionage Abroad' (in Italian) and 'Mussolini and the Conquest of the Balearic Islands,' and his militant articles from which we shall give three quotations which seem to sum up Berneri before his arrival as a volunteer in Spain.

'Happily the Masonic phenomenon is completely negligible in the Italian anarchist camp. But there has been a considerable minority of anarchists who, enticed by the hope of 'extreme measures,' have allowed themselves to be drawn into the political games of this ambiguous form of anti-fascism.' 'Freemasonry supports any movement which can help the bourgeoisie and fights any that might harm it.'

'It is necessary to leave romanticism behind. To see the masses, I would say, in perspective.

There is no such thing as the people, a homogeneous entity, but crowds, varied and separated into categories. There is no revolutionary will of the masses, but revolutionary movements in which the masses are an enormous lever. (. . .) If we wish to arrive at a potential reconsideration of our revolutionary strength, which is not insignificant, we must get rid of our ideological apriorisms, and of the habit of putting things off until a future date that is convenient for settling problems of tactics and reconstruction. I say reconstruction because the greatest danger of the halting and deviation of the revolution lies in the conservative tendency of the masses.' (1930).

'To wait for the people to awake, to talk of mass action, to reduce the anti-fascist struggle to the development and maintenance of the ranks of the party and the union instead of concentrating one's means and one's will on revolutionary action, which alone can change this atmosphere of moral degradation in which the Italian proletariat is in the process of becoming entirely corrupted, is despicable, it is sheer idiocy and an act of betrayal.' (1934, end of 'Worker-idolatry')

At the news of the uprising in Spain, Berneri and the majority of the Italian anti-fascists made their way there immediately. They formed a column which was to be integrated in the Ascaso column on the Aragon Front, organised by Berneri and Carlo Rosselli (a left-wing Socialist). Berneri took part in the battle of Monte Pelado (28th August, 1936) – 'We defended the position with 130 against roughly 600 trained and well equipped men, and that in four hours of fighting' – and of Huesca (3rd September 1936)

He ended up devoting himself mainly to propaganda without stopping occupying himself with the Italian column. He ran the magazine 'Guerra di Classe' (in Italian) and spoke on the CNT/FAI radio in transmissions to Italy. The book 'Pensieri e battaglie' (Paris 1938) gives us a certain number of comments on the situation which Berneri noted down. One can see how they clarify his articles as regards the danger of a communist putsch and the strained relationships with the anarchist-governmentalists.

'One group of people really get on my nerves, it is the volunteers who have come as observers (French for the most part). They come here with the air of priests and got up like cowboys to spend half the time in cafes.' (21st September, 1936).

'The article in Number 6 has irritated the Consul General of the USSR in Barcelona who has asked the regional committee (of the CNT) if they approved it. I don't know what they replied.' (January 1937).

'Issue Number 8 of 'Guerra di Classe' will appear when it can. The Committee (regional committee of the CNT) has dealt with it in the same way as with 'L'Espagne Anti-fasciste'[1] and I don't want to be accused. However, it did distress me slightly. I shall make up for it by contributing to magazines and I shall write some pamphlets.' (Febraury 1937).

'For some time we have often had sufferers in our camp because of the Stalinists.' (January 1937).

'Giopp has been released because of the intervention of Espla and Arieto, but his case is serious, and they have escorted him and made him leave by plane for fear of a dirty trick by the Communist Cheka which is in command at Valnecia.' (. . .) 'I cannot see when I shall finish the pamphlet about the Balearics (which I am forcing myself to work on despite my misgivings!) in order to be able to start an avalanche of articles on the situation here which is in danger of being upset by the Bolshies!' (March 1937).

'I who am not generally afraid in the face of danger, I am sometimes seized by a fear of death without there being any particularly objective reason.' (letter to his wife, 25th April, 1937).

Ten days later, 5th May 1937, Berneri and Barbieri, both anarchists were arrested at home by ten armed plain-clothes policemen on the charge of being 'counter-revolutionaries.' At Barbieri's protests, one policeman took out his card, No. 1109 (noted by Barbieri's wife).

Berneri's last two works were 'Us and the POUM' published by an Italian anarchist paper in New York, without doubt because of the critical defence Berneri wrote was not publishable in Spain in April-May 1937; and a speech of 3rd May 1937; and a speech of 3rd May 1937 on the CNT/FAI radio to Italy on the occasion of the death of Gramsci, 'the tenacious and dignified militant who was our opponent, Antonio Gramsci, convinced that he had laid a stone in the construction of the new society.'

(This biography based largely on Israel Renoff's in *Noir et Rouge* replaces Luigi Fabbri's over-sentimental one).

Although the name of Camillo Berneri was united fraternally with that of Francisco Barbieri by their deaths, this anarchist comrade is rarely introduced.

Born 11th November 1895 in Briattica in the province of Catanzaro, Barbieri was active as an anarchist from his youth, and with the coming of Fascism, he emigrated to Argentina.

Argentina was in the midst of social disturbance: violent strikes repressed by the army (2,000 dead in Patagonia in 1921); powerful trade union organisations, of which FORA was anarcho-syndicalist. Barbieri meanwhile became involved in the Italo-Argentinian anarchist group of Severino di Giovanni which first attacked North American establishments with bombs at the time of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and then Fascist Italian firms. At the same time the group carried out several hold-ups to finance a secret press which in 1930 was to publish two volumes of 'Social Writings' by Elisee Reclus in Italian.

When di Giovanni and his comrades were arrested, Barbieri was able to make several compromising documents disappear and escape to Brazil from where he was expelled to Italy to be imprisoned. He succeeded in escaping and entering France. But, accused of suing false papers, he was imprisoned and expelled from France to Switzerland from where he was similarly expelled to arrive in Spain in October 1935. But denounced by the Italian secret police who demanded his extradition, he passed secretly into Switzerland which is where he was when the events in Spain began. Barbieri reached Barcelona again, arriving there on 25th July 1936.

Because of illness, Barbieri found himself in Barcelona in May 1937 after having fought on the Huesca Front. (Information contained in part in the article by L. Mastrodicasa, 'Guerra di Classe,' 23rd June, 1937).

Bound together by their death, Berneri and Barbieri illustrate two complementary aspects of anarchism: the unrelenting struggle against dictatorships and their ideologies.

1. Magazine edited by Prudhommeaux who had to return to France to be able to publish without censorship.

Unpublished letter on militarisation

Rosselli[1] envisages having the maximum contact between our column and the other (the Italian section of the International Brigades attached to the Communist Party. Translator's note), well I refuse it. But the important problem is that of the autonomy of our section, autonomy which Rosselli proposes, but which I do not find advisable, because it amounts to cutting off the majority of the section which we have formed from a militia responsive to our ideas; because I do not see how militarisation would exclude us when it did not succeed in separating us from the Ascaso column. It seems to me, therefore, easier to escape militarisation by remaining within the CNT and FAI militia, rather than submitting directly to the military command.

There remains the question of the development of the section. The Italian column of Albacete (the International Brigades' base. Translator's note) contains a thousand men, and there is also a column of Germans similarly organised by the communists who number 200. From a trustworthy source, we know that since the start some 8,000 Germans have entered Spain, commanded by 'Russian officers.' It is obvious that Madrid is organising its own 'Tercio': a foreign legion which, well armed and well commanded will be able to restore order. The increase in the police forces (guardias de asalto and guardias civiles) and the mass arrival of Moscow's Moroccans must give us pause for thought. All those who would be on our side in the event of any attempt to stifle the revolution can be considered as good allies. On the other hand I continue to consider useful the politically heterogeneous character of our column. Battistelli, to give only one example, is an ideal officer for a column such as ours, and S. would not be.

The more the war intensifies, the more the need to perfect the commanding ranks will increase. It seems to me in conclusion that the presence of non-anarchist elements in our column has been militarily and politically not negative.

Setting aside the breaking up of our column and our militia, the agreement between us and the members of 'Giustizia e Liberta' could rest on these two points:

1) joint recruiting committees;
2) joint aid committees.

1. Carlo Rosselli and his brother were behind the 'Giustizia e Liberta' group which called for a united anti-fascist front for a Socialist Republic. Berneri followed their position closely. (Translator's note).

It is up to you to examine and resolve this agreement.[2]

The State and the Classes

Lenin in 1921 defined the Soviet Russian State as 'a workers' state with a bureaucratic deformation in a country with a peasant majority.' This definition must nowadays be modified in the following way: the Soviet State is a bureaucratic State where a bureaucratic middle middle class and a workers' lower middle class are in the process of formation while the agrarian middle middle class still survives.

Boris Souvarin in his book on 'Stalin' (Paris 1935) gives this portrayal of the social appearance of the USSR.

'The so-called soviet society is based in just the same way on the exploitation of man by man, of the producer by the bureaucrat-technician of political power. Individual appropriation of surplus value is succeeded by a collective appropriation by the State, a parasitic deduction from consumption carried out by the bureaucracy . . . Official documents leave us in no doubt: the bureaucracy deducts an unwarranted portion from the work of the subject classes who are forced to undergo an unrelenting system of sweated labour, and which corresponds more or less to the old capitalist profit. Thus a new social category has formed around the Party, which is interested in the maintenance of the current order and in the perpetuation of the State whose extinction Lenin predicted as related to the disappearance of classes. If the Bolsheviks do not have the legal ownership of the instruments of production and means of exchange, they possess the machinery of the State, which allows them to carry out all these acts of plunder in different ways. The possibility of imposing sale prices that are much higher than cost prices contains the true secret of bureaucratic-technical exploitation which is characterised besides this by administrative and military oppression.'

Bonapartism is no more than the political reflection of the tendency of this new bourgeoisie to conserve and enhance its own socio-economic situation. In the appeal to the world proletariat by the Bolshevik Leninist Tambov of 1935, one can read:

'The aim of the party bureaucracy consists solely of the isolation and torture of opponents so that they never publicly become useless, that is to say unfortunate apolitical beings. The bureaucrat, in fact, does not wish you to be a true Communist. He does not need that. For him that is harmful and mortally dangerous. The bureaucrat does not want independent Communists, he wants miserable slaves, egoists and citizens of the worst sort . . . .

'It would thus be possible that under a true proletarian power, the struggle against bureaucracy, against the thieves and brigands who impudently appropriate the goods of the soviets and who are the cause of the loss of thousands of men through cold and famine, it would be possible that a struggle or a simple protest would be considered as a counter-revolutionary offence?'

The cruel struggle between the 'reveolutionary' oppositions and 'conservative' orthodoxy is a phenomenon that is quite natural in the setting of State Socialism. The Leninist opposition has good reason to point out to the world proletariat the deformities and degeneracies of Stalinism, but if the opposition's diagnosis is almost always correct, the aetiology is almost always inadequate. Stalinism is only the consequence of the Leninist set up of the political problem of the Social Revolution. To oppose the effects without going back to the causes, to the original sin of Bolshevism (bureaucratic dictatorship as a function of dictatorship of the Party), is equivalent to arbitrarily simplifying the chain of causality which leads from the dictatorship of Lenin without any great breaks in continuity. Liberty within a party which denies the free play of competition among the progressive parties within the soviet system would today be a spectacular miracle. Workers' hegemony, Bolshevik absolutism, State Socialism, industrial fetishism: these seeds of corruption could only produce poisoned fruit such as the absolutism of a faction and the hegemony of a class.

Trotsky in the role of Saint George struggling with the Stalinist dragon cannot make us forget the Trotsky of Kronstadt. The responsibility for current Stalinism goes back to the formulation and practice of the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party in the same way as to the illusion of the extinction of the State as a fruit of the disappearance of classes under the influence of State Socialism.

When Trotsky wrote (6th December, 1935): 'The historical absurdity of autocratic bureaucracy in a classless society cannot be sustained and will not be sustained indefinitely,' he was saying an absurd thing about the 'historical absurdity.' In history there is no absurdity. An autocratic bureaucracy is a class, therefore it is not absurd that it should exist in a society where classes remain the bureaucratic class and the proletarian class. If the USSR was a 'classless' society, it would also be a society without a bureaucratic autocracy, which is the natural fruit of the permanent existence of the State.

It is because of its function as the party controlling the State machine that the Bolshevik Party became a centre of attraction for careerist petty bourgeois elements and for lazy and opportunist workers.

The bureaucratic wound has not been opened and infected by Stalinism: it is contemporaneous with the Bolshevik dictatorship.

Here are some news items from 1918 and 1919, published by the Bolshevik press. 'Vetsertsia Isvestia' of 23rd August 1918 taking of the disorganisation of the postal service, states that despite the 60% decrease in correspondence the number of employees had increased by 100% compared to the period before the Revolution.

'Pravda' of 11th February 1919 points out' the continual creation of new offices, of new bureaucratic institutions, for which officials are named and remunerated before these new institutions begin to operate. 'And all these new employees,' says 'Pravda' of 22nd February 1919, 'overrun and occupy entire palaces, when, seeing their number, a few rooms would be enough.'

Work is slow and obstructionist, even in offices with industrial functions. 'An employee of the Commisariat of Lipetzk,' relates 'Isvestia' of 29th November 1918, 'in order to buy nine boxes of nails at the price of 417 roubles had to fill in twenty forms, obtain ten orders and thirteen signatures, and he had to wait two days to get them as the bureaucrats who should have signed could not be found.'

'Pravda' (No.281) denounced 'the invasion of our Party by petty bourgeois elements' and complaints about requisitions 'of a selfish nature.' In the 2nd March 1919 issue, the same paper states' 'We must recognise that recently comrades who are in the Communist Party for their first year have begun to make use of methods that are inadmissable in our Party. Making it their duty not to take any notice of the advice of local organisations, believing themselves charged to act personally on the basis of their rather limited authority, they order and command without rhyme or reason. From this comes the latent discontent between the centre and the periphery, a succession of abuses provoked by their individual dictatorship.'

Speaking of the province of Pensa, the Commissary of the Interior Narkomvnudel said, 'The local representatives of the central government behave not like representatives of the proletariat, but like true dictators. A series of facts and proots that these strange representatives go armed to the poorest of people, taking from them the necessities of life, threatening to kill them, and when they protest, they beat them with sticks. The possessions they have thus requisitioned are resold, and with the money they receive, they organise scenes of drunkenness and orgies.'

Another Bolshevik, Meserikov, wrote, 'Each one of us sees each day innumerable cases of violence, of abuse of power, of corruption, of laziness etc. All of us know that into our soviet institutions, cretins and incompetents have entered en masse. We all regret their presence in the ranks of the Party, but we do nothing to clearn ourselves of these impurities . . . ' ' . . . If an institution chases out an incompetent, they straight away find another to replace him, and they entrust him with a responsible post. Often instead of punishment he gets promotion.' (Pravda, 5th February 1919).

In a speech given at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (11th-12th March 1919) Lenin acknowledged, 'There are here and there careerists, soldiers of fortune who have fastened on to us. They call themselves Communists, but in reality they seek only to deceive us as to their true ideas. They have 'stuck' themselves to us because we are in power, and because the most honest bureaucratic elements refuse to collaborate with us because of their backward ideas, whereas these others 'do not even have honest ideas, they are merely climbers.'

The Bolshevik government revealed itself to be powerless in the face of a bureaucracy

2. Berneri was not involved in the column since he was running 'Guerra di Classe'. The letter seems to be from October 1936. It was published in 'Volonta' 19th July 1951.

which is super-abundant, parasitic, despotic and dishonest.

Five million bureaucrats became nearly ten million. In 1925 there were 400,000 officials in the Co-operation ('Pravda' 20th April, 1926). In 1927 the Russian Federation of Food Workers had some 4,287 officials for 451,720 members, and the Moscow Metal-workers Union some 700 officials for 130,000 union cards. ('Truda' 12th June 1928).

This plethoric bureaucracy does not correspond to intense and efficient administrative activity. 'The directorate of the soviet system from the bottom to the highest degree has a function of paper-shuffling. The provincial committee usually sends out one or two circulars every day on every possible and imaginable question and judges that it has thus fulfilled its obligations.' 'The number of circulars giving directives which are received by local cells varies between 30 and 100 monthly.' (Pravda, 7th June 1925).

A top official, Dzerjinsky wrote, 'They demand from enterprises the most varied sort of information, reports and statistical facts, which in our system form a torrent of paper which obliges us to employ an excessive number of personnel and damages our real work; a sea of paper is created in which hundreds of people are lost; the situation of accountability and statistics is quite simply catastrophic; businesses wearily support the burden of supplying information on tens and hundreds of different forms, now they measure accountability in pouds.' (One poud = 16,380 kg). (Pravda, 23rd June 1926).

* * * * *

This phenomenon of the reconstitution of classes 'thanks to the State' was foreseen by us and virulently denounced by us. The Leninist opposition did not succeed in deepening their aetiological examination of the phenomenon, and it is because of this that they did not come to revise the Leninist position in the face of the problems of the State and the Revolution.

Camillo Berneri.

(Article which appeared in 'Guerra di Classe' No.2 of 17th October 1936, page 4 and signed C.B.).

The Abolition and Extinction of the State

Whereas we anarchists desire the extinction of the state through the social revolution and the constitution of an autonomist federal order, the Leninists desire the destruction of the bourgeois state and moreover the conquest of the state by the 'proletariat.' The 'proletarian' state, they say, is a semi-state since the complete state is the bourgeois one destroyed by the social revolution. And even this semi-state would die, according to the Marxists, a natural death.

This theory of the extinction of the state which is the basis of Lenin's book 'State and Revolution' has been derived by him from Engels who in 'Anti-Duhring' says, 'The proletariat seizes the power of the state and first of all transforms the means of production into the property of the state. But by doing this it does away with itself as proletariat, it does away with all class differences and all class antagonisms and consequently also with the state as the state. Society as it was and as it is at present which is actuated by the antagonisms between the classes, needed the state, that is to say an organisation of the exploiting class with a view to maintaining the outward conditions of production, more particularly with a view to maintaining by force the exploited class in the oppressive conditions demanded by the existing mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage labour). The state was the official representative of the entire society, its synthesis in visible form, but it was only this to the extent that it was the state of the class which itself represented in its time the entire society: the state of citizens who owned slaves in antiquity, the state of the feudal nobility in the Middle Ages, the state of the bourgeoisie in our time. But by becoming at last the true representative of the whole society, it renders itself superfluous. As soon as there is no longer a social class to maintain in oppression; as soon as the clashes of interest and the excesses are abolished at the same time as class domination and the struggle for individual existence which is founded in the old anarchy of production from which they result, there is nothing more to repress, and a special force for repression, the state, ceases to be necessary. The first act by which the state confirms itself in reality as the representative of the entire society – taking possession of the means of production in the name of society – is at the same time the last proper act of the state. The intervention of the power of the state in social relations becomes superfluous in one area after another, and eventually dies away of its own accord. Government of peoples is replaced by administration of things and control of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished'; it withers away. It is from this point of view that one must appraise the expression: 'a free popular state' as much for its short-lived interest for discussion as for its definitive scientific inadequacy; from this point of view also must the claims of those who are called anarchists and who desire that the state should be abolished overnight be appraised.'

Between the State-Today and the Anarchy-Tomorrow there would be the semi-state. The state which dies is the 'state as the state' that is to say, the bourgeois state. It is in this sense that one must take the phrase which at first sight seems to contradict the proposition of the socialist state. 'The first act by which the state confirms itself in reality as the representative of the entire society – taking possession of the means of production in the name of society – is at the same time the last proper act of the state.' Taken literally and out of context, this phrase would signify the temporal simultaneity of economic socialisation and the extinction of the state. In the same way also, taken literally and out of context, the phrases relating to the proletariat destroying itself as proletariat in the act of seizing the power of the state would indicate the lack of need for the 'Proletarian State.' In reality, Engels under the influence of 'didactic style' expresses himself in an unfortunate manner. Between the bourgeois state today and the socialist-anarchist tomorrow, Engels recognises a chain of successive eras during which the state and the proletariat remain. It is to throw some light on the dialectical obscurity that he adds the final allusion to the anarchists 'who desire that the state should be abolished overnight' that is to say, who do not allow the transitory period as regards the state, whose intervention according to Engels becomes superfluous, 'in one area after another,' that is to say, gradually.

It seems to me that the Leninist position on the problem of the state coincides exactly with that taken by Marx and Engels when one interprets the spirit of the writings of these latter without letting oneself be deceived by the ambiguity of certain turns of phrase.

The state is, in Marxist-Leninist political thought, the temporary political instrument of socialisation, temporary in the very essence of the state, which is that of an organism for the domination of one class by another. The socialist state, by abolishing classes, commits suicide. Marx and Engels were metaphysicians who frequently came to schematise historical processes from love of system.

'The Proletariat' which seizes the state, bestowing on it the complete ownership of the means of production and destroying itself as proletariat and the state 'as the state' is a metaphysical fantasy, a political hypostasis of social abstractions.[1]

It is not the Russian proletariat that has seized the power of the state, but rather the Bolshevik Party which has not destroyed the proletariat at all and which has on the other hand created a State Capitalism, a new bourgeois class, a set of interests bound to the Bolshevik state which tend to preserve themselves by preserving this state.

The extinction of the state is further away than ever in the USSR where state interventionism is ever more immense and oppressive, and where classes are not disappearing.

The Leninist programme for 1917 included these points: the discontinuance of the police and the standing army, abolition of the professional bureaucracy, elections for all public positions and offices, revocability of all officials, equality of bureaucratic wages with workers' wages, the maximum of democracy, peaceful competition among the parties within the soviets, abolition of the death penalty. Not a single one of the points in this programme has been achieved.

We have the USSR a government, a dictatorial oligarchy. The Central Committee (19 members) dominates the Russian Communist Party which in turn dominates the USSR.

All those who are not 'loyal subjects' are charged with being counter-revolutionaries. The Bolshevik revolution has engendered a saturnal[2] government, which deports Riazanov founder of the Marx Engels Institute, at the time when he is preparing the complete and

1. Hypostasis: in theology this word is equivalent to 'nuance,' thus the father, son and holy ghost are three hypostases of a single divine substance. Here the proletariat's act of seizing power is a hypostasis which contains several magic processes: destruction of the state and the proletariat.

2. Saturnal: an allusion to the myth of Saturn who ate his own children. The Party devoured, Trotsky, then Stalin, then Krushchev etc.

original edition of 'Das Kapital,' which condemns to death Zinoviev, president of the Communist International, Kamenev and many others among the best propagators of Leninism, which excludes from the party, then exiles, then expels from the USSR a 'duce' like Trotsky, which in short is dead set against 80% of the supporters of Leninism.

In 1920 Lenin was speaking very highly of self-criticism within the lap of the Communist Party and spoke of 'mistakes' recognised by the 'Party' and not of the right of the citizen to denounce these mistakes, or those things which seemed to him to be such of the party in government. When Lenin was dictator, whoever caused a stir in denouncing the same mistakes which Lenin himself recognised in retrospect risked or underwent ostracism, prison or death. Bolshevik Sovietism was an atrocious joke even for Lenin who vaunted the god-like power of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party over all the USSR in saying: 'No important question be it one of political discipline or relating to organisation, is decided on by a state institution in our Republic without a directive emanating from the Central Committee of the Party.'

Whoever says 'Proletarian State' says 'State Capitalism;' whoever says 'Dictatroship of the Proletariat' says 'Dictatorship of the Communist Party;' whoever says 'strong government' says 'Tsarist oligarchy of politicians.'

Leninists, Trotskyists, Bordighists, Centrists are only divided by different tactical ideas. All Bolsheviks, to whatever stream or faction they belong are supporters of political dictatorship and State Socialism. All are united by the formula: 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' an ambiguous phrase which corresponds to 'The People Sovereign' of Jacobinism. Whatever Jacobinism is, it is certain to cause the Social Revolution to deviate. And when it deviates, 'the shadow of a Bonaparte' is cast across it.

One would have to be blind not to see that the Bonapartism of Stalin is merely the horrible and living shadow of Leninist Dictatorialism.

Camillo Berneri.

What can we do?

1. To believe that, thanks to a policy of non-intervention, one can eliminate the possibility of an international armed conflict is to procrastination while the problems worsen. It would permit Italy, Germany and Portugal to prepare themselves better for the war and allow the Spanish Fascist forces to lay in supplies of arms and munitions.

If Fascism were victor, France would be threatened in the south and the balance of forces in the Mediterranean would be permanently upset in favour of Italy and Germany who would emerge from this adventure stronger and more aggressive. Italy is seriously committed in Ethiopia, and Germany is in a very bad financial situation; do they want a war 'immediately?' No. They could go to war but they do not deliberately want a war straight away. If they wanted it, they would already have set it in motion in Spain. We therefore have to adopt a forceful foreign policy, having as its basis Portugal which has eluded the control of Great Britain. Geneva is powerless. The only thing to do is therefore to break with Portugal by means of the following measures: the immediate expulsion of all Portuguese diplomatic representatives; immediate and complete closure of the border with Portugal; confiscation of all goods belonging to Portuguese capitalists resident in Spain.

As for Germany and Italy: the immediate expulsion of all their diplomatic representatives, suspension of the right of German airlines to fly over Spanish territory, the prohibition of all ships flying German or Italian colours from entering Spanish ports, the suspension of all immunity for bourgeois Germans and Italians residing in Spain.

Such a foreign policy would have as its immediate effect that of forcing Britain and France to adopt a definite position. If it were to give rise to the armed intervention of Italy and Germany, that intervention would at least be provoked now and not at the time chosen by these powers.

2. The operational base of the Fascist army is Morocco. We must intensify our propaganda in favour of Moroccan autonomy throughout the pan-islamic area of influence. We must dictate to Madrid unambiguous declarations announcing the abandonment of Morocco and the protection of Moroccan autonomy. France would anxiously envisage the possibility of insurrectionary repercussions in North Africa and in Syria; Great Britain would see the movements for self-rule in Eygpt and among Arabs in Palestine growing stronger. We must exploit such anxieties by means of a policy which threatens to unleash revolt throughout the Arab world.

For such a policy we need money and we need urgently to send agitators and organisers as emissaries to all the centres of Arab migration, into all the frontier zones of French Morocco. On the fronts in Aragon, the Centre, the Asturias and Andalusia a few Moroccans would be enough to fulfil the role of propagandists (through the radio, tracts, etc).

3. Given our lack of arms and munitions, we must expand production on the spot by making use of foreign technicians, whose utilisation has been very badly organised; we must also rapidly create all the war industries possible and put an end to the wastage of munitions by giving far-reaching instructions and decisive orders.

4. We must achieve 'unity' just as much in the general and specific plan of the military operations which must be carried out on all fronts as in liaison among the commands of the areas by means of a General Staff controlled by a 'National Defence Committee.'

5. We must completely and without pity eliminate the Fascist remains which oblige us to maintain a front line within our ranks and have recourse to systematic searches, mass arrests of people who are not in unions who are of the right age and physical condition for military service, strict control of new recruits to the trade unions etc . . . .

6. We must force Madrid to reconstitute immediately all the Spanish diplomatic corps which will have to be reformed with members chosen by the 'National Defence Committee.'

No. 3. 24th October. 1936.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat and State Socialism.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a Marxist conception. According to Lenin 'only he is a Marxist who extends his acknowledgement of the class struggle to an acknowledgement of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' Lenin was right: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is, in effect, for Marx no more than the conquest of the state by the proletariat which, orgnaised in a politically dominant class, arrives, by way of State Socialism, at the elimination of all classes.

In the 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' written by Marx in 1875 we read:

'Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the State can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.*'

In the Communist Manifesto he was already saying:

'The first step on the path to the workers' revolution is the elevation of the proletariat to the position of ruling class . . . . 'The proletariat will gain from its political domination by little by little tearing away from the bourgeoisie all capital, by centralising all means of production in the hands of the State, *that is to say in the hands of the proletariat itself organised as the ruling class.*'

Lenin in 'The State and Revolution' only confirms the Marxist theory:

'The proletariat only needs the State for a certain length of time. It is not the elimination of the State as a final aim that separates us from the Anarchists. But we assert that to attain this end, it is essential to utilise temporarily against the exploiters the instruments, the means and the procedures of political power, in the same way as it is essential in order to eliminate the classes to instigate the temporary dictatorship of the oppressed class.'

'The State will disappear in so far as there are no more capitalists, there are no more classes and it is no longer necessary to oppress 'any class'. But the State is not completely dead as long as 'bourgeois rights' which sanctify de facto inequality survive. In order that the State dies completely, the advent of integral communism is necessary.'

The Proletarian State is conceived of as a temporary political structure destined to destroy the classes. Gradual expropriation and the idea of State Capitalism are at the basis of this conception. Lenin's economic program of the eve of the October Revolution ends with this phrase: 'Socialism is nothing more than a State Socialist Monopoly'.

According to Lenin:

'The distinction between the Marxists and the Anarchists consists of this: 1) The Marxists, although they propose the complete destruction of the State believe that this can only be realised after the destruction of the classes by the Socialist Revolution, *and as a result of the triumph of Socialism* which will come to an end with the destruction of the State; the Anarchists want the complete elimination of the State overnight without understanding what are the conditions which make it possible. 2) The Marxists proclaim the necessity for the proletariat of securing political power, of destroying entirely

the old machinery of State and of replacing it by a new mechanism consisting of an organisation of armed workers of the type of the Commune; the Anarchists, in calling for the destruction of the machinery of State, do not really know 'with what' the proletariat will replace it nor 'what use' it will make of its revolutionary power; they even go as far as to condemn all use of political power by the revolutionary proletariat and reject the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. 3) The Marxists want to prepare the proletariat for the Revolution by using the modern State; the Anarchists reject this method.

Lenin was disguising the facts. The Marxists 'do not have the complete destruction of the State in mind', but they forsee the natural disappearance of the State as a consequence of the destruction of the classes by the means of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat', that is to say State Socialism, whereas the Anarchists desire the destruction of the classes by means of a social revolution which eliminates, with the classes, the State. The Marxists, moreover, do not propose the armed conquest of the Commune by the whole proletariat, but they propose the conquest of the State by the party which imagines that it represents the proletariat. The Anarchists allow the use of direct power by the proletariat, but they understand the organ of this power to be formed by the entire corpus of systems of communist administration – corporate organisations, communal institutions, both regional and national – freely constituted outside and in opposition to all political monopoly by parties and endeavouring to reduce to a minimum administrational centralisation. Lenin, in the interests of polemic, arbitrarily simplified the facts about the difference between the Marxists and us.

The Leninist phrase: 'The Marxists want to prepare the proletariat for the Revolution by using the modern State' is the basis of Leninist Jacobinism just as it is the basis of Parliamentary Government and Social Reformist Ministerialism.

At the International Socialist Congresses of London (1896) and Paris (1900) it was established that only parties and workers' organisations which recognised the principle of the 'Socialist conquest of the public authorities by the proletarian faction organised in a party as a class' could belong to the Socialist International. The split came about at this point, but in effect the exclusion of the Anarchists from the International was only a triumph of Ministerialism, opportunism and 'Parliamentary Cretinism'.

The anti-parliamentary trade unionists and several communist factions quoting Marxism as authority rejected the pre-revolutionary or revolutionary Socialist *conquest of the public authorities.*

Whosoever looks back on the history of Socialism after the exclusion of the Anarchists can see for themselves the gradual degeneration of Marxism as a political philosophy through the interpretations and practices of the Social-Democrats.

Leninism constitutes, without any doubt, a return to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, but it also constitutes a return to the fallacies and abstractions of Marxist metaphysics.

No. 4, 5th November, 1936.

Beware, Dangerous Corner!

1. I shall not say like some people: I cannot be silent! No, I want to talk. I have a duty to do it and I have a right to do it in the name of the self-criticism which is the essence of any party or movement concerned to retain its own appearance and to accomplish its own historic mission. Persuaded that the Spanish Revolution is rapidly approaching a dangerous corner, I seized my pen as I would seize a rifle or a revolver. With the same determination, but also with the same ferocity. Please allow me a style suited to the atmosphere of war in which I live: the style of a hail of machine-gun fire.

2. The military situation has not improved. These are the principal reasons: lack or scarcity of arms and ammunition, absence of a united command, general inadequacy of the leaders, the capitulating attitude on the part of the central government, dualism and antagonism between Badrid and Barcelona. It appears clearly that we must change from a war of positions to a war of movement, unleashing the offensive according to a broad and solid general plan. Henceforth time is against us. We must definitely accelerate the process of war in order to pass beyond the phase of the war into the fuller and more profound one of the Social Revolution.

3. We must master the war, but we shall not master the war by limiting the problem to the strictly military conditions of victory. We must above all take account of the 'socio-political' conditions of victory.

The Civil War in Spain being an international conflict, it is on international ground that we must pose the problem of revolutionary action in terms of war, it is at its weak points: Morocco and Portugal that we must cruelly wound Spanish Fascism. Up till now the obsessive preoccupation with equipment for war has not permitted us to implement a plan of action which carried out in a timely and skilful manner would have been able to frustrate the Fascist Putsch. The Anarchists who assume the roles of generals would do well to remember their own experiences as revolutionaries.

4. When the CNT in Madrid declares that 'el gobierno de Madrid no sabe dirigir la guerra' (the government in Madrid does not know how to run the war), this inevitably poses the problem not only of the intervention of the CNT in the running of the war but also of the conditions and form of such an intervention. It is not a matter of superhuman reforms, but simply of a broad, profound and rapid reform of the controlling groups and the organs and means of liaison among the various columns. The militarisation of the militias is not a solution of a technical nature only, and it is a political fault to have accepted it peacefully without clarifying its purposes, without illustrating its obscure points and without having discussed its principal outlines. The 'column spirit' and the confusion between the power of political control and the power of military command can justify in part the decree of the Generalitat of Catalonia, but such a decree does not help at all towards the solution of the vital problems of the military victory of the revolution.

5. It is not possible to find a solution to the problem of the needs of the war until after we have resolved the question of Spanish politics.

Fabregas, councillor for economics of Catalonia, could declare' 'We sent to Madrid a commission to ask the Government for credit of 300 million pesetas and also for the purchase of equipment for the war and 150 million francs for the purchase of raw materials. We offered as security 1000 million pesetas in government bonds belonging to our savings banks and deposited with the Bank of Spain. All that has been refused us.' (Solidaridad Obrera, 29th September).

Madrid is not content just to reign, it wnats to govern as well. As a whole the Spanish Government is just as hostile to the Social Revolution as to Monarchist and clerical Fascism. Madrid desires a 'return to legality' and nothing else. Arming Catalonia, financing Catalonia, that signifies to Madrid arming the columns which carry the revolution on the points of their bayonettes and supplying the new egalitarian economic order.

We must therefore, addressing ourselves to the Government in Madrid, *give it the choice between defeat in the war and the revolution and victory.*

6. Given that it is clear that the Government in Madrid is developing a 'policy of war' capable of ensuring its political hegemony and blocking the development of the Social Revolution; that the Communist Party (following directives laid down by Moscow) is tending to become the Foreign Legion of Democracy and Spanish Liberalism and that Spanish Social-democracy at the very least, its controlling ranks is revolutionary . . . in the manner of Caballero; it is therefore necessary that our press (without even raising the threat of war, of a 'march on Madrid' without even unleashing a polemic against the Communists and the Socialists, without even threatening the stability of the alliance between the CNT and the UGT) is at the very least cured of its intoxication with the unfortunate spirit of 'holy union' which has ended up by reducing political criticism to an imperceptible minimum. 'Solidaridad Obrera' by exalting the Bolshevik government of the USSR, albeit in parentheses, achieved the summit of political naivety.

7. The purging of the internal front is henceforth restrained by the normalisation, in terms of the police and the judiciary, of the struggle against Fascism. The fact that some elements of the CNT and FAI have gone into police organisations is not sufficiently compensated by an autonomy which would have allowed speed and discretion in their duties and missions. And we must add to that that certain absurd arrangements and certain red-tapisms that should have been abolished by the representatives of the CNT and the FAI continue to exist and are having disastrous effects.

8. The work of selecting military, health and administrative personnel is very incompetent. This selection could have been carried out by being based on the possibility of replacing immediately and equally, incompetent and unsafe elements by foreign elements faithful to the cause of the Spanish Revolution, or at least tested anti-fascists. This has not been tried.

In the same way the CNT does not make sufficient use of experts who could at present replace incompetent and suspect experts and tomorrow constitute the guiding cadres of libertarian communism.

9. Some time ago the CNT and the FAI adopted, with respect to the 'normalisation' of the Spanish Revolution, an attitude of self-denial. 'L'Espagne Antifasciste' has denounced this phenomenon with great courage and keenness, I shall therefore not dwell on it. In short: the suppression of the Central Committee of the militias as well as the power of the workers' and soldiers' committees constitutes an outrage against the trade union control of the militias. I think that it is not without reason that 'Le Temps' heaves a sigh of relief while stating that the 'social revolution in Catalonia is becoming more and more legalitarian.'

10. The Council of Economy is basically nothing other than the 'Economic Council' instituted by the French Government. It does not seem to me to be a sufficient compensation for the Ministerialism of the CNT and the FAI, even in its practical applications. It is necessary to deplore, moreover, the advance of bolshevisation within the ranks of the CNT characterised by the ever diminishing possibility for elements at the power base to exercise a vigilant, active and direct control over the works accomplished by the organisation's representatives within government committees and Councils. We should create a series of commissions elected by the CNT and the FAI which have the aim of facilitating, but at the same time of rectifying whenever necessary the works of our representatives within the Councils of War and Economy.

This would be necessary in the same way in order to create points of contact between the personal work of these representatives and the necessities and possibilities of CNT and FAI initiatives.

11. I have tried to reconcile 'current' considerations, inherent in the necessities of the historic moment, with the direction of the 'trend' which does not seem to me to deviate from these necessities. I am not proposing any 'correct direction' to pilots navigating between surface shoals and powerful currents. Policy has its own necessities and the moment imposes on the Spanish Anarchists the necessity of a 'policy.' But we must be up to the mark of the historic role which it has been deemed useful to assume. But it is also necessary not to believe that there are profound breaks of continuity in the directions of current trends.

To reconcile the 'necessities' of the war, the 'will' of the revolution and the 'aspirations' of Anarchism: there lies the problem. This problem must be resolved. On it depend the military victory against Fascism, the creation of a new economy, the social deliverance of Spain and the evaluation of the Anarchists' beliefs and actions. Three great things which merit every sacrifice and impose on each the duty to have the courage to state his own beliefs in their entirety.

No. 4, 5th November, 1936.

Madrid, sublime city.

Pilate is just as infamous as Judas. Who is Pilate today? He is not even the assembly of Geneva foxes, he is not even the ostriches of Social-democratic Ministerialism. Pilate is you, the European proletariat!

Can you, oh tender proletarian mother tuck your little child into its bed without seeing mangled children lying abandoned in the roads like carrion. Can you play lovingly with your child, oh proletarian, without thinking of the children lying in pain in hospitals, suffering the tortures of their wounded flesh and the anguishes of fear.

And yet you read left-wing papers and you know that there exists a great city running with blood, torn apart and reduced to ashes by explosions of shells; they tell that the children have been surprised by death when they were shouting to the heavens the songs of their unconcern, that their mothers roam about searching for the fruit of their wombs and carry their blood-stained bodies in search of unlikely or belated help. The stench of death rises from dispatches and correspondence from Madrid. The sky over Madrid is red with fires which should set the world aflame. And yet, everything collapses, everything burns, a whole population is dying – without the masses being affected.

In the agony of Madrid there is all the horror of a rape in the market-place on market-day.

Death can continue to strike, sudden as hail in summer and unavoidable as lightning. The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse had for themselves the calm of high altitudes and the moral void of the epoque. Let them shake it, let them rend it apart, let them burn it slowly, this martyred city; millions of proletarians don't care at all about it. Is Madrid resisting? Many wonder how long it can hold out. It is a European bull-fight. It is a disgrace to the peoples and not merely to the governments and the classes. It is the blockade of anti-fascist indifference that adds itself to the criminal Fascist siege. Meetings will not stop the aircraft from flying through the sky over Madrid and scattering death and ruin. The cold sweat that weighs on the brows of mothers, the eyes of children enlarged by fear, the bodies pounded and shaken by the convulsions, are no more than a future vision of what you will suffer, you who are entrenched in non-intervention! Today, the war is in the sky over Madrid, tomorrow it will be in the sky over Barcelona, the day after tomorrow in the sky over Paris. The European war has started again. It exists, even if it has not been declared. These are the aircraft and pilots of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany which are massacring and ruining Madrid.

The horror of it no longer touches people's consciences? Well then, the bombs will waken them. And that will be historic justice.

Madrid, the joyous Vienna of the Iberian Peninsular is reviving the deeds of Sagonte. It has passed from the lovers' waltz to the Heroic Symphony. Epic witness of the acts of heroism of the masses and the militias, beside which those of the Commune of Paris pale in comparison; it is disappointing the warlike hopes of the generals it will expose their careful calculations, it will give the lie to their boastfulness. It is resisting and will resist. If the compassion of the masses is deaf, if Europe is incapable of anger, well then, the whole world will be branded by the energy of this city. Madrid will not be taken. It can be completely destroyed, but it will not be taken alive.

Death, exodus and the flames will make of it a new Pompei to the very end.

If it is not the wings of victory, it will be those of Nemesis that are unfolded above it. The reputation of the Fascist generals is assured, but it will be the reputation of Genghis Khan. It will be another Commune, but it will not be a final glimmer; it will be the blazing up of a fire that will bring all the 'spectators' out of their lairs, at least as long as it does not burn them there in their Blumist beds.

Madrid where thousands of men are fighting with an ardour nourished and sustained by the presence of thousands of women and children is in the process of pillorying its hangmen and the blind and deaf masses. It is in the process of lighting for all a light which will once more permit of hope in man.

Madrid, the martyr city, already merits the title of sublime.

No. 5, 2nd December, 1936.

Between the War and the Revolution

There are many among us who have arrived at the point of desiring the armed intervention of powers which have economic and military interests opposed to those of Italy and Germany.

If these two nations enter the lists with all the forces that they have at their disposal, it is clear that only the intervention of Russia, France and Great Britain reunited could assure Spanish anti-fascism of victory in the war. But it is also clear that even before the armed intervention of these powers could crush the Fascist forces, enough time could have elapsed to allow the Fascists to crush the revolutionary forces.

The English and French Capitalist states have an interest in preventing the victory of the Spanish Fascists coming to the point at which it is exploited by Italy and Germany, but they have no interest in seeing the Iberian revolution triumph. In the situation in which Italy and Germany were to intervene in Spain with the immediate intention of attacking France (a surprise attack in the western Mediterranean), it would be possible that Great Britain and Russia would intervene immediately. But if such were not the case, it would be possible for the Spanish Revolution to be crushed before the intervention could take place.

We cannot place any hope, as do certain naive and numerous hypocrits, in the paralytic of Lake Geneva. Madrid is being tortured by Fiats, Capronis and Junkers piloted by Italian and German aviators; The Balearics are subject to the terrorising dictatorship of a close-cropped Italian Fascist, and thousands of German and Italian mercenaries are landing in Spain with arms and baggage. The Italo-German armed intervention could not be more obvious, more active, more engrossing. The appeals sent to the League of Nations by the Spanish Government found an assembly of spontaneously deaf men ludicrously occupied in tangling up procedural chicaneries.

We cannot hope for more from France. In the same way as Eden placed in the scales of international justice the independence of Ethiopia and world war, Blum has placed there the liberty of the Spanish people and world war. 'War: that is the ransom. We do not accept it!'

No one hates war more than us, but we believe that the moment has come when the truth of the phrase once stated by Leon Blum will be proved: 'We must accept the possibility of war to save peace.'

The policy of non-intervention has not stopped Bolivia attacking Uruguay to dispute its right to the Chaco, it has not stopped Japan annexing Manchuria, it has not stopped Italy's fierce conquest of Ethiopia. Pacifism follows a road paved, like that to Hell, with good intentions, but this road leads into the abyss.

The peace of Geneva is heavy with massacres and ruins. The peace of Geneva: it is an arms race, the crushing of the militarily most feeble peoples, it is the Italian Duce and the German Fuhrer, ever more powerful and always helping in the creation of new Fascist states.

The International Trade Union Federation and the Socialist International continue to associate themselves with this farce of non-intervention supported by the French and English governments, and during this time, the Fascist intervention has penetrated to the very heart of Spain. The mass of working people must choose: either their intervention or the triumph of Fascism. And they do not move. It is in vain that they repeat: 'Spain is the scene of a struggle which, by its consequences, goes beyond the frontiers of the country, because it is in Spain that Fascism is playing its last card.'

We must not overestimate the imperialist designs of the Italo-German intervention and envisage them exclusively in relation to future developments in their Mediterranean expansion. Spain is for Mussolini and Hitler an immediate conquest, a current problem. Overcoming the Spanish revolution is equivalent for Italian and German fascism to the conquest of Spain. Fascism victorious in Spain means the revolution broken and the way open to imperialist conquests. This will therefore mean war, the enslaving of the European proletariat, a 'new Middle Ages.'

The French and English proletariat will do nothing to help the Spanish proletariat. It is useless for us to delude ourselves. It would be dishonest to do it to ourselves.

And so it is the Spanish revolution that is in danger, whatever may be the outcome of the Civil War.

A surprise armed intervention on the part of Britain, Russia and France is not likely, but such an intervention would not be at all impossible at the moment when Spain is on the point of xying. This would be the intervention of the lions against the hyenas. It would perhaps be the intervention that would snatch Spain from Italo-German imperialism, but it would be to stifle the fire of the Spanish Revolution.

Already today, Spain is between two fires' Burgos and Moscow.

The strength of the Spanish Anarcho-syndicalist movement must not dazzle us. On the day when the army corps of France Britain and Russia intevene after an exhausting struggle between the revolutionary forces and the Hispano-Italo-German Fascist coalition, on that day the Social Revolution will be halted and the way opened to the bourgeois revolution.

Once Fascism has been crushed it is possible that the Anarcho-syndicalist FAI and CNT will continue to fight to achieve their social programme. But in that case the Socialo-communist bloc will oppose them.

It is 'Le Populaire' of 27th November, 1936 which gives us this view.

The Republicans, the Socialist leaders and the Communists are already agreed on a 'constitutionalist' platform. The Executive Committee on the Spanish Communist Party recently declared that in the current struggle it intends to defend democracy and safe-guard private property. There is a smell of Noske in the air. If Madrid were not in flames, one would be obliged to recall Kron-stadt again. But the policy of Madrid is on the point of triumphing. It has refused arms or money to revolutionary Catalonia in order to place itself in the hands of the USSR which has provided arms and the officers who are destined to control the anti-fascist struggle and to halt the development of the Social Revolution in the armed struggle against Fascism.

The dilemma 'Madrid or Franco' has paralysed Spanish Anarchism. Today Barcelona is situated between Burgos, Rome, Berlin, Madrid and Moscow. Besieged.

Black clouds are building up on the horizon and we are blinded by fogs.

Let us set our fights and hold the tiller with a hand of steel. We are on the high seas and the tempest is raging. But we can still perform miracles. Caught between the Prussians and Versailles, the commune lit a fire which still lights the world.

Between Burgos and Madrid there is Barcelona.

Let the Godets of Moscow think on that.

No. 6, 16th December 1936.

The Third Stage

The Civil War in Spain has entered into its third phase. The first was that of the 'Fascist military putsch' curbed by the revolutionary forces with the CNT and the FAI at their head, and by the resistance of the proletarian masses of Barcelona. The second is that of the 'Civil War,' on one side are part of the army and the police forces led by factious officers, on the other side are the workers' and peasants' militias guided by loyalist officers and controlled by the different advanced or progressive parties. It is a civil war with a guerrilla aspect, the social develop-ments of which are clothed in a revolutionary and collectivist character, especially in Catalonia, Aragon and the Levant areas which come under the influence of the CNT and the FAI. We are still in this second phase on which a third 'international' phase is however coming to superimpose itself, due to the overt intervention of Italo-German Fascism on the one side, and on the other of Russian Bolshevism.

Henceforth the development of the internal situation is subject in the main to foreign factors. These are the Hitlerians and the anti-fascist emigres of Germany and Austria, the Italian Fascists and anti-fascists, the Bolshevik Russians and the White Russians, the French Communists and the Irish Catholics – who are at grips with one another on the Madrid front. The relationships between the forces are in the process of changing, militarily and politically. The Civil War is in the process of taking on a faster rhythm, an even broader field of action, a more decided character, whilst the Russian intervention assures the hegemony of the Socialist-Communist forces which up to now were completely dominated by the Anarchist forces.

I have said and I repeat: the Civil War can be won in the military arena, but the triumph of the political and social revolution is threatened. The problems of the future in Spain are henceforth indissolubly linked to the international developments of the Civil War.

The fact that the French and British governments are transforming their legislations in Addis Ababa into consulates leads one to expect that they will recognise the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Will Mussolini separate from Germany, abandoning the Fascist inter-vention in the affairs of Spain? I do not think so. For that it would be necessary for the Quai d'Orsay and the Foreign Office to take the decision to say firmly, Enough! But, to the contrary, what do we see?

The Blum Cabinet, obsessed by fear of war, puts up with anything: it allows them to shoot the French journalist Aguillard, to kill Delapree, the Paris-Soir correspondent who was flying to Madrid in a plane belonging to the French embassy and it even permits them to shell an Air France plane on French territory. Let the Fascist forces threaten to cut the line between Cerbere and Port Bou, let them threaten to scuttle the French vessels like they scuttled the Russian steamer 'Komsomol,' let them busy themselves with unleashing the Moroccan uprising: all this will not make the Blum Government decide to remonstrate with the brigands of Burgos.

The Italian government is recruiting 'volunteers' for Franco and setting them down in their thousands in Portugal and Spanish Morocco. An Italian Fascist brigade has already revealed itself on the Madrid Front at the outposts in the Carabanchel Sector. And Hitler continues to send thousands of volun-teers to swell Franco's ranks.

The military victory of Fascism in Spain would correspond to the Italo-German encirclement of France. The 'Ami du Peuple' comments thus on the report in the 'News Chronicle' of the sending of at least five German divisions to Spain:

'From the rate at which the German landings in the peninsula are going, it is no longer just along the Rhine that we must be on our guard, but also on the Pyrennes. Let the Fuhrer develop his schemes and France risks being surrounded, or at the least having two German frontiers. Such is the stern truth. It manifestly transcends doctrinal preferences for one or the other of the Iberian factions.'

It is evident that at present a reactionary opinion in favour of neutrality in the war in Spain is emerging strongly in France. It is a change of direction which could favour immensely a firm policy in favour of anti-fascist Spain on the part of the Blum Cabinet.

Many French people justify their govern-ment's policy as regards the Spanish Civil War by saying: Britain is not behind us. We have reached it is true a 'gentlemn's agree-ment' between Italy and Britain. Mussolini accepted the conditions which he had refused a few months earlier in order to renew commercial relations with Britain, he signed the protocol on submarine warfare, he confirmed once again that he has no intention of invading the Balearics. The Mediterranean: that is what preoccupies the British Empire. Mussolini, having in his speech of 1st November last claimed the right to Italian expansion in the Mediterranean, had alerted Britain as much as Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey.

Mussolini, after having calmed the Foreign Office on the Mediterranean question, continues his flirtation with Wilhelmstrasse, while the Quai d'Orsay perseveres in its role as the easy going cuckold. And Hitler, persuaded that France will not move, is in the process of preparing (according to 'l'Oeuvre') to strike against Czechoslovakia.

In brief, while Mussolini, Hitler and Eden are playing for high stakes, the Blum Cabinet is lighting candles and reciting Novenae without any plan of action, without any show of bravery and without the least dignity.

Unconcerned and neutral in the face of the sacrifice of Irum, apathetic and prudent at the martyrdom of Madrid, Blum waits and hopes. He is full of confidence and he polishes the feathers of his white dove, while deluding himself and others.

Irun, Heusca and Saragossa would have been the tombs of Fascism if we had prevented Brenn and Caesar from throwing their own swords onto the Fascist side of the balance of the Spanish Civil War. Now the stake is Madrid: even if it costs massacres and ruins.

The time which has elapsed between the neutrality of sabotage and help in dribs and drabs has allowed a guerrilla campaign (which would rapidly have dired up or ended in the victory of the proletarian militias) to be transformed into a civil war which has all the horrors of a major war and which is a danger to the equilibrium in Europe.

At the time when a determined surgeon was necessary, Blum has been no more than a timid homoeopath.

If the division of 'blond Moors' and Black Shirts come to reinforce Franco's ranks, all Spain will be transformed into a theatre of desperate struggles. One cannot limit such a conflagration. And those who did not wish to and did not know how to extinguish the fire when it started will bear the burden of a tremendous responsibility.

The crucified city of Madrid is already denouncing its Pontius Pilate. Leon Blum? Not just him but thousands, millions of men. Even you, French proletariat! A man, what-ever he may be, does not bar the road to the masses when they are marching towards liberty and justice.

To save Dreyfus, your boulevards, Paris, have been in uproar. So they were to save Ferrer. They were again to save Sacco and Vanzetti.

Now they are not crying out in anger, they are not any longer the arteries of France's heart, they are no longer the beds of those powerful torrents of protest which washed away so many disgraces to save man's dignity. Madrid is crucified. Madrid is to be burnt at the stake. What is Paris doing?

Paris applauds the Pasionaria, Paris cries, 'Aircraft for Spain,' Paris sends ambulances, supplies and volunteers.

That is not enough, Paris is not giving its richest, most powerful most European posses-sion: its anger, its loud voice of protest.

If Paris is enraged, the whole world is silent and turns to listen. The great transmitte of all just campaigns it cannot send out its powerful SOS for revolutionary Spain.

Paris, yell out your pity for the martyred, sublime city of Madrid, your protests against the Spanish proletariat's executioners, your hate for the enemies of the Rights of Man and the Citizen which you have affirmed with three great revolutions.

Let your powerful voice condemn Burgos, Rome and Berlin; let it strengthen Madrid and the other martyred cities; let it encourage the generous fighters of the anti-fascist militias who are defending the rights of the producers and the dignity of the citizens; let it fill the procrastinating ministers with shame; let it be finally your great generous voice, the voice of your greatest days, the voice that comes from the very depths of your heart.

This voice has thundered so many times with the love that must take up the axe – and it is that, the deepest love!

No. 7 18th July, 1937.

Interview in 'Spain and the World'

The first question we asked Camillo Berneri concerns the military situation as he saw it.

'I have no special skill in military technique,' he replied, 'but I can inform you of the impressions I received on the Huesca Front which I know well because I have fulfilled in turn the roles of ordinary militia-man, of political delegate of the 'Italian Section' of the Ascaso Column and now of delegate to the Defence Council. I have the impression that the militia has made great advances. At the start, one was aware of a great lack of experience in the struggle against mdoern engines of war: for example, time was wasted in shooting at aircraft flying at high altitudes, automatic weapons were neglected in favour of those which comrades were used to handling; the problem of roads was abandoned; ammunition was in short supply; liaison between different arms and units was defective and sometimes absolutely zero.

'At the present moment the militia-men have profited from the lessons of the last six months, transport has begun to be rationalised, roads are being repaired, equip-ment is more abundant and better distributed, and into the 'mind of the column' is slipping this idea: the necessity of a coordinating command.

'We are forming divisions, and this will complete the economic plan of war, and the best known representatives of the CNT and the FAI have made themselves its supporters. In fact, it was these two organisations which were the first to propose a united command in order to be able to exert a decisive pressure on the weak points of the enemy lines, to relieve the pressure which the enemy is exerting on besieged towns and to prevent unfavourable manoeuvres and concentrations.'

So, we observed, there is some good in militarisation?

'Certainly,' Berneri replied with conviction, 'but there is a distinction to be made: there is on the one side military formalism which is not only ridiculous, but also useless and dangerous, and on the other side there is self-discipline. This latter can be extremely strict, as is the case in the Durruti Column. Military formalism can be met, for example, in certain columns controlled by the Workers' Party for Marxist Unification (Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista, POUM). When one asserts, as is written in the code of duty of the Uribarri Column, that 'the soldier who knows how to salute properly knows also how to fight', one is guilty of stupidity reminiscent of Frederick II or Peter the Great.

'For my part I support a legitimate compromise: we must neither lapse into military formalism nor into superstitious anti-militarism. By accepting and achieving the reforms imposed on us by the nature of things, we shall by this self-same means, be in a position to resist the manoeuvres of Madrid and Moscow, which are trying to establish, under the pretext of militarisation, their military hegemony over the Spanish Revolution, in order to transform it into the instrument of their political hegemony.

'As for myself, I consider it a mistake to talk, as do certain representatives of the CNT-FAI of an overall or 'supreme' command instead of unity of command. (That is to say coordination in matters of the control of the armed struggle). Their intentions are good, but the term used leads to dangerous confusions!

'All things considered, therefore, the reforms needed in the militia, in my opinion, would be the following: a clear distinction between military command and political control, in the domain of the preparation and execution of the operations of war; strict fulfilment of orders received, but maintenance of certain fundamental rights: that of nominating and degrading officers.'

At this point the following question came to our lips: 'What do you think of the internal political situation as regards the position taken by the CNT and the FAI?'

'The necessity of a Holy Alliance of all anti-fascist forces has led the Spanish anarchists to consider as 'comrades' many of their enemies of yesterday and to accept from their hands a part of the governmental responsibilities. It is not easy to draw up an exact balance-sheet of the profits and losses deriving from this experience, but I think that today we have sufficient information for appraisal to be alarmed at the Russo-Bolshevik infiltration into military and technical spheres, adding itself to the directorial designs of the Marxist parties. On this last point, one can see a certain weakening of the CNT, and the situation is dangerous. But I hope that we shall overcome it victoriously, because among the Spanish anarchists, there is no lack of men who see clearly and understand the necessity of returning as soon as possible to the right path.'

And collectivisation – is it progressing?

'It is progressing to a certain extent, as you could realise yourselves. One must be

ignorant and of bad faith to talk, as certain dissident Communists are doing, of a 'dead-point' in the social revolution in Spain – or to represent the Spanish anarchists as 'conservatives' (exactly when collectivisation is spreading and strengthening itself in regions, like the Levant and Catalonia, where the anarchists have the greatest influence).

'If there is a conservative faction on the left, it is composed without doubt, of the right-wingers of Spanish Social-Democracy, and of the orthodox organisations of Russian Bolshevism. For us the struggle is on between Fascism and Libertarian Communism. For the 'moderates,' it is simply a matter of the defence of democracy. But although the political horizons are distinct and opposed, the plan of battle reunites all the factions on the left. The main thing is to know whether the 'comrades' who are opposed to the social revolution will go so far in fighting it as to betray the promise they have given.'

Comrade Berneri was on the point of leaving us, and we hastened to put a last question: 'What do you think of the behaviour of the Popular Front Government in France as regards Rome and Berlin's policy of intervention?'

'It is as cowardly as it is stupid. The Fascists have bombed Port-Bou, ar international station – and the French government has stopped sending trains in that direction! Another bombing of an Air France plane and no French machine will cross the border of the Pyrenees! Now France is busy preventing anti-fascists from coming to fight in Spain, while the governments of Hitler and Mussolini continue to send men, arms, planes and ammunition to the Fascist forces. A reasonable policy of support for the Spanish government would have allowed the anti-fascist militias to sort out the military mutiny in a few days. But the French government persists in believing neutrality is possible while it constitutes encouragement to the triple alliance of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Only broad-based and decisive popular action in France and Britain can force the respective governments of these countries to adopt a less absurd behaviour.'

(Translation from L'Espagne Nouvelle, February 1937).

The Wisdom of a Proverb

The Swiss Federal Council was the first to inaugurate in the name of 'neutrality' a regime of persecutions against the friends of Free Spain, desiring by this servile and reactionary attitude to pay hommage to the ogres of Berlin and Rome.

An outcry of scandal then arose from the synagogues of Social-Democracy. And Stalin's admirers protested vehemently.

Soon after, the Belgian government, which is composed of Social Democratic ministers, expelled Canon Gallegos and Father Lobo, Catholic priests guilty merely of having declared at private meetings their solidarity with the legal government of Spain.

Then there was the British government dragging out from the dust of centuries a law of 1870 which punishes the enrolmen' of British citizens in foreign militias.

The United States in their turn brought up for discussion a law of 1811 forbidding North American citizens enrolling abroad.

Finally, the French government obtained from the Chamber of Deputies full pwoers to surround Republican Spain with a 'cordon sanitaire' against the influx of foreign volunteers. And these powers, it received them from the Communist and Socialist groups in parliament. There is nothing surprising in the attitude of the Socialists. It coincides with that of 'Populaire' and only serves to confirm it. But the attitude of the Communists constitutes a scandalous change of policy. The English Communists had protested at the blockade of volunteers. Ted Barnales, head of the London section of the English Communist Party had declared in one of his speeches on 11th November last,

'For each German soldier in Spain, we will send a seasoned English fighter. This is our reply to the decision taken by the government to prevent volunteers departing for Spain.'

And 'Humanite' at the news that the French government intended to forbid the enrolment of volunteers burst out in repeated protests. A platonic gesture on the part of the French Social Democrat and Stalinist leaders, bound up to the very end with the wet-blanket government and the human ostrich.

The 'Petit Parisien' of 15th December announced a 'strengthening of control' on the part of France, and Gabriel Peri wrote in 'Humanite'

'Petit Parisien is the unofficial monitor of the Quai d'Orsay. We would like to know whether the plan which it is announcing has, as the Petit Parisien indicates, the approval of M. Delbos. We would like to know it it has the approval of the President of the Council. If not we would like to read a denial as soon as possible.'

Instead of a prompt denial, the 'Populaire' of 8th January wrote,

'We believe that there would be no difficulty in adopting the advice of the German government which is proposing, in its reply, to remove from Spain all foreigners taking part in the fighting including the political agitators and propagandists, with the aim of reestablishing the state of affairs existing in August 1936.'

And it concluded,

'We must not lose any time in useless investigation of their intentions by trying to discover the 'traps' which there may be in the replies of Berlin and Rome. There is a certain way of overcoming all difficulties. It is by applying and making all others apply a policy of non-intervention in Spain; by eliminating from Spain all combattants who are not Spanish. We must do it and do it quickly.'

With Peri, Cachin, Vaillant-Couturier and company protested. But Moscow took the helm. And who would associate themselves directly in the name of the Communist group in parliament with the Blumist 'faction?' Peri was the very man, he who had maintained with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence that France should have a policy overtly in favour of the Spanish Republic. The buffoons and idiots of Bolshevism are as bad as the buffoons and idiots of Social Democracy. The Socialist parliamentary group trampled on the last resolution of the executive committees of the IOS and the FSI which declares,

'that the maintenance of peace, which is the supreme asset of the workers of all countries and, consequently, the primary concern of governments under Socialist control or with Socialist participation, can only be assured on the condition that Democracy opposes an attitude bent on blackmail or fascist menaces.'

The Communist parliamentary group, for its part, completely denied an infinite number of explicit declarations against French 'neutrality' declarations made at its meetings and published in its papers, mainly in 'Humanite.'

Non-intervention plays into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini, and thus of Franco. The English memorandum and the French momorandum proposing to the German and Italian governments that they stop sending volunteers to Spain go back to 3rd December 1936. The Italo-German reply came on 7th January. Thirty-five days of . . . meditation, thirty-five days of massive dispatch of men and military equipment to Franco!

The Italian government recruited 'volunteers' by means of orders sent through the military districts; it directed towards Spain, by means of force, men recruited to work in Ethiopia; it concentrated volunteers for Spain in the barracks; it even used common law convicts to swell the ranks of the volunteers; it created concentrations of expeditionary forces in la Spezia, Eboli, Salerno and Cagliari; and it transported them in the State's ships as far as Spanish Morocco.

After the bombings carried out over Spanish territory by Italian planes, using for their base the airfield of Elmas after the occupation of Majorca, we have all the elements of proof to show that Italy has intervened militarily in the Spanish Civil War. Mussolini has no intention of renouncing Spain. 'Roma Fascista' does not hesitate to declare, 'We are fighting and we shall win in Spain.' 'Il Giornale d'Italia' implies that French control of access routes to Spain on land will be virtual. Hitler and Mussolini are demanding the impossible of the English and French governments: like, for example, suppressing propaganda in favour of Spain and removing from Spain all foreign anti-fascists.

The bad faith of Mussolini and Hitler appears with as much clarity as the over-careful stupidity of Blum. Mussolini, in contempt for all international law, has sent at least 20,000 men to Spain, and there are besides (according to 'Ami du Peuple') at least 30,000 German soldiers in Spain. The Italian government and the German government will continue to send men, arms and ammunition whatever promises they make.

The Anglo-French 'neutrality' has been is and will always be a hypocritical intervention in favour of Spanish, German and Italian Fascism.

To accept the supervisory blockade, is the same as putting on the same place the loyal government and an army of rebels, it is the same as putting Europe in the dilemma: war or the triumph of Fascism. And the triumph of Fascism is the inevitable war of the very near future.

The Blumist policy has never had a clear and coherent line of action because it is dominated by fear and a tendency to compromise. It is a Social Democratic policy.

The French Communist Party, by adhering to this policy, has erased one of the few fine pages in its history. The international repercussions will have profound consequences. As will the repercussions on French internal politics. But the most important thing for us is, for the moment, to examine the needs of our struggle in Spain in relation to the new situation. We will deal with that elsewhere. Today we are experiencing an agonising and troubling emotion as we see the wisdom of the popular proverb being confirmed: 'May God guard me from my friends. I can take care of my enemies.' (I.e. With friends like these, who needs enemies? – Translator's note).

Spain, surrounded by declared enemies and false friends will not continue on its own path any less because of them. We wish with all our filial love for this magnificent people that this path will lead to the shining heights of triumph. But even if it leads us to the deepest abyss of defeat, we would always have the consolation of having wanted to be with the innocent victims and not with the murderers of unarmed people; of having defended the sacred cause of liberty and justice and not the return to tyranny and feudal privilege; of having taken part in the melee, choosing our side decisively, and having rejected the degrading shame of cowardly and stupid compromises.

No. 8, 1st February, 1937.

Problems of the Revolution: the City and the Country.

Emile Pouget wrote in 1906 (Almanac of the Revolution), 'There are no possible or effective revolutions except when workers and peasants participate in the movement. If on the contrary only one of these categories is on the move – whether it is the peasants or the workers – the movement will miscarry.'

More than in any other circumstance, this necessity of the union of the peasant and the worker has been emphasised by syndicalist propaganda. Up to now, the development of the Spanish Social Revolution has shown a remarkable synchronism between collectivist action in the towns and the country, and the opposition which existed in the Russian and Hungarian Revolutions have not presented themselves. That does not mean to say however that they will not appear tomorrow, and the Spanish comrades must of necessity continue, as up to now, their effort to maintain an intelligent balance between the city and the country.

The first antagonism that looms up between the city and the country during the revolution comes from the urgency of the problem of providing provisions. Spain has had a great advantage for itself: namely a certain autonomy in relation to foreign countries. However Spain is beginning to run into difficulties in resolving the problem of provisioning the towns. And this problem could become more and more difficult.

Two tendencies appear in the midst of the masses of working people in the towns: firstly forced requisitioning, then a more pacific and rational solution.

Forced requisitioning is a great mistake. All history of revolutions shows this. The French revolutionary government of 1793 tried to use the 'strong' method, and the results were disastrous: 11th April 1794 the Committee of Public Safety ordered the requisition of one pig in eight. The owner was to work on it intil it had attained the maximum weight. A great show of circulars and measures to inspect, pay, conserve, centralise etc was made. Several months later when the commisar presented himself to take the animal, he only found a skeleton or a pig more dead than alive.

The Russian Revolution offers a more recent example of the disastrous effects of a policy of forced requisition. It fully confirms Kropotkin's predictions in 'The Conquest Of Bread': *'When the Revolution breaks out, the Russian peasants will keep their bread for themselves and their families.'* The Bolsheviks themselves recognised the error of forced requisition at the Provincial Congress of the Soviets which took place in Moscow in 1919. The results of the expeditions of provisioning parties were disastrous: disorder, plots, peasant revolts (Lunivsk, Paulovsk, Mokoovsk, Bielich, Ponikolsk etc), violent suppression, bad economic results. The frightened peasants sowed less. The livestock similarly diminished greatly. Rich areas, Tambov, suffered scarcity.

The policy of requisition completely checked the revolutionary momentum of the countryside. Emma Goldman recounts an anecdote which clearly illustrates the miserable condition of the peasants: A group of peasants presented themselves before Lenin one day to discuss their lot.

'May God protect you,' said the oldest of the peasants.

'Are you not happy, my friend? You have lands, cows, chickens, what more do you want?' replied Lenin.

'Praise be to God, we have land, but you take all the corn; chickens, but you take away the eggs, cows, but out children have no milk. That, my friend, is why we are asking you to help us.'

The abandonment of requisition, which was again demanded by the Kronstadt sailors on 1st March 1921, was not announced until the 12th by Lenin at the opening of the Tenth Communist Party Congress when Trotsky was putting down Kronstadt.

It is left to us to examine the acquisition of agricultural products. In this too, the French Revolution offers significant examples of the danger of using money refused by the peasants and excessively low prices.

If in 1793 the countryside caused famine in the large cities, this was not due to a fall in cereal production, but because the peasants refused promisary notes without any security in gold. It would be wrong to believe that only the rich peasants refused to sell their products, the small farmers were equally opposed to exchanging the fruit of their sweat for these promisory notes, on which Kropotkin comments as follows in 'The Great Revolution':

'As long as they offer the peasants a worthless scrap of paper, the situation did not develop. The foodstuffs remained in the countryside, even if they had recourse to the guillotine.'

The policy of imposed prices had no better effects: the foodstuffs became scarce. The Assembly lowered retail prices by decree (29th September 1793), anticipating that wholesale prices would follow. Wholesale dealing stopped, and commerce also.

The Russian Revolution offers other examples. Seeing that violence did not produce results, the Bolshevik government began to buy agricultural products, but it made a new mistake. The price was too low. As in the case of corn the price of which was slightly higher than before the Revolution, when the prices of industrial products had increased by thirty to forty times.

* * * *

We have seen that neither forced requisition nor promisory notes have given good results. There only remains the exchange of manufactured goods for agricultural products.

Kropotkin, in 'The Conquest of Bread' presented this solution as being very effective, although a contributor to Malatesta's magazine (Carlo Molaschi in 'Pensiero e Volonta' Rome 1st January 1925) considers it to be an 'unknown quantity'. In this connection, I wrote in Fabbri's 'Lotta Umana' (Paris, March 1928): 'When Kropotkin was writing, he was thinking of the torch that was going to replace the paraffin light, of the spade that would replace the plough etc.' Today the peasant's need for agricultural machines is relative, and in certain areas and for certain forms of cultivation they are unusable. He possesses many articles of convenience and no longer needs everything. Few peasants would exchange their corn for a vegetable-cleaner. Before the needs of the peasants increase and industry abandons the production of luxury articles a certain time will pass. 'Consequently, the peasants will be paid in money, cash of a recognised weight and value.'

Luigi Fabbri added a note in which he observed,

'If the mentality of the peasant is so backward that he demands money, it will be a good idea to examine how this demand can be satisfied. It is a hypothesis which for good reasons wounds the anarchists who must do all they can, by propaganda and by researching other means, to avoid such a choice. However, it is advisable to bear it in mind that, from an anarchist, revolutionary, humane and also practical point of view, this choice is preferable to the system of coercion and of authoritarian requisition.'

As one can see, Fabbri was excluding requisition and was not rejecting money, but he was not tackling the problem. In my article 'The anarchists and agrarian small-holding' (La Revista Blanca, 15th November 1932), after declaring myself in favour of the use of money in trading between the towns and the countryside, I wrote,

'Naturally a system for the exchange of goods, of work, of means of transport is always possible as an integral part of the system of buying and selling.' If the local councils or the trade unions, or both at the same time, were the intermediary organisations between the rural smallholders and the farming cooperatives and between the latter and the industrial workers, they would be able to facilitate this exchange without money.

For example, a local council that has organised the production of bread wants to be provided with corn. It applies to the peasants, offering them in exchange for their corn work provided by the building cooperative, to which the local council will give the necessary materials. One could find infinite examples.

At the time I had omitted a fundamental aspect of the problem: agreement between the prices of the factories and the peasants' ability and desire to buy. The exchange of commodities between the city and the country is an ideal form which is not always attainable. It is one of the weak points of Socialist economics. In the Russian Revolution this was one of the principal factors in the transition from the SEP (Socialist Economic Policy) to the NEP (New Political Economy).

Coordination between the urban and agrarian economies is much more difficult than is generally supposed among Socialists. The Catalan peasants refusal of the proposals for exchange put to them by the Barcelona Wood Syndicate is a typical example of this. The peasants generally have need of seeds, chemical fertilisers, agricultural machinery and only later do economic improvement and spiritual development give them the need for conveniences, aesthetic and luxury items.

The urban society must therefore respond to these possibilities and to the peasants' preferences if one wants to avoid antagonisms looming up between the towns and the countryside. As in the USSR where agricultural and industrial prices are so widely different that they constitute and perpetuate divergent interests, the central point of all the variations in Bolshevik economic policy, and which explains almost all aspects of internal political struggles.

To recap, I should say that anarchists in towns should refuse to take part in expeditions for forceful requisition and even prevent them, demanding that the problem of provisioning the towns and the militias be resolved by a common agreement between the peasants and the workers on the purchase of agricultural products, whether with a stable currency or by exchange and credit certificates.

As for the anarchists who live in the country, they must at one and the same time, repel requisition and fight all attempts at buying up and sabotage, and carry out an intense campaign of persuasion on the subject of the towns' problems, like provisioning, in order to facilitate agreement between the workers in the country and the workers and technicians in the towns, in order to encourage federation between the urban and rural cooperatives, in order to promote and support all spontaneous experience which would tend to reduce the money supply. Harmony between the towns and the countryside is only possible by avoiding the USSR's mistakes: forced requisition, destruction of consumer cooperativism, centralisation of distribution, increase of factory prices, transition from suppression to tolerance of speculators, monetary inflation etc.

I am not a prophet. I have therefore been able to air some points of view that are completely superficial, as much to the present as for the future. However, I consider that it is not useless to suggest plans for relations between the towns and the countryside, given that this problem draws our attention and demands deep and meticulous study and elaboration. I leave that task to those who are more competent, for I am no economist.

Tierra y Libertad, February 1937, translated from Volonta, 1st December 1950.

Open Letter to Comrade Federica Montseny

Dear Comrade,

It was my intention to address myself to all you comrade ministers, but once the pen was in my hand, I addressed myself spontaneously to you alone and I did not wish to go against this instinctive impulse.

The fact that I am not always in agreement with you neither astonishes you nor irritates you, and you have shown yourself cordially oblivious to criticisms which it would almost always have been fair, because it is human, to consider as unjust and excessive. This is not a minor quality in my eyes, and it bears witness to the anarchist nature of your mind. It is a certainty that effectively compensates, as far as my natural friendship is concerned for the ideological peculiarities which you have often revealed in your articles in your very personal style and in your speeches of admirable eloquence.

I could not sit back and accept the identity that you claimed between Bakunist anarchism and the federalist Republicanism of Pi y Margall. I cannot pardon you for having written 'that in Russia it was not Lenin the true builder of Russia, but Stalin in fact, the effective spirit, etc.' And I applauded Voline's reply in 'Terre-Libre' to your entirely false claims about the Russian anarchist movement.

But it is not about that that I wish to talk with you. On these matters, and indeed on others, I hope one day or another to talk to you personally. If I address you in public, it is about matters that are infinitely more serious, to remind you of the enormous responsibilities, of which you are perhaps not aware because of your modesty

In your speech of 3rd January, you said, 'The anarchists have come into the Government in order to prevent the Revolution from deviating from its course and in order to pursue it beyond the war, and also in order to oppose all possibility of dictatorial endeavours, wherever they should come from.'

Well then, comrade, in April, after three months of collaborationist experience, we find ourselves face to face with a situation in the course of which serious actions are taking place, while other, worse ones are taking shape.

Where, as in the Basque country, in the Levant and in Castille, our movement is not imposed by grass-roots strength, in other words by vast ranks of unionists and by the preponderant adherence of the masses, the counter-revolution is oppressing people and threatens to crush everything. The Government is at Valencia and it is from there that assault guards are setting out, destined to disarm the revolutionary cells formed for defence. One calls to mind Casas-Viejas while thinking of Vilanesa.[1] It is the civil guards and the assault guards who are retaining their arms; it is they too who in the rear must *control* the 'uncontrolable,' in other words disarm the revolutionary cells equipped with a few rifles and a few revolvers. This happens while the internal front has not been liquidated. This happens during the course of a civil war in which every surprise is possible and in regions where the front is very close and extremely jagged is not mathematically certain. This, while a political distribution of arms appears clearly, tending to arm only in strict necessity ('strict necessity, which we hope will appear adequate) the Aragon Front, the armed guard of agrarian collectivisation in Aragon and buttress of Catalonia, that Iberian Ukraine. You are in a government that has offered France and Britain advantages in Morocco, whereas, since July 1936, it would have been necessary to proclaim officially the political autonomy of Morocco. I can imagine what you, anarchist, must think of this affair which is as disgraceful as it is stupid; but I believe that the time has come to make it known that you and the other anarchist ministers are not in agreement as regards the nature and the purport of such propositions.

24th October 1936, I wrote in 'Guerra di Classe':

'The operational base of the Fascist army is Morocco. We must intensify our propaganda in favour of Moroccan autonomy throughout the pan-islamic area of influence. We must dictate to Madrid unambiguous declarations announcing the abandonment of Morocco and the protection of Moroccan autonomy. France would anxiously envisage the possibility of insurrectionary repercussions in North Africa and Syria; Great Britain would see the movements for self-rule in Egypt and among Arabs in Palestine growing stronger. We must exploit such anxieties by means of a policy which threatens to unleash revolt throughout the Arab world.

'For such a policy we need money and we need urgently to send agitators and organisers as emissaries to all the centres of Arab migration, into all the frontier zones of French Morocco. On the fronts in Aragon, the Centre, the Asturias and Andalusia a few Moroccans would be enough to fulfil the role of propagandists (through the radio, tracts, etc.).'

It follows that one cannot simultaneously guarantee British and French interests in Morocco and carry on with insurrectionary work. Valencia is continuing the policies of Madrid. This must change. And to change it, one must state all one's own thoughts clearly and strongly, because in Valencia there are influences acting which tends towards treating with Franco.

Jean Zyromski wrote in 'Populaire' of 3rd March: **'The manoeuvres** are visible and they are aiming at the conclusion of a peace which, in reality, would signify not only the halting of the Spanish Revolution, but also the annulment of the social conquests already achieved.

'Neither Caballero nor Franco, such would be the formula which would express briefly a conception which exists, and I am not sure that it does not have the favour of certain political, diplomatic and even governmental circles in Britain and also in France.'

These influences, these manoeuvres explain different obscure points: for example the inactivity of the loyalist fleet. The concentration of troops coming from Morocco, the acts of piracy against 'Canarias' and 'Baleares,' the capture of Malaga are the consequences of this inactivity. And the war is not finished! If Prieto is incapable and indolent, why tolerate him? If Prieto is bound by a policy that makes him paralyse the fleet, why not denounce this policy?

You anarchist ministers, you make eloquent speeches and you write brilliant articles, but it is hot with speeches and articles that one wins the war and defends the Revolution. The former can be won and the latter can be defended by allowing us to pass from the defensive to the offensive. The strategy of holding our position cannot last for ever. The problem cannot be resolved by throwing out orders: general mobilisation, arms to the Front, sole command, popular army etc. etc. The problem can be resolved by achieving immediately what can be achieved.

The 'Toulouse Dispatch' of 17th January wrote,

'The main preoccupation of the Minister of the Interior is with reestablishing the authority of the State over that of the groups and over that of the uncontrollables whatever their origin.'

It follows that when for months they try to annihilate the 'uncontrollables', they cannot resolve the problem of the liquidation of the 'Fifth Column.'[2] The suppression of the internal front has as its primary condition activity aimed at investigation and repression which can only be accomplished by tried and tested revolutionaries. An internal policy of collaboration between the classes and of flattery towards the middle classes leads inevitably to tolerance towards politically ambiguous elements. The Fifth Column is composed not only of elements belonging to Fascist bodies, but also of all the malcontents who desire a moderate republic. Now, it is these latter elements who profit from the tolerance of the hunters of the 'uncontrollables.'

The liquidation of the internal front was a condition of full and radical activity by the Defence Committees set up by the CNT and the UGT.

We are assisting in the infiltration into the controlling ranks of the popular army of ambiguous elements without offering guarantees of political and union organisation. The committees and political delegates of the militias were exercising a beneficial control, which, today, is weakened by the predominance of strictly military systems of advancement and promotion. We must strengthen these committees and these delegates.

We are assisting the new situation which could have disastrous consequences, a situation in which whole battalions are commanded by officers who do not enjoy the esteem and affection of the soldiers. This situation is grave because the value of the Spanish militia-men is directly proportional to the confidence enjoyed by their own commander. It is therefore necessary to reestavlish the system of direct election and the right of dismissal by those below.

A grave error has been committed by accepting authoritarian formulae, not because they are such from the point of view of their form; but because they contain tremendous errors and political aims that have nothing to do with the necessities of the war.

I had the chance to talk to senior Italian French and Belgian officers and I ascertained that they give a clear indication of knowing the *real* necessities of discipline, a much more modern and rational conception than certain neo-generals who claim to be *realists*.

I believe that the hour has come to form the confederal army, in the same way as the Socialist Party has set up its own company: the 5th regiment of the popular militias. I believe that the hour has come to resolve the problem of *sole command* by effectively achieving *unity of command* which allows us to move onto the offensive on the Aragon Front. I believe that the hour has come to finish with the thousands of civil guards and assault guards who do not go to the Front because their job is to control the 'uncontrollables.' I believe that the hour has come to create a war industry in earnest. And I believe that the hour has come to finish with certain flagrant extravagances: like those of respect for Sunday as a day of rest and of certain 'rights for the workers' sabotaging the defence of the Revolution.

We must, above all, keep up the morale of the combattants. Louis Bertoni, interpreting the sentiments expressed by various Italian comrades fighting on the Huesca Front, wrote not so long ago:

'The war in Spain, thus stripped of all new faith, of all ideas of social change, of all revolutionary greatness, of all universal meaning, is no more than a common war of national independence, which must be carried out to avoid the extermination which the world plutocracy has in mind. There remains the terrible question of life or death, but it is no longer a war to assure a new regime and a new humanity. People will say that all is not yet lost; but in reality, everything is threatened and beleaguered; our side use the language of renunciation, the same as was used by Italian Socialism at the advance of Fascism: Beware of provocation! Calm and serenity! Order and discipline! All the things that in practice boil down to doing nothing. And as in Italy Fascism finished up by triumphing, in Spain, anti-socialism in republican garb cannot but win, unless anything that we have not foreseen should come to pass. It is useless to add that we are simply setting it down, without condemning those on our side; we could not say how the behaviour of these people could be different and efficacious, as long as the Italo-German pressure grows at the Front and that of the Bolshevik-bourgeois grows in our rear.'

I do not have Louis Bertoni's modesty. I have the pretension to assert that the Spanish anarchists could have a political line different from the prevailing one; I claim to be able by capitalising on what I know of experiences in various great revolutions of recent years and on what I read in the Spanish libertarian press itself, to advise certain lines of conduct.

I believe that you must pose yourself the problem of knowing if you are better defending the Revolution, if you are making a greater contribution to the struggle against Fascism by participating in the government, or if you would not be infinitely more useful carrying the flame of your magnificent skill with words among the combattants and to the rear.

The time has also come to clarify the significance for unification that our participation in the Government could have. We must speak to the masses, appeal to them to judge whether Marcel Cachin is right when he states in 'Humanite' of 23rd March:

'The responsible anarchists are multiplying their efforts towards unification, and their appeals are ever more sensible.'

. . . Or whether 'Pravda' and 'Izvestia' are right when they slander the Spanish anarchists, calling them saboteurs of unity. To appeal to the masses to judge the moral complicity and policy of silence of the Spanish anarchist press as regards the dictatorial offences of Stalin, the persecution of Russian anarchists, the monstrous case against the Leninist and Trotskyist opposition, a silence deservedly rewarded by 'Izvestia's' libelling of 'Solidaridad Obrera'.

To appeal to the masses to judge whether certain acts of sabotage of provisioning do not fall within the plan announced on 17th December 1936 by 'Pravda:'

'As for Catalonia, the purging of Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist elements has begun; this work will be carried out with the same energy with which it was done in the USSR.'[3]

The time has come to find out whether the anarchists are in the Government to be the vestal virgins tending a fire that is on the point of going out, or even if they are there from now on to serve as a 'Phrygian cap'[4] for politicians flirting with the enemy or with the forces for the restoration of the 'Republic of all classes.' The problem is set by the clear evidence of a crisis which is outstripping the men who are the personnages who embody it.

The dilemma: war or revolution no longer has any meaning. The only dilemma is this one: either victory over Franco thanks to the revolutionary war, or defeat.

The problem for you and the other comrades is to chose between the Versailles of Thiers and the Paris of the Commune, before Thiers and Bismarck form the *holy alliance*. It is up to you to reply, for you are the 'light under the bushel.'

No. 12, 14th April 1937.

War and Revolution

The Spanish Republic was born in April 1931 out of a political revolution that was almost peaceable. A Spanish Socialist leader recognised that this revolution 'no habia removido las entranas del pais.' The mass of the people were deceived by the Republic which was not given any social consolidation, since it did not give land to the peasants. The agrarian reform voted for by the Cortes dragged on from scheme to scheme and was applied in homoeopathic doses.

In October 1934, an Andalusian peasant represented several million of his fellows when he said to Bertrand de Jouvenel, 'The Socialists promised us land. We are told that the application of agrarian reform is a very complicated business. And we are still working for three pesetas a day.'

The Republic had equally deceived the mass of the people in the towns. When Ernest

Toller asked a Catalan worker what he thought of te Republic, he received the following very significant response, 'It's just the old dog with a new collar.'

A Republic that showed itself determined to improve social conditions would have been politically strong enough not to fear a Fascist insurrection. The Republic did not protect capitalist interest's solidly enough; no more did it encourage the emancipation of the proletariat; it has historically been the accomplice of Fascism in its obstinacy in searching for a compromise by means of governmental groupings instead of consolidating its position by means of firm, Socialist policies.

When the Fascist insurrection broke out, the Republic had succeeded in politically polarising all the progressive trade union organisations and parties solely because it appeared free of obvious reactionary infiltration, as the only line of defence behind which the attack on conservative forces could be sustained. It was the State that was accepted more than the Government. It appeared to be an indispensable organ of liaison between the various organisations of defence and the new administrative bodies, and also as a regulating and unifying centre for the diverse left-wing political forces.

Beneath this apparent union, a deep split persisted. On the one hand there were the 'loyalists', simply Republicans and more or less progressive. Close to them were the Social Democrats for whom the struggle between Fascism and the Social Revolution could be reduced to a war between Fascism and anti-fascism. On the other hand one could find the anarchists and the cream of the proletariat, both convinced that the instruction, 'to win the war' only had any real meaning as an indication of an immediate aim. Achieving this aim was a vital absolute necessity for all the left-wing parties and for all the trade union organisations; it was also the condition for the political and social progress of the whole nation. But that did not mean that the Social Revolution had to be limited to a war 'between Madrid and Burgos', to a war 'between the Republic of Azana and the government of Franco.'

The 'war' is in Spain a 'civil war,' that is a political and social armed struggle. And it is this all the more from the fact that it is not a matter there of straightforward factions fighting among themselves and having few contacts with the life of the masses. This event has none of the characteristics of a fight in hermetic isolation. A struggle between the supporters of Franco and the supporters of Azana could have presented enough analogies in which the social conquests of Catalonia, Aragon and the Levant have been started; with this struggle in which the winners will transform the whole life of the nation following a pre-determined political and social direction; with this struggle which could not end in a retreat of troops, but only in the exodus of the conquered.

The nature and extent of the conflict, its modes of development, the inevitable conditions of its resolution are such that the features of this armed struggle are those of 'war,' but that its essence is that of the 'Social Revolution.'

The proletariat is engaged in a struggle with the bourgeoisie while the high clergy and the military class are waging war on it, now their 'money provides the sinews of war' as the French say.

The economic burden of the war can no longer be born by the bourgeoisie; a new 'war economy' must therefore be stressed. An indispensable condition of a powerful 'industry of war' is a 'war economy' which to exist as an economy must have as its aim and as its essential raison d'etre widespread usefulness.

Financial and monetary problems, like all other economic problems, can not be solved 'in economic terms' without damaging the interests of certain social classes. However, we must not, under the pretext of the necessity of winning the war, fall to the opposite extreme from the conservatives, into Socialist extremism which would not take its inspiration from the necessities of the armed struggle but from the formulae and programmes whose achievement is very far off.

The most fruitful position is the 'centrist' position. I am going to depend, in order to avoid all ambiguity, on a clear example. I think that the socialisation of large and medium-scale industry is a 'necessity of the war' and an indispensable creation of 'the economy of war.' Certain anti-fascists are as much persuaded of this as I am, but they are not as a matter of principle collectivists. By supporting the 'current necessity' of the socialisation of large and medium-scale industry, I shall have on my side these anti-fascists who will consent to it and will eventually come to assist.

I have, on the other hand, many reservations about the socialisation of small scale industry with regard to the 'necessities of the war' and I am obliged to enter into dispute with comrades who would want to extend industrial socialisation to its maximum.

I call my position 'centrist.' On my right I have those who are opposed to socialisation, on my left those who favour it absolutely and who have maximalist tendencies; in the centre I find myself in the company of all the collectivists who think like me and of plain anti-fascists, who retaining the belief that the creation of a firm war economy is indispensable, think that one of the principal factors of this economy is the socialisation of large and medium-scale industry. The centrist position does not take account solely of the strictly *economic* and current reasons which militate in favour of tolerance as regards hte petty bourgeoisie, but it also takes account of psychological reasons.

The Russian petty bourgeoisie fought on the side of the proletariat from 1917 to 1920; during the insurrection of March and April 1920 in the Ruhr, the petty bourgeoisie took part in the struggle against Kapp and against the black Reichswehr; in October 1934 in Madrid and in Catalonia the petty bourgeoisie again took an active part in the insurrection, and it was the same in the Asturian insurrection. Today while we are fighting against Fascism, we must remember that if the peasants who were deceived by the failed agrarian reform participated only weakly in the Spanish Socialist insurrection of October 1934, it was the armed intervention of the Rabassaires (vine-growers' association) which in July 1936 was one of the principal factors in the defeat of Fascism in Catalonia.

Between the conservative declarations of Caballero and certain doctrinarily maximalist criticisms of the opportunism of the CNT and the FAI, I believe that we must in a fair and timely fashion give a place to a straightforwardly rational solution to the problems of the 'war economy.'

Such a restatement will certainly not suffice to set up bridges between us and the POUM on the one hand and the controlling groups of the PSUC on the other. But it will be able to facilitate a sincere and active understanding among all true anti-fascists, and secondly will allow a more intimate collaboration among all those who are sincerely Socialists.

No. 13, 21st March 1936.

Counter-Revolution on the March

In the course of September 1930, Azana who was a member, with Zamora and Leroux, of the Provisional Government of the Republic, said at a meeting in Madrid, 'We are going to conquer liberty by calling on all anti-monarchist forces, no matter what name they call themselves, no matter where they are.' Such was the phrasing of the first 'holy alliance:' this alliance adopted as its political common denominator Republicanism. In August 1931 the Republic believed itself to be strong enough to precipitate the separation of the proletarian masses which were diverging from the government; the deportations of anarchists and syndicalists to the prison ships of Guinea were ordered by decree. 20th October 1931 the Cortes, including the Socialist Deputies, voted in the Bill 'for the defence of the Republic' which was put into operation by repression of the anarcho-syndicalist movements. From 1932 onwards the pronunciamento of Seville showed that Republican Fascism is a greater danger than the monarchist restoration, but Azana, speaking in the Cortes of General Sanjurjo's attempted uprising, proclaimed that the Spanish Republic was not sick and 'that it has purged itself of the scattered remnants of the old regime which it still contained.' In January 1933, Azana ordered the massacre of the insurgents at Casas-Viejas which was approved on 2nd February by 150 Socialist Deputies. In February 1936, in an interview in 'Paris-Soir', Azana stated that Lerroux and Gil Robles were liquidated; he declared, 'We desire above all that order should prevail . . . State it clearly, we do not want to make a revolution . . . I want to govern legally. No dangerous innovations . . . We want social peace, we desire order, we are moderates.'

After the Fascist insurrection had broken out, the Socialist and Communist parties returned to Azana's phrase of September 1930: defence of the democratic, parliamentary Republic. They still persist in this position, opening up a route to counter-revolution.

Louis Pierard, Deputy in the Belgian Workers' Party, recently recognised in 'Regards' that 'Socialism was practically non-existent in Catalonia before the 19th Juyl.' The UGT which had at that time 9,000 members in Catalonia, now has 50,000. Such a rapid expansion is significant. The UGT is drawing the middle class to it. The fish-merchants of Barcelona have joined this organisation en masse to avoid the 'collectivisation of fish' which figures in the CNT's programme. What happened in Barcelon, has occurred equally in all of Catalonia, in Aragon and in the Levant. The enemies of collectivisation of the land, of industry and of commerce have joined the UGT and the PSUC en masse. 'Treball,' the mouthpiece of the PSUC, fights collectivisation and socialisation, while the CNT and POUM defend it. Henceforth, the union between the opportunist possibilism of the leaders of the PSUC and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois who have entered the Popular Front is evident. Already, in the course of the insurrection in Asturias, we have witnessed the rapid pseudo-revolutionary mimicry of the middle classes. When the Committee of Mieres called on employees, miners, foremen etc. . . . , we witnessed the following phenomenon, described in the 'Diary of a Miner' published by 'Giustizia e Liberta':

'Scarcely had they read the proclamation, than the right-wing elements rushed to put themselves under our command; they want so far as to argue among themselves, each one wanting to be first. Suspicious excess of zeal. They are the first to salute by raising their fist and to praise the Revolution when they meet workers. In exchange they receive rations of food, tobacco and other products, sometimes superior to those of the revolutionaries themselves. The proletarians are careless and generous like children.'

In contrast, the bourgeoisie display cleverness and hypocrisy, 'above all when their life is at risk.' After 19th July in Catalonia, in Aragon and in the Levant this same phenomenon could be witnessed, but in this case to a far greater extent.

When the Spanish Communist Party published in August 1936 a manifesto signed by Jesus Hernandez, declaring that they were fighting solely for a democratic Republic, when the same party confirmed the same line of action on 15th December of the same year, this was not so must the external plutocracy of the 'democratic governments' which this organisation wished to reassure, but in fact the thousands of pseudo-neophytes who had infiltrated its ranks and those of the UGT. Even the United Youth Movement (JSU) disavowed Socialism; thus their Secretary General, Santiago Carrillo, was able to declare to the national congress of the JSU, which was held in Valencia on 15th January 1937, 'We are not fighting for a Social Revolution. Our organisation is neither Socialist, not Communist . . . The JSU is not Marxist youth.' 'Ahora,' mouthpiece of the JSU supported this thesis, rejecting the class-based lines of policy.

The counter-revolutionary declarations which Juan Casanovas, President of the Catalan Parliament, made in the 'Depeche de Toulouse' last March, coincide with those of Comorera, a militant in the view of the PSUC, made last December. The elements of the Generalidad who, in October 1934, supported the autonomist-fascist putsch led by the triumvirate of Badia-Dencas-Mendez have not disappeared. More proof is furnished by the counter-revolutionary statements of Nicolau d'Olwer. 'Accion Catalana', the right of the PSUC, Galarza and his associates: there are the forces of the counter-revolution.

The Spanish Revolution finds itself caught between Burgos and Bilbao (where the Catholics, the Marxists and the Republicans establish their 'holy alliance' more and more by suspending the *CNT del Norte* and imprisoning the Regional Committee of the CNT). It is locked between Burgos and Valencia, where 218 adherents of the FAI and the Anarchist Youth (FIJL) are imprisoned and where the anarchist journal 'Nosotros' is persecuted. It is wedged between Burgos and Almeria where old man Moron held in prison one of the most heroic anti-fascist fighters: Francisco Maroto.

The shadow of Noske looms up. Monarchist-Catholic-traditionalist Fascism is only one sector of the counter-revolution. We must remember that. It must be said. We must not be a party to the manoeuvres of this great 'Fifth Column' whose tenacious vitality and redoubtable mimicry have been showed by six years of Spanish Republic.

The Spanish Civil War is developing on two politico-social fronts. The Revolution must triumph on two fronts. And it will overcome.

No. 15, 5th May 1937.

The Death of Berneri.

In a letter to his wife, he wrote on 25th April 1937, 'I who am not generally afraid in the face of danger; I am sometimes seized by a fear of death, without there being any particularly objective reason.'

During the night of the 3rd and 4th May he wrote to his daughter Marie-Louise:

'What evil the Communists are doing here too! It is almost 2 o'clock and I am going to bed. The house is on its guard tonight. I offered to stay awake to let the others go to sleep, and every one laughed, saying that I would not even hear the cannon! But afterwards, one by one, they fell asleep, and I am watchful over all of them, while working for those who are to come. It is the only completely beautiful thing. More absolute than love and truer than reality itself. What would humanity be without this sense of duty, without this emotion of feeling bound to those who were, who are distant, ignored, lost? Sometimes I think that this Messianic sense is no more than escapism, is no more than the seach for and construction of an equilibrium, a stability which otherwise would precipitate us into disorder or despair. Whatever it is, it is certain that the most intense sentiments are the most *human*.

'One can lose one's illusions about everything and about everyone, but not about what one affirms with one's moral conscience. If it was possible for me to save Bilbao with my life, I should not hesitate for one instant. (. . .)

'All that I have said above has a slightly ridiculous solemnity for anyone who does not live here. But perhaps one day, if I can talk to you of these months, you will understand.'

1937–1978: Four Decades without a History

The Parisian publisher Spartacus published several months after these events the booklet by Marcel Ollivier 'The Bloody Days of Barcelona – The GPU in Spain' (republished in 1976 with others, under the title of 'Spain – The Grave-diggers of the Social Revolution').

To what extent do historical research and the publication of various eye-witness accounts correct or emphasize Ollivier's inquiries and interpretations?

It is remarkable that the majority of historians recognise year after year that the question needs to be studied thoroughly: Orwell in 1938 in 'Homage to Catalonia' (which is an eye witness account and a basic study); Burnett Bolloten in 'The Grand Camouflage;' Cesar Lorenzo in 'Les Anarchistes espagnols et le pouvoir;' and one might wonder if there is anything to change since then, as in 1974 Carlos Semprun Maura in 'Revolution et contre-revolution en Catalogne' makes extensive use of Ollivier's evidence.

To Ollivier's question: 'Was there in fact an instruction issued?' which he half answered, we can now answer no. And that for both antagonists.

H. Thomas rightly explains that if the Communists and their Catalan Nationalist and Republican bourgeois allies had wanted to attack and wipe out anarchism and heterodox Marxism, they would have ousted their divisions, as they did in Aragon in August 1937 in order to suppress autonomy and workers' control.

On the other side, if the anarchists and the POUM had wanted to exterminate the Communists in Barcelona and Catalonia, they would as a preliminary measure, have ousted their divisions; and, above all, a systematic series of incidents would have occurred in their fiefs (that is to say all the industrial cities and most of the villages). Now, in Lerida where the POUM were particularly strong, in Hospitalet de Llobregat, Cornella, Badalona, Mataro, the suburb of Barcelona with FAI groups well-known for their activism, nothing happened.

Moreover, in spite of the propaganda about arms held back in reserve, the workers of Barcelona, the CNT and the POUM were short of arms and ammunition (see Orwell). As for the munitions factories controlled by the CNT-FAI, the artillery at Montjuich operated by the anarchists, the CNT-FAI refused to use them, and only made use of them to exert pressure during negotiations (Abad de Santillan 'Por que perdimos la guerra,' 1940). Only five armoured cars – the term is more accurate than tank – were used to . . . protect the HQ of the CNT-FAI (not to defend the telephone exchange!) as Souchy says in 'The tragic week in May', 1937.

The Communists refuse these interpretations totally, and if the term: anarchist and Trotskyist 'putsch' has been used automatically from 1960 (Maidanik, 'Ispanski proletariat v natsionalnoe revoliutsonnoe voine") to 1977 (Vidiella, in 'Historia 16') there is also a development. When a grave responsibility is invariably attributed to Franco's agents according to the evidence of Von Faupel, Nazi ambassador to Franco (message of 13th May 1937, the disturbances in Barcelona had been provoked by his agents, in German political archives); now Carrillo in 'Demain l'Espagne,' 1974, and, above all, Viviella in April 1977 talk of 'the internal contradictions in the Soviet revolutionary processes . . . . transposed onto the international plan,' and – on the assassination of the POUM leader Andres Nin – it was an 'assassination.' But I

would claim that neither the Spanish Communist Party nor the PSUC – Catalan Communist Party – had anything to do with it.' A phrase from Vidiella that is all the more surprising than that he claims on the same page that Soviet agents did not intervene 'at all.'

Ollivier's chronological description is still accurate, but one is aware of lacunae for the 5th May with the absence of any mention of the assassinations of Berneri and Barbieri and the Communist Sese. In contrast, the refusal of the CNT leaders of the assistance of the anarchist divisions and the POUM sections is perfectly true. On this point, which is so often stressed by the Communists and their bourgeois allies, it must be added that the day after the troubles, the 4th May the Catalan Government used the alpine militias (a fact that is pointed out by Manuel Cruells in his famous but incomplete book, ' Mayo Sangriento', 1969) who had been summoned in haste (see 'Serra d'Or, special issue on 'Catalan tourism of 1976) thus abandoning the Front.

As for the description offered by the Communists, it has undergone like that of the role of the USSR, a development. Maidanik, in 1960 offered a first version (at the time Orwell showed the contradictions of the English Communist journals): the guards were attacked by provocateurs and outcasts from the telephone exchange, but in the fight there were 1,000 members of the POUM and 6,000 members of the CNT, the FAI and the Anarchist Youth. In the Levant and Madrid 'The CNT did not join a common cause.'

Two years later, Pritsker in 'Podvik ispanskoy respubliki' added the 'proof' of the quotation from the Nazi archives about Franco's agents (clearly this was a matter of boasting to impress Hitler). The Soviet ex-ambassador to the London Non-intervention Committee, now a doyen of Soviet Hispanism, is the most original of these Communist historians, since in 'Carnets espagnols' (1964-1966) he claims that the putsch disarmed the guards and seized the telephone exchange. General Batov, military adviser in Spain (of Lukas on the Aragon Front in February 1937, where he was severely wounded by a shell at the same time as Gustav Regler and Lukas, who died) wrote in 'Bajo la bandera de la Espana republicana' (Russian original of 1965) that the putsch 'was quelled by the workers of the factories and firms in Barcelona.' Finally in 1971 in 'Guerra y Revolucion en Espana' (Moscow, Volume III, by a Spanish Communist Party Collective) we read of 'the lack of foresight of Aiguader' and the neutrality of the 'confederal working-class masses.' One can hope that from now until the year 2000 the Communist historians will still provide us with many details.

The number of victims of these days was more than 800 dead according to Ollivier. The majority of authors quote between 400 and 500 dead and 1,000 wounded. Souchy writes of 1,500 wounded and Maidanik of 950 dead and 2,600 wounded (the collective of the Spanish CP says 500 and 1000). In fact these figures do not take into account the repression that followed these days in May. Orwell asserts that these figures are higher than the number of victims during the days of July 1936 in Barcelona against Franco's troops. Thomas, quoting anarchist sources, gives 500 dead (of which 200 were anti-fascists) and 3,000 wounded (for two days), which invalidates Orwell's opinion.

Ollivier's conclusions about 'the strength of the anarchists, the indecision of their leaders' and the strengthening of the bourgeoisie was shared at the time by the 'Amigos de Durruti': in 'Hacia una nueva revolucion' (Barcelona 1937), they wrote 'in May, it was time for us to save the Revolution,' 'we were the only ones to be equal to the situation.'

Now, these conclusions appear identical in the works of all the authors in favour of revolution from below; Jose Peirats, Vernon Richards, Munis etc.

We will finish with an extract from 'Guerra di Classe,' from an insert of 9th May 1937, a supplement to No. 15 dated 3rd May. It shows the ideas of Berneri's comrades:

'Once more and as always, it has been proved that all that is vital and effective in a social movement cannot be anything other than a spontaneous and instinctive expression that comes from below.'

'The rank and file have fought and they have fought well and they would have seized Barcelona in the first 24 hours of the fighting if their magnificent and heroic impetus had not been braked by repeated orders from the controlling bodies.' (Translated by Simon Bennett)

FOOTNOTES TO SECTION ENTITLED OPEN LETTER TO FEDERICA MONTSENY

1. Vilanesa, small Spanish village where many CNT militants were massacred after their union premises had been looted.

2. Fifth Column, name given in Spanish press to the grouping of Fascist organisations existing behind the Republican Front.

3. The translation is incorrect, but the sense is similar; see Mintz 'Self-management in Revolutionary Spain.'

4. Phrygian cap, emblem of liberty. SCB.

N.B. Cienfuegos Press will be publishing *Class War in Spain : Camillo Berneri* which will contain a biography of Berneri and a full collection of his writings.

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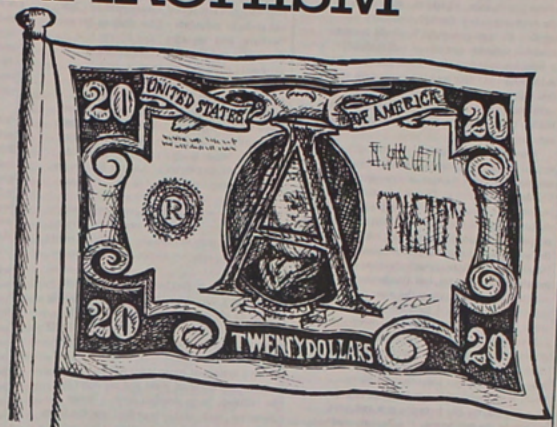
MONETARISM THE "NEW LIBERATION" AND ANARCHISM

CLIFFORD HARPER



Most people on the left are not economists, but they do have a healthy and instinctive distrust of monetarism and the associated revival of the Laisser-faire attitudes of the new liberal sm. There has also been a degree of confusion injected into the situation, because the advocates of monetarism style themselves "libertarian" and yet are associated with the centre-right of British politics.

There are consequently a number of myths that need knocking on the head immediately, and these are (a) that laisser-faire advocates are libertarian in any sense of the word (b) that the centre right are 'moderates.' I also want to examine the link between monetarism as an economic philosophy and the so-called resurgence of the right, the chimera of anarcho-capitalism (or market anarchism) and lastly whether the idea behind monetarism can revitalise capitalism;

Monetarism is a 'school' of economic thought that has its spiritual home in Chicago In fact economic text-books often use the term "Chicago School' so as to be interchangeable with monetarism. Most well-known advocate of monetarism is Milton Friedman a lecturer in economics at Chicago University. Friedman's recent pamphlets and writings have been distributed in the UK by the Institute for Economic Affairs, an organisation closely associated with Tory MP Keith Joseph.

The key concept behind monetarism is that control of the supply of money within an economy is vital in determining the rate of inflation. Money is a commodity, like everything else, and the more there is of it, in relation to real wealth (industrial output) the less it is worth. Therefore when productivity is stagnant, but the money supply increases, the purchasing power of money falls, so prices go up.

Traditionally most economists have argued that mild inflation is good for the economy, so the monetarist doesn't want to completely restrict the money supply, but advocates instead, an extremely slight expansion, within strict limits.

The growth of the corporate economy (see L. Hannah, *Growth of the corporate economy*) and the apparent success of orthodox Keynesian economics had apparently made monetarism a second best policy, which while retaining a substantial following, still played second fiddle to Keynes. It wasn't until things started to go drastically wrong with the world capitalist economy that monetarism came into its own again.

Even allowing for the technical capacity of capitalist society to adapt to problems of scarcity of raw materials, it has been obvious for some time that the world economy was consuming at a rate that could not be sustained for long, especially in view of the encroachment of State Socialism in areas of the world that had traditionally been sources of supply for the West. The problems were compounded by the gross inequality of consumption that existed between different areas of the world – something which increased world instability. Recently this instability manifested itself in the socalled energy crisis, and the resultant economic crisis and associated inflation that has wracked the East and West alike.

America had for many years adopted the Keynesian idea of employing people to dig holes and fill them in again to create welath – only the holes they dug (or bombed) were in Vietnam. The Vietnamese war created a consistent level of demand that helped keep the American economy (and hence the world economy) on a fairly even keel. The war ended round about the same time as the economic crisis began, accelerating the process of stagnation and crisis. It is this failure of Keynesian economics, that has lead to the increase in the influence of the Chicago School, both within organisation such as the World Bank and the I.M.F., and within nation states.

If any single individual can be singled out as embodying the core of the new "libertarianism" it is probably self-publicist Milton Friedman. The reason for this comes partly from the influential position that Friedman holds at the University of Chicago, and the large number of lecture tours that he has given both in America and abroad, but the main reason is most probably the clarity of expression contained in his prolific writings.

At 65 he's had plenty of time to break into print, and to practice a style of writing that is both easily read by the layman, and compelling in the simplistic nature of the logic of his arguments. His writing is emotive, concerned with individual freedom, and not solely with making the economy more efficent. He espouses free-market cpaitalism because he believes that it promotes equality and freedom far more than socialism ever can (of course he is apparently only acquainted wit\ the statist variety).

His ideas are not especially original, drawing heavily upon Hayek and Keynes. Their popularity derives, not solely from any intrinsic merit, but rather from the fact that he provides a popular, materialistic and capitalist, theory of economics that can be raised in opposition to marxism by big business interests (who then have no need to resort to fascism – a much more risky business). Besides it is also good for profits and allows the status quo to benefit from

prevailing libertarian currents in social opinion.

Friedman should be criticised from two perspectives: the social and the economic. His social ideals are proclaimed, falsely, as "libertarian" and his economic analysis is dangerously wrong.

How "libertarian" is Friedman? As most people know he advocates a free market economy, without state interference, although he doesn't believe in the total abolition of the state (even if he criticises its role in education and other spheres), but favours restricting its role. Firstly the state controls the economy solely through its ability to regulate the money supply, it would cease to subsidise industry (private or nationalised); it would refrain from legislation that favoured monopolies or hampered the operations of the free market; it would keep taxation to a minimum, and give up the use of inflation as a hidden tax (i.e. as incomes rise, they move into new tax brackets).

His economic arguments are not without appeal to anarchists who have long argued that taxation favoured the rich, a view that Friedman concedes in *The distribution of income*, but his criticisms are basically designed, not to overcome inequality, but to simplify the mechanisms through which the social distribution of income is achieved. He objects to inflation partly because of the instability it generates, but also because it redistributes wealth, from the poor to the rich (see: Capitalism & Freedom) which is true. The solution he proposes, however, is indexation, of things like tax levels, contract prices, wages and so on. Superficially this might appear a suitable reform, but in fact indexation does not solve that problem, because assuming that a percentage of indexation is used, the gap between rich and poor widens in the *real* terms. If a flat-rate method of indexation is used, as by the last conservative government then redistribution still takes place to an extent, but this time, from the privileged to the poor, with all the social tensions that result from such a policy.

Many of Friedman's criticisms of the attempts by the welfare state to ensure a more equal distribution of income and wealth are valid, and his proposals in favour of negative income tax have been for a long time part of Liberal Party policy in Britain. Friedman is, however, against any egalitarian redistribution of either income or wealth, resorting to analogy to justify this opposition (because reason does not back his argument). His form of analogy is disarmingly simple (and therein lays its appeal). "Suppose you and three friends are walking along the street and you happen to spy and retrieve a $20 bill on the pavement" . . . "would the other three be justified in joining forces and compelling you to share the $20 equally with them? I suspect most readers will be tempted to say no." (*Distribution of Income*).

This ingenious argument is in fact totally unfair. The social wealth of a country lays in its factories and machinery, in its hospitals and schools (for all their faults). They have been created by the sweated labour of thousands of individuals, not by the illustrious names printed on the headed notepaper. Factories are not found on the pavements for anyone to pick up, and a fair distribution of the world's wealth is a matter of life and death for millions of people.

Friedman's ideas, (like those of Ayn Rand) institutionalise the pursuit of self-interest, but Friedman, does in fact go further, because his proposals are designed to depoliticise the conflict over the distribution of wealth, by substituting equal access to the system, for a just outcome.

Milton Friedman claims that his intention is to maximise freedom (which is strange considering his support for bomber Goldwater's candidacy for US President, and his relationship with the self-styled government of Chile), and seeks to articulate a false division between "welfare" and "equality" and liberty (see *Capitalism and Freedom*). He finds an extremely close link between 'political' liberty and 'economic' liberty, believing capitalist regimes to be ethically superior to authoritarian socialist regimes, because they allow the individual to take part in economic transactions. (Obviously Friedman has not made any major study of the economies of the authoritarian states of Eastern Europe, or he would have realised that in fact there are flourishing private markets in all those countries, where in fact the economic transactions are carried out on a person to person basis, rather than in capitalist countries, where most transactions are carried out between intermediaries).

One of the largest fallacies to dominate Friedman's thought is the role of the market, which he sees as a device for co-ordinating literally millions of voluntary exchanges every day, requiring no plan or purpose to which individual transactions have to conform, but being a system of impersonal rules within which the individual plans and purposes can be fulfilled. In its simplest form, a barter economy, each person benefits from the transaction 'provided the transaction is bilaterally voluntary and informed' (*Capitalism and Freedom*) (I will for the purpose of this article, ignore the similarity between this argument, and Rousseau's idea of the voluntary nature of the social contract between people and their governments.) There is, he argues, no difference in principle between this system, and a more sophisticated complex enterprise and money exchange economy. In fact he has been deceived by appearances. Because people enter into exchange without a gun at their backs, or without the threat of prison looming, does not mean that their actions are voluntary, simply because one item is exchanged for another which has (at that moment) an "equivalent" value. (* see footnote).

Friedman also believes the market to be more democratic in presenting choice to people than political systems are, emphasising what he terms the "proportional representation" effect of the market. The outcome of political decisions are uniform and coercive in comparison to competitive markets, which produce diversity and freedom. Since political democracy can only work through aggregating choices it must inevitably leave many choices unsatisfied. Friedman often illustrates this contrast with an analogy. If 51% vote for red ties then everybody has to wear red ties. In an economic market "by voting with their wallets" people can choose either green or red ties.

As usual, however, there are many hidden assumptions in Friedman's simple analogies. For example, he blithely assumes that each individual has an equal purchasing power, whereas in fact many people have a purchasing power that is quite literally millions of times greater than average, and are quite able to completely dominate the so-called "democratic" process of the market. It is true that private wealth provides a bulwark against the state, but then, that is like saying Stalin provided a bulwark against Hitler.

It is easiest to see the differences that exist between Friedman's idea of the market as a device for regulating exchange of goods and services, and those of anarchists, by comparing his ideas with those of the "early" anarchists, who were often concerned with the problems of markets, money and banking. Josiah Warren provides the following illustration:

"If a traveller, on a hot day, stops at a farmhosue for a drink of water, he generally gets it without any thought of price. *Why?* Because it costs nothing, or the cost is immaterial. If the water was brought from a great distance, over difficult passes, there might be a price set upon it which every one would sanction, *if that price was governed by its Cost*, or the labour of procuring and delivering it.

"If the traveller asked for wine, he would expect to pay for it, because it costs more than water; and if this *cost* was made the limit of its price, all would seem just and harmonious. But if the farmer, when asked for water, were to endeavour to find out how thirsty the traveller was, and how much money he could induce him to pay for the water rather than being a system of impersonal rules within which the individual plans and purposes can be fulfilled. In its simplest form, a barter economy, each person benefits from the transaction 'provided the transaction is bilaterally voluntary and informed' (*Capitalism and Freedom*) (I will for the purpose of this article, ignore the similarity between this argument, and Rousseau's idea of the voluntary nature of the social contract between people and their governments.) There is, he argues, no difference in principle between this system, and a more sophisticated complex enterprise and money exchange economy. In fact he has been deceived by appearances. Because people enter into exchange without a gun at their backs, or without the threat of prison looming, does not mean that their actions are voluntary, simply because one item is exchanged for another which has (at that moment) an "equivalent" value. (* see footnote).

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As usual, however, there are many hidden assumptions in Friedman's simple analogies. For example, he blithely assumes that each individual has an equal purchasing power, whereas in fact many people have a purchasing power that is quite literally millions of times greater than average, and are quite able to completely dominate the so-called "democratic" process of the market. It is true that private wealth provides a bulwark against the state, but then, that is like saying Stalin provided a bulwark against Hitler.

It is easiest to see the differences that exist between Friedman's idea of the market as a device for regulating exchange of goods and services, and those of anarchists, by comparing his ideas with those of the "early" anarchists, who were often concerned with the problems of markets, money and banking. Josiah Warren provides the following illustration:

"If a traveller, on a hot day, stops at a farmhosue for a drink of water, he generally gets it without any thought of price. *Why?* Because it costs nothing, or the cost is immaterial. If the water was brought from a great distance, over difficult passes, there might be a price set upon it which every one would sanction, *if that price was governed by its Cost*, or the labour of procuring and delivering it.

"If the traveller asked for wine, he would expect to pay for it, because it costs more than water; and if this *cost* was made the limit of its price, all would seem just and harmonious. But if the farmer, when asked for water, were to endeavour to find out how thirsty the traveller was, and how much money he could induce him to pay for the water rather than being a system of impersonal rules within which the individual plans and purposes can be fulfilled. In its simplest form, a barter economy, each person benefits from the transaction 'provided the transaction is bilaterally voluntary and informed' (*Capitalism and Freedom*) (I will for the purpose of this article, ignore the similarity between this argument, and Rousseau's idea of the voluntary nature of the social contract between people and their governments.) There is, he argues, no difference in principle between this system, and a more sophisticated complex enterprise and money exchange economy. In fact he has been deceived by appearances. Because people enter into exchange without a gun at their backs, or without the threat of prison looming, does not mean that their actions are voluntary, simply because one item is exchanged for another which has (at that moment) an "equivalent" value. (* see footnote).

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the minimal state are often confused with anarchists, because many of their arguments superficially resemble those of people like Murray Rothbard, although in fact, they are more closely related to the new liberals such as Milton Friedman, and Gustav Hayek. The minimal state describes a society in which the greater part of the lives of its citizens will be in the private sphere; there will be a sharp distinction between morality and law, matters of morality being "so far as is possible," outside the concern of the State. The State will be concerned solely with the enforcement of contracts, with law, civil peace and war. This is the "primitive" form of the State associated with early forms of mass culture (usually termed "civilisation.")

The clearest exposition of minimal statist ideology is to be found in Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State and Utopia*. Nozick, a professor of philosophy at Harvard University, puts forward the thesis that the state emerges from the natural free-market state of nature, as a kind of invisible hand that violates no-one's rights. Its first stage is as a dominant "protective agency" which becomes an "ultra-minimal state" and then finally a minimal state. This argument completely ignores the fact that every single state know to man, even minimal states, have grown as a result of the imposition of violence by one social group upon another. Vioence, conquest and exploitation were always the midwives of the State.

Nozick's logic is torturous, abstract, and envisages the minimal state growing out of "protective agencies" to which people surrender a degree of freedom, in exchange for a degree of protection. His arguments are often based on sweeping generalisations (such as "large sections of the working class now have cash reserves in personal property"), and in fact cannot be taken as seriously as those of either Friedman or Rothbard.

At a tangent to both anarcho-capitalism and the "new liberals" are the free enterprise theories of Ayn Rand. Ayn Rand is rumoured to be a libertarian of sorts, because of her attempts to promote the "individual" against the State. Yet underneath her adulation of the individual lays the same kind of myths and half-thought-out theories that provided the impetus for fascism. The State is only evil because it prevents the talented from gaining true recognition for their achievements, and the "gifted" from obtaining the rewards their skills deserve. She sees the state as the medium by which the "average" person without genius or talent seeks to enslave the great. If any readers are really interested in this kind of crap, they could subscribe to the Ayn Rand newsletter, in which she will enlighten all about the true philosophical meaning of today's events.

The relationship, then, between the "new liberalism" and anarchism is so tenuous as to be almost non-existent, but can be traced through the ideas of the minimal statists and the anarcho-capitalists, whose actual function may be to provide the intellectual raw material upon which the new liberals can draw to reinforce their arguments.

This does not mean, however, that anarcho-capitalism should be ignored by anarchists, because its theories provide a useful balance to the ideas of anarcho-communism and anarcho-syndicalism that have dominated anarchism for the last 50 years, and thus a timely reminder that anarchism isn't individualism, communism or syndicalism, but anarchism. As such, it sets forth no pre-conceived blueprint for the economic organisation of society. It is also note-worthy that when anarchists have attempted to collectivise the land (as in Spain and the Ukraine) they always left individuals who did not wish to join the collective with sufficient land to enable them to provide for their own subsistence, and helped with the harvest if the individual was unable to manage it alone.

Lastly I want to discuss the reasons for the apparent revival of interest in liberalism, to see if it is connected to a resurgence of the "right," and the implications for anarchism that these might have.

A number of things have been occurring within capitalism that have threatened its continued existence. Firstly the nature of technology and the consequent patterns of consumption that developed from it have lead to a growing shortage of raw materials. These shortages have been made more acute by the growing and competing interests of the USSR and its associated states, which in spite of a continuing process of integration into a world-wide economic system, nevertheless poses a very real threat to the continuation of the *status quo* in the heartlands of capitalism. Simultaneous with this process changes have occurred within the economies of the "Western" countries, that have lead to a considerable growth in the size, nature and influence of the State bureaucracy, and while the establishment requires the support of the state to survive, it is now in danger of being taken over by its servant. The pattern of social democracy that W. Germany provides may be a model that other countries need to emulate, Russia may be a hierarchical dictatorship, that provides "jobs for the boys" at the top, but the transition to these forms of government and economic structure would be extremely disruptive to many powerful vested interests, and as such will be opposed.

The concept of welfare state socialism might be ok for a period of expanding capitalism, when a proportion of profits can be set aside for the development of these services, (and a better educated, healthier population stimulates further growth), but in a time of economic stagnation, when vast sums of money have to be invested in creating a technology that utilises new types of natural resources (e.g. nuclear power), a tremendous strain is placed on an already creaking economy. Coupled with increased conflict that always appears in times of recession and crisis it means that something has to give.

The range of choice open to ruling elites is often very narrow, as they are forced to balance the claims of powerful vested interests, and maintain social stability, when cutting back on state provision usually intensifies conflict. What better opportunity presents itself then, for a cut back, than community resources such as health care, education, transport and so on, where people are actually fighting for a greater degree of autonomy? Reducing State interference in these spheres will be welcomed by many sectors of society, and reduce the tensions that have been generated by past interference. Even some industries can be run as self-managed concerns, as long as the essential framework of capitalism remains undamaged.

The arguments put forward for reduced State interference in the economy and the community, have the added advantage of returning things to a "natural" state of affairs. The decision to increase levels of unemployment, for example, will no longer appear as a deliberate political decision, but as the natural result of the free operation of the market. In consequence the number of means for fighting redundancy will be reduced.

The loud mouths of the over articulate silent majority have latched onto the new liberalism because it provides the only viable ideology that remains fundamentally materialist, yet opposed to state socialism. Fascism is too risky a card to play, in that it demands complete control being placed in the hands of the State, in return for the continuation of a capitalist economy. Fascism may be a last resort, but in fact it is already apparent within the new liberlaism. After all, it is no coincidence that Friedman's economic ideas have been implemented under the dictatorships in Chile, Brazil and the Argentine, and are undergoing a revival in corporate state Britain, but a logical development from those ideas.

Within a free-market system, when everything fetches "the price it will bring", the sale of labour is reduced to the same laws, and individuals will combine together within unions and associations, so that by withdrawing their labour they can create the scarcity necessary to ensure high wages. In this way, the unions pose a dangerous challenge to the whole concept of a free-market society, and they must either therefore be incorporated into the institutional structure of the economy through the means of "participation" or "self-management," or be ruthlessly suppressed, or rendered docile through high unemployment.

Many anarchists, frightened by the apparent savagery of welfare cuts, and the vicious rhetoric of the right, (fortified by its refound ideological roots) may be tempted into supporting the campaigns launched by the state socialists in an effort to preserve their own empires. They should think again before doing so, for the new liberalism in fact represents a retreat for authoritarianism, for while it may be a strategic retreat, it is one which will benefit rebellion.

Self-management of community services even if only within a framework of an authoritarian society would in all probability lead to people demanding an ever greater measure of control over their own lives. More importantly, as the State withdraws from areas of our lives, so the size of the "marginal" sectors of society will grow: areas which cannot be profitably exploited by capitalism, and are too expensive for colonisation by the State. These areas will provide a "secure" social and economic "base" for the growth of anarchist ideas, within which problems will be solved by the direct actions of the people. The inaction and dependency of a people wet-nursed by the State would give way to a confident, self-assertive populace that would be difficult, even impossible to govern.

As the role of the State is diminished, so its ambiguous appearance changes, and its oppressive nature becomes more clearly apparent. The facade of the welfare state

falls, and its true purpose is the only one visible. The implication for anarchists, then is quite clear – there is no point in supporting one type of capitalism in preference to another, because all roads lead to anarchy!

Paul Wilson.

The Joseph Goebbels/Donald Duck Prize for Liberal Objectivity 1978

The New York Review of Books recently published (October 31, 1977) a review by Raymond Carr, an Oxford professor, of three anarchist books on Spain: Murray Bookchin's *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936*, Abel Paz's *Durruti: The People Armed*, and Sam Dolgoff's *The Anarchist Collectives*. Carr's thesis boils down to the assertion that when they were not being bandits (the customary bourgeois view) the Spanish anarchists of the period were "millenarians" or "primitive rebels" – ideas familiar to readers of the liberal literatteur G. Brenan or of the unfortunate stalinist hack E.J. Hobsbawm, respectively, but whose authorship Professor Carr does not see fit to acknowledge.

Visual adornment for Professor Carr's article is provided, at the beginning, of a somewhat coy little drawing of human beings swept to their deaths by tempest, earthquake and flood; this presumably represents the impact of anarchism upon society, while the article is immediately followed by a large advert for snob wines – hierarchical tranquility restored. We asked Frank Mintz, whose own book on workers' management in revolutionary Spain has at last been published in a Spanish edition, for his comments:

Carr begins his review, entitled "All or Nothing" with this sentence: "Let me put my cards on the table. I regard Spanish anarchism as largely a disaster, both for the workers' movement and for democracy in Spain."

Curiously, more than the half of the article is against Bookchin and one would have appreciated Carr if he had begun frankly: "I already dislike Bookchin because he did so and so to myself (or my wife) and he is losing me a lot of money writing a book about my academic preserve. And I hate anarchism because I love to be a boss, and so bosses must be a necessity in society."

The rest of the paper is first apparently ironical and caustic, after which, also apparently, comes some more serious argument.

For a review of three books of 344, 323 and 231 pages (898 pages in total) Carr gives us a continuous series of jeers, the best of which are: anarchism introduced in Spain "by an Italian Bakuninist (sic) who could speak no Spanish;" Durruti and Ascaso "bank robbers for the cause, assassins of archbishops and policemen;" "besides puritanical revolutionaries like Durruti, the activists included unstable adolescents for whom bombs were a means of liberation (. . .) Anyone who has been to Belfast will sense the parallel;" "Mr Bookchin's apologia for political assassinations." These gems are obtained by the deletion of all context and historical references. That is normal: the ABC of calumny is caricature, deformation and generalisation (R. Carr's paper worthy of publication in a communist paper).

Fanelli did not know Spanish but he spoke in French and he was understood by future anarchists and marxists; only one member of the clergy was shot; every young person attracted to a "bad" cause is considered to be mentally defective and every young hero who follows a "good" one is a mature human being. So thinks Carr in his manicheism. And the "apologis" he likes to see is only the struggle of workers against the worst exploiters. Here is a small anecdote I recorded from "Radio Nacional de Espana," in August 1977, by Jesus Torbado and Manuel Leguineche, two journalists who wrote a book about "Los Topos" (the moles): men who remained hidden during years to escape the francoist repression (the last of them was so from 1939 to July 1977). In Castille, a young altar boy was sent by the priest to fetch some wine for the mass. The boy drank it with three other boys and he stayed at home to avoid the priest's anger. It was July 1936. Some days later, rightists entered the village and the priest (as in other places) indicated, pistol in hand, the people to kill. The boy and his comrades were among them. The three comrades were shot. The boy got to know in time and remained hidden for years.

Carr knows all this very well but he prefers to say "Violence is always a vicious circle." "Every act of police repression unleashed, in its turn, a new cycle of violence and assassination as a reprisal." And the paradox is that for Carr it was legitimate to struggle against the dictatorship of 1923-29, but not against the republic of 1931-36 which "did allow people to vote." "Abstention, like violence, was a vicious circle." One supposes Carr has never read Kropotkin's criticisms of voting, because if he had, he would know that abstention is a common conception of anarchists, not just the FAI (who said *No Votar* or "No voteis" but not "No votad," a grammatical error).

Carr repeats the francoist thesis of (leftist) anarchist responsibility for the conflict: "they polarised Spain and produced a civil war and the chance for social revolution mounted by the masses to resist a fascist takeover. That the fascists won the civil war and suppressed the workers for forty years seems an irrelevancy."

Carr does not seem to know about Sanjurjo's coup of 1932, Mussolini Italy's help to the rightists, the socialist refusal of violence in 1934 which transformed the Asturian rising into a mere argument for political maneouvres, delays and wastes of time by the republican government during the military putsch in 1936. Leftists were unable to resist the coup, and the rightists were determined to finish off the left (with or without the anarchists), as in Chile in 1973. If Carr does not see that, it is most unusual. Or, better, a "good" polemicist prefers to twist the truth than to respect it.

Carr's last target is self-management: "Mr. Sam Dolgoff has edited a handbook for the convinced, reprinting the uncritical enthusiastic accounts of anarchist collectives;" "Yet there is an abundant critical literature from Franz Borkenau's *Spanish Cockpit* to Perez Baro which reveals the ravages of a collective syndical selfishness which sometimes replaced bourgeois greed;" "even if one accepts Noam Chomsky's verdict that the success of the agrarian collectives in wartime was 'amazing', I see no grounds for a similar verdict in the case of the industrial collectives."

Carr must have some reading difficulties. Dolgoff's book is not a panegeric and does not avoid critics (pp. 71, 83, 143-146, 169, 174 as a minimum). Borkenau gives interesting descriptions, but like a marxist he was against the movement and preferred to win the war first. Perez Baro was and is a partisan of self-management as it was done in Catalonia, from the top (that is his view) but without the sabotage of the political left (catalanists, socialists, and communists): see his conclusion p.189: "If the collective experiment in Catalonia had not been cut short at its birth (. . .) it would have given the fruits expected of it." (*30 meses de collectivisme a Catalunya*). For myself I have given some explanations of the success of self-management in industry and in the war industry – as did J.M. Bricall and of the united export of lemons and oranges ("agrios"). So Carr is not sufficiently informed to give a serious judgment.

Carr's conclusion is that man "is not naturally good," that now in Spain's self-management "has become the common programme of *all* trade unions," that the CNT alone supports marginal groups: "homosexuals, criminals, feminists and gypsies" to make the social revolution. (Carr forgot to mention that the CNT also supports the German Jew Cohn-Bendit, which would have completed the Hitlerian allusion).

What I understand is that for Raymond Carr hierarchy (one human being over another) is obligatory, and that is "self-management." Such a strange definition ignores the control of power from the bottom, the rotation of responsibilities and professions (manual and intellectual), the abolition of money, etc., which is anarchist self-management. And I do not think that other unions share it. Another falsification of Carr's, revealing him both as a bad historian and a bad polemic.

Frank Mintz.

Joe Hill Memorial Committee

The Joe Hill Memorial Committee was a scheme started by the Cambridge Anarchist Black Cross last November, with the aim of supplying all kinds of books free to prisoners. Since starting we have received over 100 titles in donations, and have produced our first stock list. All the books must be in good condition to comply with prison regulations, but the subject matter can be wide. We have already sent literature to a number of prisoners, both in Britain and abroad, but we are hampered in two ways: firstly there's the postage, which can be high, secondly it's taken a while for news of our scheme to circulate – you could perhaps help by putting us in touch with prisoners (not only political prisoners but all kinds). There is only one condition attached to the supply of books – we ask that the recipient should not treat the book as his/her own personal property but pass it on to anyone who would like it. If you've any books you'd like to donate, send them to the Joe Hill Memorial Committee, c/o Black Cross, Ratsalike, Queens College, Cambridge.

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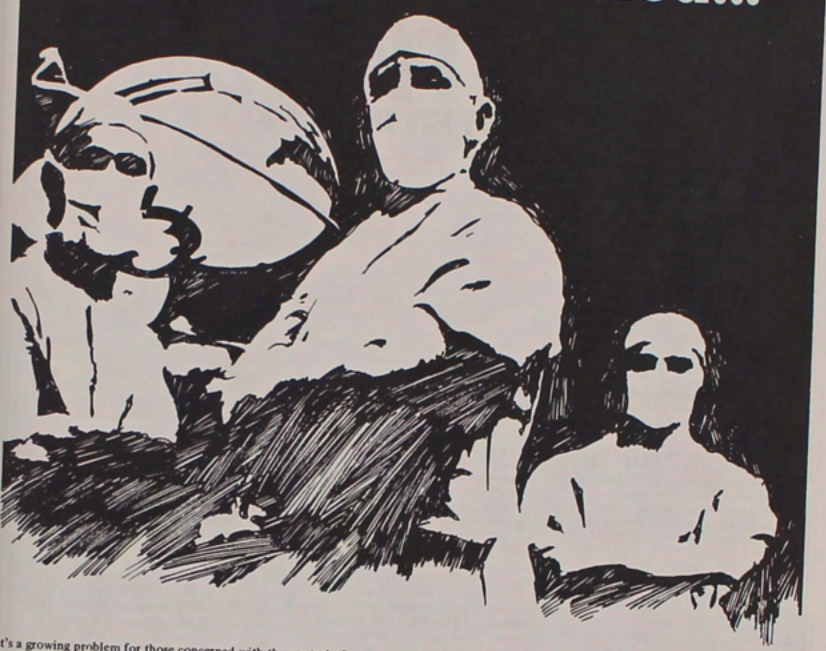
Where conventional methods have failed...



It's a growing problem for those concerned with the control of inmates within prisons. Traditionally, control has been achieved by the threat of removal of privileges, with beatings or solitary confinement, but there is now a spreading resistance to these methods, particularly among the lunatic fringe of politically motivated prisoners.

To combat this tendency, psychiatry has developed a pharmacological approach in line with the latest scientific knowledge. Prolixin and similar mind altering drugs which can stimulate a "living death," have proven highly effective in evoking patient compliance.

But for more resistance prisoners, demented revolutionaries who still long to destroy society, we have developed in the interests of their mental health, a psychosurgical programme *which never fails.*

One psychiatrist working with the prison service describes an actual example:– "Duncan Borthwick was a severely deteriorated psychopath who wanted to destroy all of capitals social relations.

After a futile attempt to control his seizures and violence with a wide range of pharmacological agents, chronic temporal lobe electrodes were implanted in his amygdala.

Whenever he elicited anti-social response to stimuli, we proceeded to shock his brain. To quote his own words, it was 'a jolting pain going through your head like an electric crowbar.'

In a matter of days his violent behaviour was extinguished – without recourse to lobotomy!

I was told that he will never be able to function in society again – a completely successful operation!"

The best ideas are the ideas that help people. ITT

Serving the community

THE ANARCHISTS & THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION 2:

PRAXEDIS G. GUERRERO 1882-1910

Si os parece que andando no Negais a la libertad,corred entonces.

P.G. Guerrero.

Praxedis G. Guerrero, anarchist, militant, propagandist, poet and secretary to the *Junta Organizadora del Partido liberal Mexicano* was the first Mexican anarchist to give his life for Land and Liberty, when he was killed, at the early age of only 28, during an attack on the town of Janos, Chihuahua, in the early months of the Mexican Revolution. Together with Ricardo Flores Magon, Praxedis was one of the main animators of the early revolutionary attempts made by the P.L.M., to rid Mexico of its ageing and dictatorial ruler, Porfirio Diaz, who for forty years, had subjected the Mexican people to the most cruel despotism and slavery; and during the imprisonment of Ricardo Flores Magon, between 1907 and 1910 Praxedis took on this revolutionary task almost single handed. Joining the P.L.M.'s Junta Organizadora in 1907 soon after its foundation. Praxedis not only became its most able and important 'military' organiser, but also a clear-sighted propagandist who contributed much to the anarchist ideas of the P.L.M.

In his short but heroic life Praxedis translated the anarchism of theory into the anarchism of practical action.

Praxedis Gilberto Guerrero was born on August 28th 1882 in Los Altos de Ibarra, Guanajuanto state, the sixth son of a very rich landowning family. After attending both primary and secondary school in Leon, he went to San Luis Potosi in early 1900. Here he worked as a labourer in the Cerrceria de San Luis and later in the Fundacion de Morales before returning to Los Altos de Ibarra some months later. For the next year or so he assisted his father in the family business, making several trips as its representative to Puebla, Mexico City and Laredo.

In May 1901 Praxedis was accepted as a correspondent on Filomeno Mata's anti-Diaz journal *Diario del Hogar*, but whether this was a full or part time post we do not know. Later that year however he joined the Second Reserve of the army, rising in November 1901 to the rank of *subteniente* of cavalry.

By 1903 he had become interested in the anti-Diaz Liberal movement that had been founded two years before, and began to read their publications in particular Camillo Arriaga's *El Demofilo* and Rocardo Flores Magon's *El Hijo del Ahuizote*. At the same time he bagen to read the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta, which were at that time difficult to obtain, although Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* had been published in pamphlet form by the opposition journal *Vespar* during the preceding year.

On April 2nd 1903 a demonstration of 10,000 liberals in Monterrey, Nuero Leon, protesting against the re-election of General Bernardo Reyes as state governor, were fired on by federales under the command of Reyes himself. 15 protestors were killed and many more wounded. When the news of this massacre reached Praxedis he resigned his military post in disgust and returned to his family's hacienda in Los Altos de Ibarra. He worked there as an agricultural labourer until September 1904 when he, together with Francisco Manrique and Manuel Vasquz, two fellow workers on his father's hacienda, decided to leave Mexico and find work in the United States.

Crossing the border at El Paso, Texas, Praxedis and his two companions made their way to Denver, Colorado, where he and Manrique found work with the mining firm of "The Colorado Supply Co." In early 1905 they left Denver and after working for several weeks as wood cutters in El Dorado, California, they arrived in San Francisco in March. Here Praxedis began to publish *Alba Roja* (Red Dawn). Unfortunately nothing is known about this journal as no copies have survived, but from the title we can assume it was of a revolutionary nature, most probably written for the benefit of Mexican workers in the U.S. Whether a success or failure, *Alba Roja* ceased publication when Praxedis left San Francisco in the middle of the year and headed for Pueblo, Arizona,where he worked for some time in a coal mine. Towards the end of 1905 he moved yet again, this time to Morenci, Arizona, where he found more permanent work in the foundry of the "Detroit Copper Mining Co."

In the following year, 1906, the first contact was made between the Junta Organizadora del Partido liberal Mexicano and Praxedis, when in May Manuel Sarabia, representing the Junta, visited Praxedis in Morenci. The Junta, which had been formed the preceding year in St. Louis, Missouri through the initiative of Ricardo Flores Magon, aimed at co-ordinating all anti-Diaz revolutionary activities both by exiled groups in the U.S., as well as groups within Mexico itself, and probably knew the name of Praxedis through *Alba Roja*.

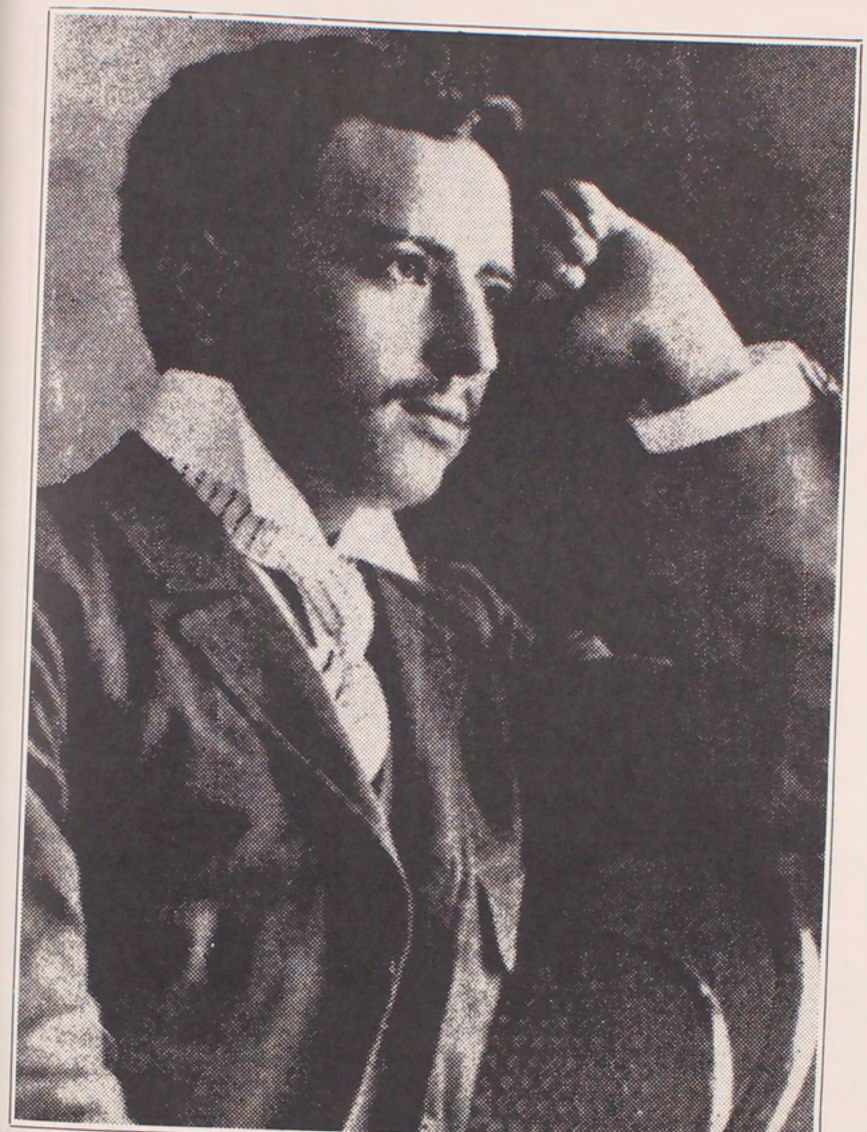
The month following Sarabia's visit Praxedis founded the group *Obreros Libres* made up of Mexicans working in the mines of Morenci. Praxedis himself was the president and Manuel Vasquez the secretary. The group in fact was an auxillary Junta to the Junta of the P.L.M. Regular collections were made and the group was able to send funds to help the main Junta in St. Louis.

In September 1906 the first P.L.M., inspired uprising took place in Mexico, but owing to ill-organisation and the infiltration of the revolutionary movement on both sides of the border by governmental informers the uprising came to nothing. Many P.L.M., members were arrested both in Mexico and the U.S., including two Junta members, Juan Sarabia and Antonio I. Villarreal, Ricardo Flores Magon narrowly avoiding arrest himself in El Paso. On the run, with the price of $50,000 on his head Ricardo went to Los Angeles, California via Sacremento and San Francisco. Later he was joined by Librado Rivera and Villarreal, also on the run, and together they founded *Revolucion* in June 1907, which they published clandestinely.

The activities of Praxedis during this period are unclear. There is some evidence to show that he may have undertaken several missions for the Junta in Mexico after the 1906 rising but this is not sure. However in June 1907 he moved to Douglas, Arizona where he worked in the mines of the "Copper Queen Co," and on the 29th of that month was appointed the Special Delegate of the Junta. He also began at this time to write articles for *Revolucion*.

Following the arrest of Ricardo Flores Magon, Villarreal and Rivera by the U.S., authorities on August 23rd after their hiding place had been discovered, Praxedis moved to Los Angeles where he assisted Manuel Sarabia and Lazano Gutierrez de Lara in the production of *Revolucion*. However the journal was forced to close by the U.S., authorities in January 1908 after first the arrest of de Lara and then of Sarabia.

On November 9th 1907 Praxedis had his first meeting with Ricardo Flores Magon, when



he visited the three imprisoned Junta members in Los Angeles county jail. Following this meeting Praxedis was appointed second secretary to the Junta.

Now the task of organising and co-ordinating P.L.M., activities on both sides of the border fell to Praxedis and Ricardo Flores Magon's younger brother, Enrique, who had just returned to Los Angeles from New York. After the official suppression of *Revolucion*, Praxedis went to El Paso, Texas where he made contact with various revolutionary P.L.M., groups in that area. He also supervised the shipment of funds and arms across the border to groups active in the northern Mexican states of Coahuila and Chihuahua.

At about this time the father of Praxedis died, leaving him a share in the family hacienda. This inheritance Praxedis rejected.

After months of patient planning and waiting, the time for a second P.L.M., uprising was drawing near. Armed groups on both sides of the border were prepared for action when on June 18th disaster struck. The homes of P.L.M., activists were raided in Casas Grandes, Chihuahua after information had been given to the police by an informer who had infiltrated the group. Five days later, on June 23rd, Texas Rangers raided the home of Prisciliano G. Silva in El Paso and seized 3000 rounds of ammunition and important documents including a letter written by Ricardo Flores Magon and smuggled out of jail by his companion Maria Talevera. This letter listed many P.L.M., groups within Mexico who were ready to rise up. The U.S., authorities immediately handed this letter over to the Mexican dictatorship, and at their request Ricardo Flores Magon and his two comrades were held incommunicado in Los Angeles county jail.

Nevertheless, despite this initial set back the first P.L.M., group crossed the border on the night of 24th-25th and took the town of Viesca, Coahuila with ease, the local police putting up only a token resistance during which one gendarme was killed and one gendarme and one rebel wounded. The insurgents then opened up the jail freeing all who were held there. Making their way to the public square they then proclaimed the P.L.M., manifesto and declared the Diaz dictatorship null and void. After this horses and funds from the public office were expropriated for the revolution. All this was accomplished without harm to any of the civil population. Unfortunately, this newly liberated population believed that the insurgents were not P.L.M., liberators but bandits, mainly because they had approached the town from the U.S. border. In the face of this public opinion the insurgents had no alternative other than to withdraw.[2]

"The evacuation of Viesca became unavoidable," wrote Praxedis later. "The volunteers of liberty came forth from their appointed stations and left, followed by the looks of love and of hope of the proletarian women whose sympathies had been enlivened by the actions of the true conservers of peace and order, who had voluntarily taken upon their indomitable shoulders the appelation of bandits."[3]

Once out of the town the rebels dispersed, some crossing the border into the U.S., and others joining other active P.L.M. groups.

The following day, to the cry of "Comrades, forward to death or the conquest of Liberty!", a P.L.M., group of 40 men led by Praxedis, Benjamin Canales, Encarnacion Guerra and Jesus M. Rangel attacked the towns of Los Vecas (today Ciudad Acuna), Coahuila. Although the town had a garrison of over 100 federales, the soldiers, instead of staying in their barracks hid in the homes of the civil population to stop them giving aid to the rebels. After a bloody struggle during which the federales were reduced to only 15 men, the town was finally taken. Because of the insurgent losses though it was decided to evacuate the town. This retreat was led by the wounded Jesus M. Rangel. The price for the capture of Las Vacas was very high. Many seasoned militants lost their lives including Canales, who was killed during the initial attack, Nestor Lopez and Modesto G. Ramirez.[4]

Praxedis crossed back into the U.S. and on July 1st, he, together with Enrique Flores Magon, Jose Inez Salazar, Francisco Manrique and 7 other comrades crossed back into Mexico and attacked the town of Palomas, Chihuahua after first cutting the telegraph wires leading from the town. Searching the homes of civilians first to avoid a repetition of Las Vacas, the insurgents finally found a force of 25 rurales locked in their barracks. An attempt to dislodge them though was repulsed. In this struggle Francisco Manrique was killed, and Praxedis and another comrade wounded.[5]

Revolutionary action by other P.L.M., groups took place in other parts of the country. An attack was made on the towns of Matamoros, Tamulipas, but this came to nothing as did an uprising by the P.L.M., group of Janos, Chihuahua. In Baja California the town of Mexicali was attacked by a small P.L.M., force who then headed inland, while an uprising of Yaqui indians in Sonora was led by Fernando Polamarez. Risings that were intended to take place in other towns and areas never materialised because of the mass arrest of militants by the dictatorship after the U.S. authorities had given them documents found in the raid on Silva's home the day before the revolution. This then was the P.L.M., revolution of 1908. Although by no means a military success it was of the utmost importance in paving the way for the great revolution to come.

Following the ill-fated attack on Palomas Praxedis and Enrique Flores Magon made their way by foot to El Paso via Ciudad Guzonan and Ciudad Juarez. From El Paso they went to Alburquerque, New Mexico, where Praxedis stayed to give his wounds time to heal. While he was convalescing he wrote articles for the liberal journal *Reform, Libertad y Justicia* of Austin, Texas edited by Antonio de P. Aranjo and Tomas Sarabia, until Aranjo was arrested by the U.S., authorities and the paper suppressed.

His wounds healed Praxedis left Alburquerque and went to Douglas, Arizona while Enrique Flores Magon headed for San Francisco. In Douglas he made contact with Jesus M. Rangel, and began planning a third and hopefully successful uprising. After Las Vacas Rangel had led a rear guard action when in August he had a small P.L.M., guerrilla group ambushed a column of federales in the Sierra del Burro, Coahuila, killing 20 soldiers.

In September Praxedis went to El Paso where he was able to organise more revolutionary groups while Rangel went to Oklahoma to obtain funds for the P.L.M., cause from Mexican mine workers.

At the beginning of 1909 Praxedis, as the Junta's special delegate, toured the central and southern states of Mexico, making contact with as many active groups as he could. At the same time Hilario C. Salis and Candido Donato Padua were organising P.L.M., activities in the states of Oaxaca, Puebla and Tlaxcala. Both were veterans of the 1906 uprising and Padua, who was the P.L.M. "Military" commander of the Vera Cruz area had managed to keep a group active since that time. Praxedis was able to keep in contact with these two comrades by letter, using the code name *Nihil*.

Returning to the U.S., at the beginning of March he travelled through Kansas, Missouri and Illinois enlisting support for the P.L.M., from members of the Socialist Party.

In August he was again in El Paso where he joined Rangel and Andrea Villarreal, the sister of Antonio, who were both engaged in organisational and propaganda work there. The day following Praxedis' arrival though Rangel was arrested by the U.S. authorities for the "violation" of the netrality laws and sentenced to 18 months inprisonment. After this set back Praxedis went to the south of Texas where he found work for a time in a sawmill, after the U.S. law machine had started to harrass him.

Praxedis' arrival in El Paso also saw the publication of the first issue of *Punto Roja*, a revolutionary journal he had been planning since his convalescence after Palomas. As most of the other Liberal journals in the U.S., had been suppressed by the authorities, *Punto Roja* was of immense importance as it was one of the few ways that P.L.M., members would keep in contact with the movement. For its short life *Punto Roja* sold 10,000 copies per issue. How many issues it ran to though is not known, and unfortunately as with *Alba Roja* no copies have survived, although some of the articles that Praxedis wrote for it were reproduced in a small volume of collected works published by the "grupo cultural *Ricardo Flores Magon* of Mexico City in 1924.[5] Soon after the appearance of *Punto Rojo* Praxedis was forced ro leave El Paso, the journal being then run by an American socialist, William Lowe, and two Mexicans, Clemente Garcia and Antonio Velaral.

At the beginning of 1910 Praxedis was working in Houston, Texas until he was forced to move to Bridgeport where he worked in the coal mines there. He was also able to contribute articles to *Evolucion Social*, a liberal weekly of Tohay. At the end of May *Punto Rojo* was forcibly closed down by the police and a month later Praxedis was forced to move again after the Diaz dictatorship had offered the price of $10,000 for his capture.

On August 3rd Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera were freed from Florence Jail, Arizona, where they had been serving an 18 months sentence for the alleged "violation" of the neutrality laws. They immediately went to Los Angeles where they were met at the railway station by hundreds of P.L.M., sympathisers. At the end of August Praxedis left San Antonio, where he had been working in the railway workshops, and joined Ricardo Flores Magon in Los Angeles. In September the publication of *Regeneracion* was resumed with Praxedis as a member of the editorial board.

All the Junta members now united, (except Juan Sarabia who was in prison in Mexico) plans for a third uprising were put in hand. Already as early as April P.L.M., "military" leaders meeting in Tlaxcala had decided, that because of the general unrest throughout the country, the time for revolutionary action was opportune. This opinion was strengthened when in May 1500 armed peons took the towns of Valladolid, Yucatan holding it for 4 days, and the following month 300 peons in Bernardino Contla, Tlaxcals, took the town hall in the name of the P.L.M., and were dispersed only when a detachment of federales were called in.

As they prepared for their social revolution the Junta was somewhat surprised to find that Francisco I. Madero, an unsuccessful candidate in the presidential elections held the previous June (Madero had stood for the anti-re-electionist Party and after his defeat accused Diaz of rigging the election) was planning an uprising to begin on November 20th. Their plans not being fully finalised the Junta contracted as many P.L.M., groups within Mexico as they could and told them to time their uprising with that of Madero. They were careful to also send out a general circular which explained quite clearly the way in which the groups were to act towards the followers of Madero.

" . . . The Junta advises you to rise up in arms using Madero's movement, but not to join it . . . attract all those of good faith who are willing to fight; trying all the time to counter-act all Maderist tendencies, so that the Revolution may be made for the benefit of the Mexican people, instead of being a criminal way for the ambitious to gain power . . ."[7]

These instructions were signed by all the Junta members.

The Maderists rose on their appointed day but were all but defeacted. The P.L.M., now took the offensive.

At the end of November Praxedis left Los Angeles for El Paso where he gathered togehter a group of 22 men, and on the night of December 19th crossed the border into Chihuahua. His plan was to take several small towns in the north of the state and then march on the state capital, Chihuahua. On December 22nd the insurgents expropriated a train bound for El Paso, 20 Km south of Ciudad Juarez. They took the engine and one car and went as far as Guzman blowing up bridges and cutting telegraph wires behind them. At El Sabenal they were joined the following day by an additional 25 rebels. That day Praxedis was able to report back to the Junta in Los Angeles,

"Until today there has been nothing new. But today the Northwestern Railroad is without bridges. The people are joining us voluntarily, Guerrero."[8]

In Guzman the rebels divided themselves into two columns. While one, led by Prisciliano G. Silva marched towards Laguna de Santa Maria, the other consisting of 32 men led by Praxedis marched towards Casas Grandes. Their intention to take this town though was abandoned when they discovered that the town had a garrison of 450 federales. By-passing Casas Grandes they attacked the town of Janos on December 29th. After a long and bloody fight the town was taken by the P.L.M., insurgents, but before the detachment of federales stationed there were overcome they managed to alert the Casas Grandes garrison. Immediately a force of 150 federales together with a detachment of rurales were sent to Janos. During the night engagement that followed their arrival Praxedis was mortally wounded.[9] He died at the age of 28.

In November 1932 his remains were exhumed and taken to the state capital, Chihuahua, where they were reinterred with great pomp. This was done not to honour an anarchist but to honour a mere "national hero" by a so-called "revolutionary" regime that then, as today subjects anarchists to the most brutal torture and murder.

As can be seen from this brief biographical sketch, Praxedis G. Guerrero was above all an anarchist activist. As he wrote to Manuel Sarabia in May 1910;

" . . . I am going towards a practical anarchism to avoid the error committed by many "dogmatists" who have placed themselves outside the masses and have in effect, turned a sharp blade into an instrument of blunt wood . . ."[10]

Despite this emphasis on the practical and active rather than the theoretical, Praxedis did make a very important and lasting contribution to revolutionary journalism as his few, surviving writings show. These articles, mainly written for *Punto Rojo* and *Regeneracion* for 1909 and 1910 respectively, sprinkled as they are with poetic imagery, show a very clear insight into the ills of an authoritarian society, and offer a libertarian alternative that could be adopted to overcome these ills. Several themes preoccupy these articles, the most prominent being racialism, womens' emancipation, rational education and most importantly, the necessity for revolution.

As a Mexican worker in the United States Praxedis saw at first hand the prejudice practiced by the American bosses and general public against all migrant workers in general, and Mexican workers in particular. Of all ethnic working groups in the U.S., the Mexicans were the most poorly paid. In many towns they were forbidden altogether from public places, and after the revolution of 1908 mine owners in Texas and Oklahoma reduced the wages of Mexicans to prevent them from giving financial aid to the P.L.M.

" . . . Racial prejudice and nationality" he wrote "clearly managed by the capitalists and tyrants prevent peoples living side by side in a fraternal manner . . .

. . . A river, a mountain chain, a line of small monuments suffice to maintain foreigners and make enemies of two peoples, both living in mistrust and envy of one another because of the acts of past generations. Each nationality pretends to be above the other in some kind of way, and the dominating classes, the keepers of education and the wealth of nations, feed the proletariat with the belief of stupid superiority and pride in order to make impossible the union of workers of all nations who are separately fighting to free themselves from Capital . . .

. . . If all the workers of the different American nations had direct participation in all questions of social importance which effect one or more proletarian groups these questions would be resolved promptly and happily by the workers themselves . . ."[11]

Racialism was not only practised against groups of workers but also against individual workers. One such case was the lunching of a Mexican worker in Texas for the supposed murder of an American woman. Praxedis wrote in disgust of this incident;

"Where?

In the model nation, in the land of the free and the home of the brave, in the land still overshadowed by the hanging of John Brown in the U.S.A., in a Texas village called Rock Springs.

When?

Today, in the 10th year of century, in the epoch of aircraft of the wireless, of the telegraph, of Peace Congresses and of Humanitarian Societies.

Who?

A crowd of white "men" to use the name they like: white men white white.

These men who burnt alive a man were not cannibals, they were not natives from Equatorial Africa, they were not wild men from Mayaya, they were not Spanish inquisitors, nor were they troglodytes not were they illiterate naked men from the jungles; instead they were the descendants of Washington, of Franklin, of Lincoln, it was a well-dressed crowd, educated and proud of its virtues, they were citizens of the United States white 'men.'

Progress, civilisation, culture, humanitarianism. All lies over the calcified bones of Antonio Rodriguez. All fantasies asphixiated in the pestilential smoke of the Rock Springs bonfire.

There are schools in each town and on each ranch in Texas; through these schools passed the boys who become the 'men' of the lynching crowd, it was in these schools that their intellect was formed, it was these schools that produced those who set fire to a living man and said, some days later, that justice had been done.

In these schools men are educated to go beyond wild beasts."[12]

Together with the elimination of racial prejudice, the emancipation of women, was for Praxedis, as indispensable as revolution itself. Speaking at a public meeting devoted to this subject in Los Angeles only a few weeks before his death, he pointed out quite clearly that the main obstacle to the true liberation of women was the bible, that taught the impurity of women, and custom that has translated this into the inferiority of women;

"The child and the woman have always been the elected victims of barbarism, and only in some countries have women enjoyed a few privileges that have placed her above man socially, such as the primitive clans where matriarchy existed. But today women do not yet occupy the true place in society that they should, as women, have . . .

. . . . Religion, whatever its name, however it presents itself, is the most terrible enemy of women. Under the pretext of consolation

it annihilates her consciousness; in the name of a sterile love, it takes her away from love, fountains of human life and happiness; with rough phantoms sketched in unhealthy poetry she is separated from the real, strong and immense poetry of a free existence.

Religion is the auxiliary of domestic and national despots, its mission is one of taming; caresses or the whip, the cage or chains, all these are employed to obtain the same results. Women are enslaved as a first step, because the woman is the mother of the child and the child becomes a man . . .

. . . 'Feminism' serves as a base for opposing the enemies of womens' emancipation. But there is certainly no attraction in say a woman policeman, in a woman removed from her soft sex to grasp the whip of the oppressor. . .

. . . Liberation, equality, does not try to make man as woman, it gives the same opportunity to both the faces of the human species so that they both develop without obstacle, helping one another without demanding rights for one only, without impeding each other's place in nature. Men and women have to fight for this rational equality, to harmonise the individual happiness with the collective happiness. Without this there will be, perpetualy in the house, the seeds of tyranny, the buds of slavery and social misery. If custom is a yoke then we must break the custom however sacred it appears. In breaking such customs civilisation advances. Some though will say it is a bridle, but such bridles have never liberated the people, never satisfied hunger nor redeemed slaves."13

By far the most important contribution Praxedis made to revolutionary propaganda was on the nature of, and the resistance to, tyranny. A resistance that could only be revolution;

". . . Tyranny is a logical result of an illness in society and it's only remedy is revolution . . ."14

After objectively analysing the nature of tyranny Praxedis concluded that;

"Tyrants and common criminals are equally subject to the natural laws of determinism, and even though their acts appall and anger us, we must agree with justice on the irresponsibility of one or the other; but without arriving at absolute judgements it can be said that tyranny is the most excusable of crimes because it cannot be committed by one individual acting alone. It only occurs when, at the same time, there are circumstances of great complexity outside the individual's will where there are powerful men waiting who are more apt and better gifted in qualities for evil. In effect, would a tyrant exercise power over a people who did not give him supporting elements? A common malfactor can commit his evil acts without the complicity of his victim; a despot though cannot exist or tyrannise without the co-operation of his followers and the most numerous part of them; tyranny is a crime of unconscious collectivities against themselves and it must be attacked as a social illness by means of Revolution, considering the death of tyrants as only an incident in the struggle, nothing more than an incident, not an act of justice."15

Praxedis also saw clearly that tyrannies were made, in part at least, through national gratitude. Many so-called 'heroes' and 'national saviours' have been hoisted into power by a grateful people, blinded to the true nature of both the individual and his followers. Of course when they realise what they have done it is too late. Praxedis gives the example of Agustin de Hurbide but history is full of examples, Mexico's own Madero or Castro to name only a few:

"Gratitude is the flower of servility, the libertarian despises it because it has the odour of a slaves' prison.

Admiration, which is a great recruiting force of the masses gives support to gratitude which is a great forger of chains to perpetuate the yoke.

The people do not owe gratitude to their liberators just as they do not owe love to their tyrants."16

Tyranny as Praxedis saw it, could only be overthrown by revolution, a revolution that would, by necessity, be violent. There was no other way, reformism, pacifism or acceptance of tyranny as a necessary evil all being equally repugnant. He accepted revolutionary violence for what it was and nothing more, and died putting it into practice.

". . . We are not looking for a subterfuge to gloss over the violence which unavoidably and by necessity will have to accompany the liberating movement. We declare violence, it is repugnant to us, but confronted with an enslavement that will continue indefinitely, or the use of force, we choose the temporary horror of armed struggle without hate for the irresponsible tyrant . . .

. . . We undertake violent struggle without making it our ideal, without thinking of the execution of a tyrant as a supreme victory of justice.

Our violence is not justice, it is simply a necessity that fills itself at the expense of feeling and idealism, and on its own it is insufficient to assure for the people the conquest of progress. Our violence would have no purpose without the violence of despotism nor would it have any reason if the majority of the tyrant's victims were not consciously or unconsciously accomplices of today's unjust situation. When human aspirations are free to develop in the social milieu then the production and practice of violence would be wrong; but not it is a practical means of breaking old moulds that the evolution of pacifism would take hundreds of years to corrode.

The aim of revolution, as we have said many times before, is to guarantee for all the right to live by destroying the causes of misery, ignorance and despotism, scorning the humanitarian theorists' cry of sentimentality."17

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Notes:

1. For further material on Ricardo Flores Magon and the Partido Liberal Mexicano see my article *Ricardo Flores Magon and the Mexican Revolution* in the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review No. 3 Vol. 1 and my introduction and chronology in *Land and Liberty! Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution: Ricardo Flores Magon*, Cienfuegos Press 1977.
2. PraxedisG. Guerrero, *Episodes of the Revolution of 1908: Viesca*, Regeneracion, September 24th, 1910.
3. Ibid.
4. Praxedis G. Guerrero, *Episodes de la Revolucion de 1908 Las Vacas*, Regeneracion, September 10th 1910.
5. Praxedis G. Guerrero, *Episodes of the Revolution of 1908: Palomas*, Regeneracion, October 1st, 1910.
6. Praxedis G. Guerrero, *Articulos literarios y de combate; pensamientos cron cas revolucionarias etc.*, Mexico D.F. 1924.
7. Circular dated November 16th 1910 quoted in D.H. de Santillan, *Ricardo Flores Magon, el apostal de la Revolucion social Mexicana.* Mexico D.F. 1925.
8. Regeneracion, December 31st 1910.
9. Regeneracion, January 14th 1911.
10. Letter from Praxedis G. Guerrero to Manuel Sarabia, 28th May 1910, in *Articulos de Combate*, p49.
11. *Programa de la Liga Pan-Americana del Trabajo* in *Articulos de Combate* p.124-125.
12. *Blancos, blancos* in ibid p144-145.
13. *La mujer* in ibid p137-143.
14. *El objeto de la Revolucion* in ibid p98.
15. *El medio y el fin* in ibid p132-133.
16. *La inconveniencia de la gratitud* in ibid p106.
17. *El medio y el fin* in ibid p132-133.

BLOW!

by PRAXEDIS G. GUERRERO

"The sheep-like multitudes were muttering like a flock in a corral. Around me were brutality, infamy, adulation, falsehood, vanity, wearying my nerves. I fled from the city for I felt like a prisoner there and I came to this solitary cliff, which shall be the mausoleum of my ennui. I am alone at last. I shall breathe another atmosphere. The murmuring of nature shall be the sweet song which greets my ear."

Standing on the summit of the lofty rock, the vagabond smiled.

There came a gentle breeze and to the lungs of the vagabond there penetrated some asphyxiating element. He seemed to hear, as if in the long locks of his unkempt hair, the moan of a strange voice.

"Whence comest thou, gentle breeze, which produces such uneasiness; whence comest thou, weeping in sorrow?"

"I come from a long pilgrimage. I passed through the huts of the peons and I saw how those slaves were born and raised. With my subtle fingers I touched the naked flesh of the little ones, the dry and withered breasts of the mothers, ugly and bestialised by misery and ill-treatment. I touched the feature of Hunger and Ignorance. I passed through palaces and I came upon the gorwl of envy, the belch of gluttony, the clink of coins counted feebly by miders, the echo of liberty-destroying mandates. I felt with my hand invisible tapestries, marbles, ornaments of gold and jewels with which were adorned, in order to make them worth something, those who were worht nothing.

"I passed through factories, through workshops, through the fields. I saturated myself with the sweat for oil for which there was no recompense. I permitted myself scarcely a peep at the mines, and brought away the weary breath of thousands of men. I swept through the naves of sacred shrines and came upon crimes and moral sloth. I bore away from there acrid odours of vile incense. I stole into the jails and caressed infancy prostituted by Justice, thought enchained in dungeons, and I saw how myriads of small insects ate the flesh of large insects. I forced my way into barracks, and saw in those quarters humiliation, brutality, intolerable vice – an academy of assassination.

"I entered the lecture halls of the colleges, and saw science as the bosom friend of error and prejudice, saw young men and women of intelligence in violent combat with each other in order to gain certificates of exploiters. I saw in those books the iniquitous right which gives the right to destroy every right.

"I passed through valleys, through mountain ranges; I whistled through the lyres of the tyrants, made from the tautly drawn cords of men hanged on the trees of the forest. I bring grief, I bring bitterness; that is why I asphyxiate.

"But see, gentle breeze, I wish to be alone." The breeze departed, but in the unkempt hair of the vagabond human anguish remained imprisoned.

In strong gusts there came another wind, intense and formidalbe.

"Who art thou? Whence dost thou come?"

"I come from all the corners of the world; I bring the justice of the future; I am the breath of the Revolution."

"Blow, hurricane! Comb my long hair with your terrible fingers. Blow, sea wind! Blow over my lofty cliff, over the valleys, into the abysses. Wind through the ravines of the mountains, destroy alike barracks and sanctuaries, wipe away those presidios, drive away that resignation, dissolve those clouds, clouds of incense, break the branches of those trees in which have been made the lyres of the oppressors. Awaken ignorance, shatch away those ornaments of gold which represent a thousand miseries.

"Blow, hurricane, whirlwind, nortn wind blow! Raise the passive sands which the feet of camels and the bellies of snakes pass over, and make of them burning projectiles. Blow, blow, so that when the breeze returns there will not remain imprisoned in my long hair the horrible anguish of human slavery!"

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ANARCHISM

"RUTA"

Inside Spain the Libertarian Youth had always had a number of mouthpieces, outstanding among them the peninsular organ *Juventud Libre* (Free Youth) and the organ of the Catalan region *Ruta*. Among the youth, we find the same mushrooming growth of libertarian papers as among adults. In his *La Ciudad de la Niebla* that great observer of the Spanish character, Pio Baroja, pointed out that wherever there were three anarchists together, they would found a paper.

Juventud Libre which adopted the title *Ruta* in October 1936, was founded well before the July revolution of 1936 when the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia were the "Cultural and Propaganda Section of the FAI" something which was to bring them into conflict with the rest of the Libertarian Youth of Spain until the revolution was already a few months old. The latter had grouped themselves into the FIJL (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) completely independent of the Libertarian mvoement's other two branches, the CNT (National Confederation of Labour) and the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) in 1932.

The Libertarian Youth of Catalonia (JJ.LL) were reluctant to break away from the FAR, whereby they appeared to refuse to leave the nest, though they were exceptionally well-equipped in terms of experience in struggle and propaganda to do so. Unity of the youth wing was finally achieved by rallying around the FIJL and its supreme body, the Peninsular Committee in Madrid. Until this unity became a fact, of course, the pages of *Ruta* devoted many a column to defending the stand of the Catalan youth. It is possible that, but for the war and the unitarian spirit it brought, the Catalan JJ.LL would have stuck to their guns and their original position which was, remember, one of dependence on the FAI.

Although the bond between the three branches was steely and unbreakable, the decision to break away on their own proved to be a good one, for throughout the three crucial years of the civil war – between 1936 and 1939 – the Libertarian Youth were able to steer clear of the shameful collaborationist blunders committed by the CNT and the FAI. In this way the FIJL weathered the problem years when other organisations of anarchists jettisoned principles for parliamentary seats, ministerial appointments or state government or municipal secretaryships, and did so without compromising its anarchist principles.

Ruta played a leading role in accomplishing a task fraught with such difficulty, and, coercion and threats from the two "sister" organisations notwithstanding, her columns never failed to proclaim the orthodox position of all anarchists: war on the state, authority, privilege, religion, right up to militarism, something which was always very risky, given the wartime conditions Spain was then experiencing. One must add that when it came to the last mentioned campaign, militarism was assailed not on any defeatist grounds, but rather by agitating on behalf of guerrilla warfare, the century (groups of 100 militiamen) and the column, the first organs of defence and attack set up in July to offer resistance to the mercenary army of Moors, Germans and Italians.

Had the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia gone on as the "Cultural and Propaganda Section of the FAI" they would have had less freedom of expression, which would have had a detrimental effect on the loyalty they always showed to anarchist principles.

If we may digress for a moment, this brings us to look at the case of the Italian Libertarian Youth who tried unsuccessfully at the Faenza Congress in June 1946 to break away from the apron strings of the Italian Anarchist Federation. To our way of thinking it was the absence of a youth organisation wholly autonomous both from an adult specific organisation and from a union one – the Italian Syndicalist Union (USI) which scarcely existed in practical terms – that lay behind the split in the congress between those who advocated and those who opposed anarchist organisation: the absence of mass groups of young folk looking for suitable organisations, in terms of age, level and avoiding adults on account of the very forceful "generation gap": the absence, in short, of something genuinely to speak out for young people, which might have been able to penetrate the ageing circles found other mouthpieces such as *Umanita Nova*, *Il Libertario* and later *L'Internazionale*.

We can see the same thing in Japan where older activists take care not to leave the young people a free hand for fear of deviation, by doing so, even greater losses are made with the young libertarian minded person reluctant to submit to the lead of his elder.

Until the Spanish civil war ended, *Ruta*'s management was successively in the hands of Fidel Miro, Jose Peirats, Manuel Peres, Santana Calero, Benito Milla, and Benjamin Cano Ruiz. Gifted writers all of them, who, as we noted earlier, were able to ensure that the youth movement's paper was uncompromising in the orthodoxy of its approach. Oddly enough, with the passing years Fidel Miro has inclined towards a more lax approach, joining the "Zero" group which is outstanding for its revisionist and even collaborationist overtones. Given that Peirats took over the management of *Ruta* in the early months of the war and his attitude then, as ever, being staunch in its orthodoxy (he is, as the saying then was a *piel roja* (red skin)[1] *Ruta* was set along an uncompromising course from the very outset – a course it has yet to waver from, either inside Spain or in exile.

Manuel Peres took over the management of *Ruta* shortly after his near miraculous escape from the Canaries which had been occupied by Franco's hordes. Born in the nineteenth century he was the oldest of all those who, at one time or another, managed *Ruta*.

Santana Calero's stay at *Ruta* was exceedingly brief and it took a backseat to meetings, organising groups and the front, until after the war had ended, he met a hero's death at the

hands of the fascist rabble, one of the most outstanding members of the Resistance in Andalusia. A loss sorely felt on account of the promise shown by this lad from Andalusia, especially in terms of oratorical gifts.

Benito Millo was a stylish writer who managed *Ruta* for rather a long time until management of the youth paper passed to Benjamin Cano Ruiz.

The last of *Ruta*'s managers inside Spain, where it lasted until 26 January 1939, when the fascists took Barcelona, was Benjamin Cano Ruiz. On the very same day that Franco's rabble entered the southern suburbs of Barcelona, Cano Ruiz delivered a finished last issue of *Solidaridad Obrera*, the organ of the Catalan CNT, ready to go to print, to the premises of that important anarcho-syndicalist paper in the Calle Concejo de Ciento. Forty years on those premises are still there, but they have been transformed into the offices of *Solidaridad Nacional* thanks to the efforts of the fascist victors. *Ruta*'s last manager turned out to be *Solidaridad Obrera*'s last director during the civil war, in a sort of "defacto" capacity.

Ruta's columns featured the finest pens of anarchist thinking. Felipe Alaiz had a column at the foot of the magazine's centre pages. The paper managed to keep to its regular weekly schedule. There was the eccentric doctor Diego Ruiz, Higinio Noja Ruiz, a writer who had come from the coal pits and whose work was a marvel to us all on account of its profundity and extent. There was the poet Elias Garcia and Fontaura, and Cristobal Garcia whom we lost track of in exile after fleeting appearances in the columns of *Ruta* in France and of *Cultura Proletaria* of New York. Not forgetting Lucia Sanchez Saornil, the founder of the feminist movement Mujeres Libres, and Soledad Estorach, another member of that movement and Carmen Quintana likewise; Vicente Rodriguez Garcia (known as Viroga) another lively mind cut down in the fullness of its powers in the early years of exile; Ivan Chevik, a fine Catalan who hid his real name, Roig, behind this Slav-sounding *nom de plume*. And there was Liberto Sarrau whose regular column "Retractos al minuto" (Up to the minute portraits) gave sort of tongue in cheek biographies of swollen headed libertarian militants or ones who had slipped down what Sebastien Faure called the "slippery slope." Along with Amador Franco, Liberto Sarrau made up the youngest duo of writers whose work appeared in *Ruta*.

As we said earlier, for the whole of the revolutionary period between 1936 and 1939 *Ruta* was a gadfly constantly pricking the exposed flanks of the Spanish libertarian movement, exposing the contradictions into which it had fallen, through collaboration with the Largo Caballero government, picking up decorations and nominating anarchists who were lifelong anti-militarists to military posts, and appointing libertarians to police, ministerial and government posts – libertarians who, out of loyalty to the organisation, accepted what amounted to a reneging on their whole history of struggle and persecution.

In this task, *Ruta* had the backing of other anarchist papers like *Ideas*, *El Quijote*, *El Amigo del Pueblo*, *Acracia* and other organs I cannot recall. The chief difference between those papers and *Ruta* was that they had, regrettably, only a sporadic existence, whereas *Ruta* was, with few exceptions, faithfully made available to its readers each week as intended.

Exile

Then came the dark years of the great world conflict when all of Europe was plunged into medieval fear and death. In Spain, the Franco repression, which went so far as to shock even Count Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law (later shot on the orders of his own father-in-law) continued to reap its deadly harvest of life, by the hundreds. That did not stop the hardening of the arteries of the Spanish libertarian movement and the first National Committee of the CNT of the Interior – headed by Pallarols, later shot like so many other Confederation members, as secretary – was followed by others, in unbroken line, up until the first "tolerated" National Committee after Franco's death.

Meanwhile, in exile, the libertarians did not as Carrillo and Camacho would perversely have it, withdraw to "winter quarters"; but by 1943 under the German occupation (of France) the first National Committee of the CNT in exile arose. Little by little it was rebuilt as the most numerous anti-Franco organisation in exile, overtaking the socialists, republicans, and of course, the communists.

45,000 libertarian militants were represented at the Libertarian Movement's Congress of Local Federations held in Paris on 1 May 1945 and the days that followed.

Before that, like a phoenix that never dies, *Ruta* had reappeared in Marseilles. The Libertarian Youth of that ancient city resolved to publish an organ that would, just as it had done in Spain during the war there, push the classic revolutionary and anti-government line of anarchism, which appeared to be in jeopardy as a result of the decisions taken at the *Muret Plenum* of 9 October 1944 in which it was laid down that the collaborationist path of the civil war in Spain was to be continued.

The first director of this exiled *Ruta* was a Catalan libertarian, Francisco Botey, from Maresma, staunch in his libertarian outlook in which there was no place for deviations.

Propaganda by *Ruta*, helped by *Impulso* from Toulouse, and *Solidaridad Obrera* and *El Rebelde*, both from Paris, brought about a healthy reaction on the part of anarchist militants and, at the Paris congress alluded to earlier, the Spanish Libertarian Movement ratified the principles, tactics and objectives which had been the inspiration of the CNT from the Congress of "La Comedia" in 1919 on.

A few days before the Paris congress in mid-April, the Libertarian Youth of Spain in Exile held its first congress, in Toulouse, as a result of which *Ruta* transferred to that capital of Languedoc with Benito Milla taking over its management. It was a task to which, as we said earlier in connection with the papers days in Spain, he was no stranger.

For a number of years the magazine was much read and in demand. The columns of this youth organ carried the best that militants in exile, and based in England, Mexico, Argentina, Africa, Belgium, Venezuela and France, had to offer. Once again it had the backing of old, familiar contributors like Felipe Alaiz, Jose Peirats, Benjamin Cano Ruiz, Liberto Sarrau, Cristobal Garcia and Amador Franco and its pages were opened now to new talents like Raul Carballeira, Cristobal Parra, Moises Martin, Jose Galdo, Mejias Pena, Liberto Lucarini, Liberto Amoros, G. Germen and A. Roa, with Antonio Tellez outstanding as a talented illustrator without whom *Ruta* would not have been what it came to be in that stage of its exile, deserving of a special mention.

When the world war ended, the naive logic of some, libertarians among them, led them to believe that it would mean the end of Francoism too, and it was at that time that hundreds of young people from the FUL went to Spain in a sort of "midwife" capacity, to help with the birth of a free Spain. The role of these young folk, many of whom were never to return, having given their lives in an unequal and suicidal battle with Franco's huge repressive machinery, gives the lie in no uncertain manner to those who claim that, while Franco lived, the anarchists had withdrawn to their "winter quarters."

These same young people were behind the publication, inside Spain, of our libertarian press. *Juventud Libre*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Ruta* turned up regularly in Madrid and Barcelona. A lot of libertarians had a hand in this work, but particularly outstanding were a group of young people like Juan Cazorla, Raul Carballeira (killed on Montjuich on 26 July 1948 in an encounter with hundreds of killers operating under Quintela, the head of the Social Brigade, plus Guardia Civil and the "greys" or uniformed police) Liberto Sarrau, Mejias Pena, Liber Forti and others.

Simultaneously *Ruta* continued to be issued from Toulouse and managed to "scoop" its contemporaries *CNT* in Toulouse and *Solidaridad Obrera* of Paris by publishing first hand reports from inside Spain, from the pen of Julian Fuentes, the pseudonym of a young libertarian who was its correspondent inside Spain up to the time when he, too, was captured in Barcelona.

In 1947, Jose Peirats came to France as the delegate from Venezuela to the Second Congress of Local Federations of the MLE (Spanish Libertarian Movement) in Exile. While he had been staying in America *Ruta* had published long articles by him, which were later collected and published as *Estampas del Exilio en America* (Portraits from Exile in America). The illustrations for issues of *Ruta* were by Jesus Guillen, "Guilember" arguably, along with Antonio Lamolla, the most outstanding painter and illustrator *Ruta* was able to call upon. Peirats rose to be Secretary General of the Inter-Continental Committee of the MLF in Exile and proved of first class assistance in strengthening the Libertarian Youth and *Ruta*, being, briefly, the director of that publication. In his capacity as Secretary he made two trips into Spain, thereby becoming the first militant occupying such an elevated position in the organisation to risk the clutches of the enemy.

The ingenuousness of libertarians was not endless. The democracies showed that they could lay their dreams for the post war era to sleep in all conscience with an ally of Hitler and Mussolini still holding sway over South-west Europe. In addition, France went Guallist in 1958 and one of the first steps taken by the French government was to prohibit the publication of the Spanish anti-Franco press. *Ruta*'s publication was suspended, something which young libertarians in France attempted to remedy with the publishing of *Nueva Senda* (New Route) as an internal bulletin – with the choice of name attempting to maintain some connection with *Ruta* (Road), but the paper died out a few years later.

It was at this point that young Spanish libertarians whom exile had brought to the shores of Venezuela decided that the phoenix would rise once more from the ashes and began to issue *Ruta* from bases in the Americas.

Two test issues in duplicated form were issued until, with 13 October 1962, on the occasion of the fifty-third anniversary of the execution by firing-squad of Francisco Ferrer, the first of what might be considered the current run of *Ruta* saw the light of day.

There have been many stages in the life of the Venezuelan *Ruta*, the first lasting from the issue mentioned up to issue number 60 in October 1967.

It began life with a crude lay-out and stencilled pages and evolved – maintaining the same 21cm x 28cm format – until today it is entirely printed in offset form. It was typified by the variety of its subjects, although a section was set aside for book reviews and revolutionary odds and ends each month. Apart from Victor Garcia, who has occupied the position of editor in chief since its inception, its contributors have included such renowned anarchists as Gaston Leval, Octavio Alberola, Benjamin Cano Ruiz, Fontaura, Jose Vallina, Carlos Zimmerman, Lone, Elgen Relgis, Marcelino Garcia, Ismale Viadiu, Munoz Cota, Cosme Paules, Vladimir Munoz, Pedro Bargallo, Felix Alvarez Ferreras, Floreal Castilla, Hermoso Plaja, Jose Peirats, Campio Carpio, Serrano Gonzalez, Solano Palacio, Panayot Chivicot, Tato Lorenzo and others.

In connection with the first stage, mention must be made of the contribution made by Vicente Sierra, a tireless worker whose A.B. Dick offset enabled *Ruta* to set a standard in no way inferior to a professional job when it came to the difficult art of printing.

When we come to the second stage, we find each issue given over in its entirety to monographs in such a way that with each issue we have a topic exhaustively dealt with by one or two writers. On account of the modest offset machine acquired for the purpose, the format has been reduced to 17cm x 24cm with 28 to 36 pages each issue, depending on the demands of the topic under examination.

In this, the second stage, contributors have also been prominent figures in the anarchist camp. We might mention Peirats again, Fontaura, Victor Garcia, Alberola, Benjamin Cano Ruiz, Floreal Castilla, names well known to readers of *Ruta* in its first stage. Plus newcomers like Tomas Cano Ruiz, Angel Cappelletti, Nicolas Walter, Paul Avrich, David Wieck, Jose Ribas, Francisco Olaya, Murray Bookchin, Juan Gomez Casas, Carlos M. Rama, Eduardo Vivancos, Salvador Cano Carrillo, Carlos Diaz, Floreal Castilla, Quipo Amauta . . .

In so far as their means allow, the editorial group behind *Ruta* in Venezuela have not neglected other propaganda and issue along with the review, a number of what we might call major works such as booklets, books, and even a multi-coloured calendar.[2] Furthermore, they were part of the group whose initiative made possible the reissuing, for a second time, in French of *L'Encyclopedie Anarchiste*, the idea and largely the work of Sebastien Faure.[3]

The shift of the Spanish situation towards less obscurantism and more freedom leads one to think that *Ruta* of Venezuela. . . .

(Translated by Paul Sharkey) **Victor Garcia**

Notes:

1. *Piel Roja* (Red Skin) is still a nickname for anti-collaborationist libertarians, while the moderates and advocates of collaboration are known as *pajaros carpinteros* (woodpeckers) a term lifted from Rudolf Rocker's work: *The Curse of Practicality*.
2. Among the booklets we might mention: *Spain Today*, *Franco and the Fifth Commandment*, *Judgment against Franco* all by Victor Garcia, and *Anarchism* by Kropotkin. And among the books *The Workers' International*, also by Victor Garcia.
3. This task has been realised in its entirety thanks to the tenacity of Vicente Sierra. *RUTA*: G. Gracia, Apartado 61881, Caracas, Venezuela.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ANARCHISM (2)

"ANARCHISMO"

What "Anarchismo" is and how it functions.

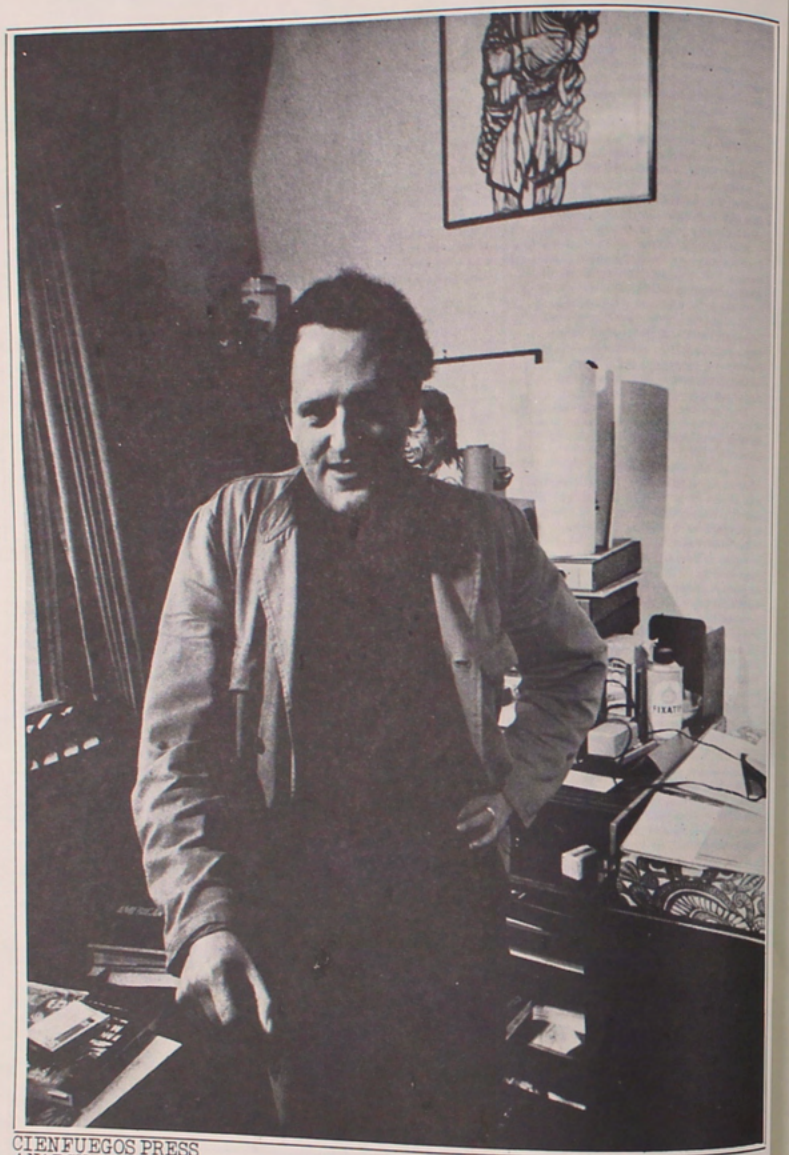
In 1972 the gorup involved in the bookshop and editorial group of "Libreria Underground", began the publication of a newspaper, (one number only) *Sinistra Libertaria* which later was to become a periodical but which was immediately condemned by the hostility and incomprehension of certain comrades, as well as by the police and judicial repression.

With the intention of continuing this endeavour, the first number of *Anarchismo* a bimonthly review, was published in 1975, as an instrument for the clarification of essential theoretical problems arising from concrete situations. The aim of the editorial group is that of maintaining a sufficiently high level of analysis, while avoiding falling into theory for the sake of theory, and of building a coherent discourse capable of bringing out the true matrix of anarchism which is not merely a negative vacuum, but is analytical penetration in preparation for the struggle, a precise direction of thought even when it might seem disagreeable.

The work in these last two years of activity has been directed towards a study of the problem of anarchist organisation and the critical re-examination of past structures which often turn out to be inadequate for the present time; against any authoritarian contamination these structures might assume, derived from platformist positions produced in turn by the disillusionment of certain historical moments and not valid in absolute; a critical examination of anarcho-syndicalist formulae and a more profound study of the authoritarian inconveniences they give rise to, towards workers' autonomy, building from the base, on the foundation of self-management of the struggle and of production (when possible); and for direct action in the struggle in the factories, on the land, the universities and living areas, aswell as in the sense of the armed defence of these struggles.

Furthermore we have attempted to conduct an open-minded research of the experiences of others, including Marxists, because we are convinced of the validity of anarchist libertarian methodology which rejects badly construed structures such as libertarian Marxism, but do not close our eyes to the reality of concrete struggles whose patrimony must not be lost. Finally, our work seeks to revalue anarchist pluralism, the vision of life and method of struggle which seems to us the most valid for the realisation of the future social revolution.

"Anarchismo" editorial group.
Pippo Noto, CP 326, 90100 Palermo, Sicily.



FLAVIO CONSTANTINI

ARTIST OF ANARCHY

"It is hard to pass judgement on lives such as these. One stands bewildered and aghast before men capable of such deeds; and, if they defy frivolous judgement, even to explain them seems beyond the power of men who, in the presence of the same wrongs that so deeply moved them, can still remain inert".

– Robert Hunter
"Violence and the Labour Movement", p. 86.

Peopled with so many daringly defiant, rebellious, and romantic individuals, the history of the anarchist movement holds a distinct fascination for many. With so many colourful and tragic incidents, attempts, and experiments in social revolution the movement has never been easy to deal with superficially, other than by those who would dismiss it out of hand.

Writers, both anarchist and non-anarchist, have found themselves challenged to deal with the depths of commitment, insistent purity of ideals and tragic martyrdom evident throughout the history of the anarchist movement. Now the movement has found its chronicler in art, Flavio Costantini.

Unlike some of the writers, Costantini does not deal with an incident or two in the history of anarchism and then move on to other subjects, but is instead intent on creating an extensive artistic documentation of the movement in his works. The first 43 paintings in the series are presented in *The Art of Anarchy* published in September 1975 by Cienfuegos Press (now unfortunately out of print). Costantini has plans for many more.

Working from a studio in his apartment in Rapallo, Italy, he has already completed additional paintings on McKinley's assassination by Czolgosz and the martyrdom of Wobbly Frank Little and has begun several more. The originals

are painted by Costantini and from each original, 100 silkscreen prints are made by an associate in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

One thing in Costantini's work becomes evident immediately. He is particularly drawn to the violent – the assassinations, bombings, arrest and executions. Ravachol is clearly the figure who intrigues him the most. Ravachol symbolises to many the unruly criminal element which frightens most people. This symbol of the violent anarchist, in the case of Ravachol a figure who bombs, murders and plunders graves, is effectively exploited by the enemies of a free and Stateless society to "prove" the dangers and chaos which would descend upon us, were we to dispense with the restraining influence of Party or State.

Costantini, though, involves himself with the real man, the individual character of Ravachol, not solely with a symbol, much in the way Emma Goldman showed great compassion for Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley. And yet, Ravachol does symbolise something for Costantini – the will to act.

Kafka was a very important and early influence on Costantini's work, predating his decision to draw and paint. Costantini, now 47, was the son of a professor in northern Italy, and began his professional career as a textile designer and commercial graphic artist. In a recent interview he said, " I started to draw because I read the Kafka books. And I like them very. very much. But it was impossible to write like Kafka, so I began to draw." The isolated, buffeted and bewildered subjects in Kafka's works, always near the edge of hysteria and collapse, captivated Costantini and he remained involved with them for many years. Always in mind, though, was an alternative – Communism. For Costantini was Communist in this period until a one month visit to Russia in 1962.

RUSSIA DISAPPOINTING

Costantini was disappointed and disturbed by Russia. In Moscow he saw "an endless stream of tourist peasantry who were strangely silent, neither sad nor happy, but, rather canalised in a disenchanted, unconscious pilgrim . The soldiers and a lively goose step in the changing of the guard in front of Lenin's tomb. Sleek black cars with drawn curtains filed through the walls of the Kremlin. The revolution had ended."

He re-read a book which he had hated and forgotten: *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* by Victor Serge. He felt that perhaps this was an alternative, an isolated but insistent voice. Serge's book, particularly the section on the French anarchists inspired him with new hope. Since that time, Costantini says, " I have tried, within the scope of my own possibilities, to publicise this uncompromising alternative."

Costantini agrees with Serge that the French anarchists, although "shot through with contradictions," were people who demanded, before anything else, harmony between words and deeds." These were often very lonely and isolated individuals, sensitive in their own way, who chose to act, and not simply wander about confused and disorientated in a bewildering world. Indeed, their reaction to confusion and bewilderment was precisely to act, to refuse to submit.

Observers of Costantini's work have said that some of his prints show a love of the decorative but that this is betrayedby an underlying feel ing of loneliness bordering on morbidity.

Costantini adds: "Before my trip to Russia I was inspired by Kafka. My drawings of that period were introverted. I don't mean to say that my work is now extroverted, but I think I've reached a greater objectivity. Kafka has grown into Ravachol Ravachol places his explosives outside the door of his persecutors. With Kafka one remains isolated and vulnerable; with Ravachol one feels comradeship. He acts to challenge the forces which challenge us all.

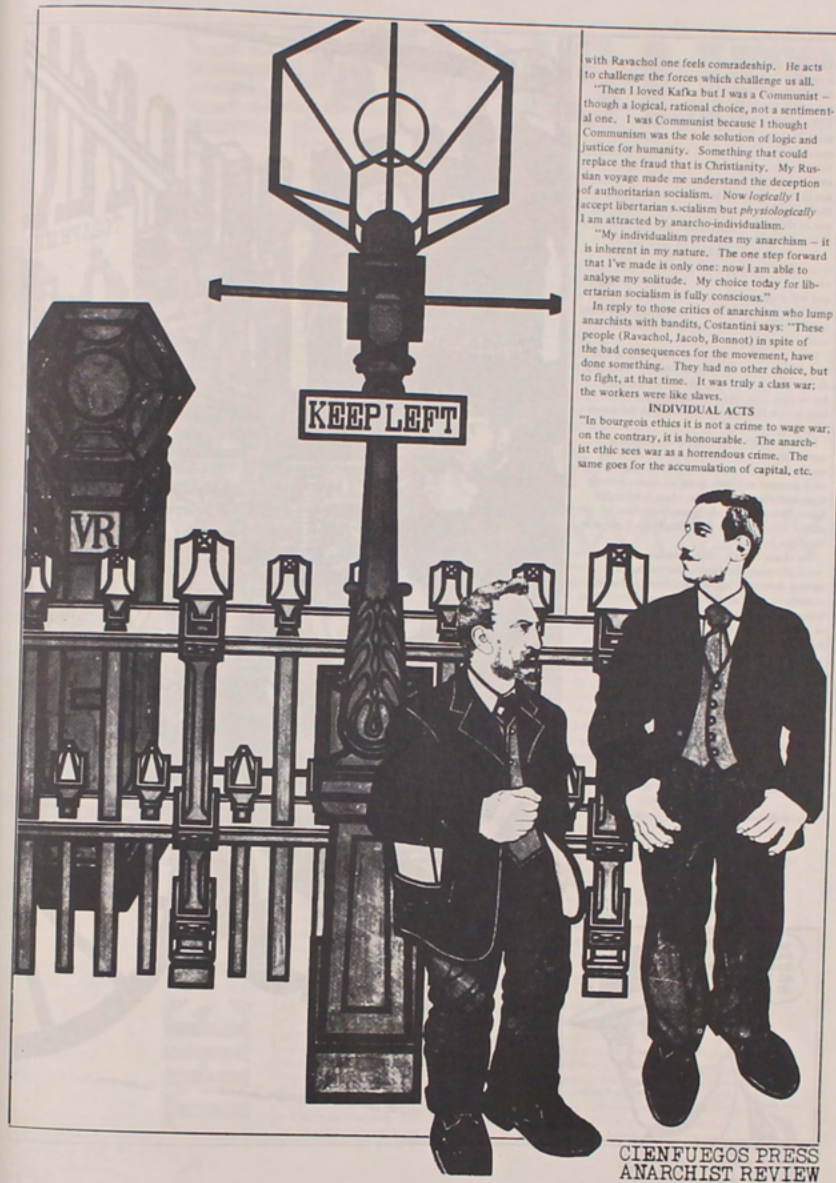
"Then I loved Kafka but I was a Communist – though a logical, rational choice, not a sentimental one. I was Communist because I thought Communism was the sole solution of logic and justice for humanity. Something that could replace the fraud that is Christianity. My Russian voyage made me understand the deception of authoritarian socialism. Now *logically* I accept libertarian s.cialism but *physiologically* I am attracted by anarcho-individualism.

"My individualism predates my anarchism – it is inherent in my nature. The one step forward that I've made is only one: now I am able to analyse my solitude. My choice today for libertarian socialism is fully conscious."

In reply to those critics of anarchism who lump anarchists with bandits, Costantini says: "These people (Ravachol, Jacob, Bonnot) in spite of the bad consequences for the movement, have done something. They had no other choice, but to fight, at that time. It was truly a class war; the workers were like slaves.

INDIVIDUAL ACTS

"In bourgeois ethics it is not a crime to wage war; on the contrary, it is honourable. The anarchist ethic sees war as a horrendous crime. The same goes for the accumulation of capital, etc.



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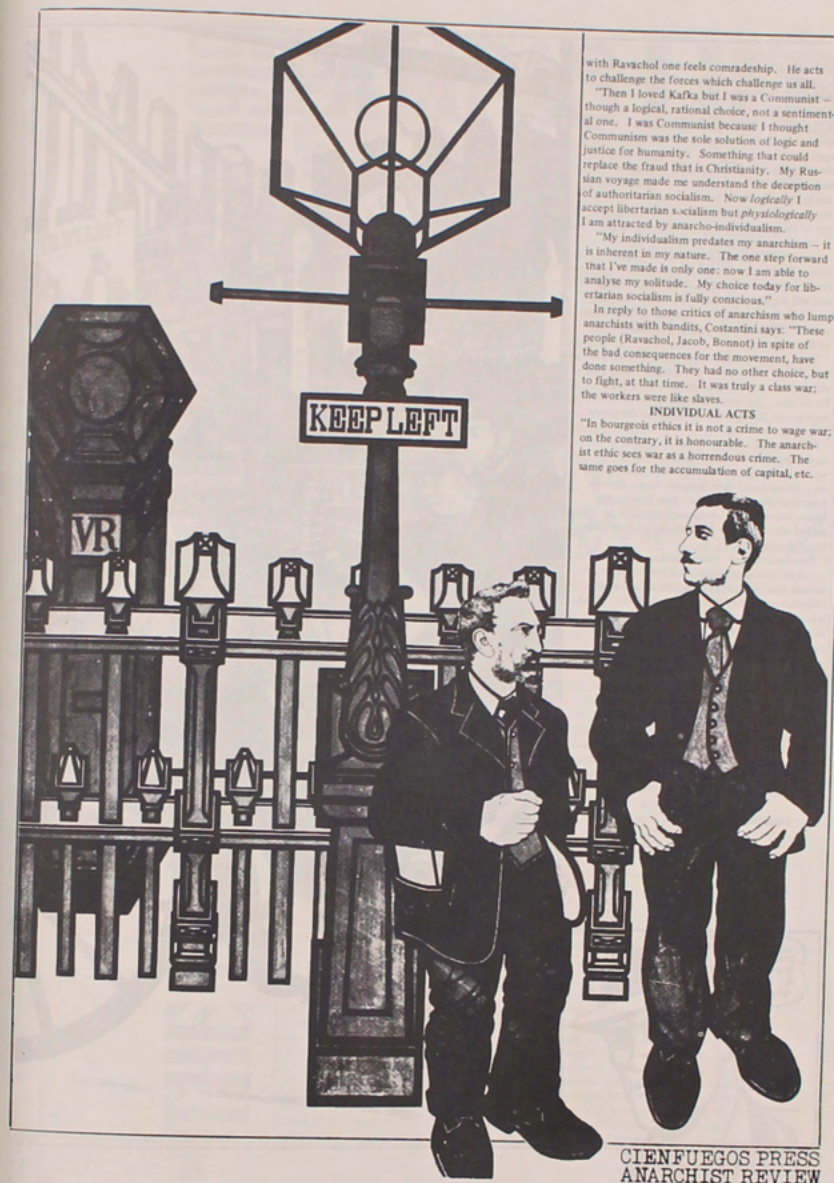

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INDIVIDUAL ACTS

"In bourgeois ethics it is not a crime to wage war; on the contrary, it is honourable. The anarchist ethic sees war as a horrendous crime. The same goes for the accumulation of capital, etc.

The same act can be considered criminal or not according to the norm by which it is judged. The bank robberies pulled off by Durruti and by Sabate are not in my opinion criminal acts.

"La Bande a Bonnot – in my opinion – is symbolic in another sense: it concluded the epoch of frontal struggle of the Ravachol era between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and initiated that of negotiations and conformism in the unions; the last surviving remnants of the irreducible ones who were isolated from the rest of the proletariat and had only the option to join the system or succumb."

Costantini's focus on individual acts rather than collective manifestations reflects his concern for the subjective. Individual courage and will dominate all his works; only a few, like the 1879 McCormick Works massacre in Chicago, and the 1894 peasant revolt in Ghibellina, deal with group struggles.

There is another element as well. Costantini says, "I feel the violence very deeply. I am very shocked by these people who gave their lives for an idea. An idea. It's terrible for me to see such people fighting in proportion to the power ranged against them."

In Costantini's work, we run up against a certain paradox of style. In almost all of his works, hardly anyone but the direct participants are portrayed and their faces are drawn directly from available photographs, often from police files. This touch of photographic realism is played off against the increasingly stark simplicity of the backdrop.

The characters are oddly wooden, with the posed photographic faces often staring in unnatural directions, appearing distant and eerily oblivious to all that goes on around them. What is portrayed is thus like a frozen frame of film of a particular incident. A moment preserved for the viewer is presented in a startling fashion, underscoring the startling subject matter of the print itself.

Costantini's work is both documentary and artistically innovative. Increasing experimentation in technique and pattern is evident, and his exceptional talent has been widely recognised. As the scope of his work becomes more familiar to anarchists and art critics alike, we can anticipate a broad discussion of anarchism and a deeper appreciation of the spirit of rebellion.

Bill Nowlin

(First published in *Open Road*, Spring 1977)

THE TRAGIC WEEK OF JANUARY 1919

PAMPAS LIFE

by SERAFIN FERNANDEZ

The author whose notes make up this article offers us his personal impressions of a past terribly remote in terms of patterns of behaviour that have fallen into disuse today. Nevertheless everything he deals with happened in our own century, a bare forty or fifty years ago. His intention is to present a thumb-nail sketch of the spirit and forms of social struggle in a land that was then virtually untouched by industrial so-called progress.

Today everything there has altered, from the scenery down to the character and working life of the people. In terms of the dissemination and practice of libertarian ideas, or Anarchist ideas as people used to call them, without the euphemism or the mealy mouth, these provinces ranked among the most important in South America. Extensive research would be required for a thorough probing of the reasons behind the current decline. Talk of the persecutions directed against the organisations and men that for more than 20 years haunted and outlived successive governments, cannot explain it all away. Something has disappeared at the very roots, something in the very basis on which people are recruited Something that merits thoughtful examination.

Last century and this present one, the vast bulk of international militants passed through Argentina. The first internationalist liaisons were established around 1875 from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. French militants considered founding a Section of the International. But well before then, there were – as Max Nettlau states – groups and publications of anarchist inspiration there. Thanks to propagandists of the calibre of Esteve, Nido, Prat, Antonio Pellicer, Gillimon, Mattei, Creaghe, Malatesta, Gori and a host of others, anti-authoritarian socialism predominated in the thinking that lay behind actual combat, as well as the combat in itself. And these were followed by a brilliant generation of native born, exceptionally gifted, like Ghiraldo, Florencio Sanchez, R. Gonzalez Pacheco, T. Antilli, F. Guaglianone, Anderson Pacheco and many others ranked among the leading lights of literature, the arts and sociology in South America.

Serafin Fernandez's taste is for the story of the almost anonymous work of the plainsmen: no signature, no past, no limelight. Distinctive fellows moulded by their surroundings, by the soil conditions, by an incipient economic system, by some particular forms of labour, by a majority of Latin blood in the melting-pot where the most varied races and nationalities blended and changed each of them contributing its customs, behaviour patterns and beliefs. In the forging of this new society, the ones that most caught the eye and earned most respect were not the already "civilised" mass of Europeans. The native-born bore their own unmistakable temperament which may still easily be detected. Traits that have been taken as a model, a yardstick for the rediscovery and rehabilitation of a temperament and character determined to stay South American, while avoiding the pitfalls of phoney patriotism or ultra conservatism.

"Gringo" and humble native were tossed together in the melting pot of their workaday world. It was a rough, invigorating way of life, which accounts for the nostalgia the natives retain for the times when the vast expanses of the pampas stretching away on all sides, had not yet fallen into the grasp of the bosses or the "milicos" (soldiers). A time when "building a country" had not yet come to mean enslaving the Indians or filing claims and erecting barbed wire fences to mark off the land. And so arose those classical fellows, the "gauchos" and the "matreros" (swindlers), the mestizo and the Creole, and the black who had little in common with the ancestors who had come across as slaves: the latest crop of greenhorns, known as "crotos", and the "lingheras", incorrigible nomads, knights of a new crusade bearing a sea of human worries, struggles and cares in its wake. Not to mention the day labourers, shearers, harvesters, stevedores, sowers, scouts, horse- breakers, wool merchants, teamsters etc., – a whole spectrum, a whole alphabet of trades spawned by the semi-industrial exploitation of the land, the raising of stock and their by-products.

The activity and work of these men threw up characteristics and "characters"; Serafin Fernandez tries to give us an inkling of them in these anecdotes frawn from his own personal experiences.

Being an enthusiastic, zealous militant in the Workers' Federation of the Argentine Region (FORA), he makes certain allusions to the activity in the area, which flowed from the ideas and aspirations the IWMA still upholds and defends. By which is meant the ones that perpetuate the principles, ideas, aspirations and procedures that were the distinguishing marks of the anti-authoritarian faction within the First International.

It is Serafin Fernandez's belief that the crisis that broke out those long years ago inside the International is self-evidently being relived in organisations claiming the title, libertarian. This has prompted him to publish this short memoir of times gone by. He wants to sound the alert. To ears gone hard of hearing. Ildefonso.

The Knife

The first seventeen years of my life were spent in a quiet mountain valley in Galicia among folk who, having managed to fend off the harmful influences of religion and, similarly, modern civilisation lived a life of tranquility permeated with a high degree of good sense. Then I moved, to settle on the Argentine pampas where the overwhelming impression I received was that the few inhabitants were motivated only by greed and cruelty, which left me in a quandary, wondering what was behind the paens of

praise for the country's marvels that I had heard.

What struck most forcefully once I arrived in the little village of Chicalina, about 370 kilometres from the capital, were the huge knives the natives, and some of the outsiders, carried at their belts, in sheaths or pouches. By way of a contrast to this indication of a rough and ready way of life, "authority" was symbolised, rather than represented by a "milico" (soldier) whose age made him unequal to the task. All this was something of a worry to me, so I asked a fellow countryman with a number of years' experience of living there, the following questions:

"The knives, those men are carrying like that, are they for use in a fight?"

"No, my friend. But if you insult them they might be. Otherwise you've no cause to feel afraid: they're good lads, most of them."

"But if a brawl was to break out, what could that old soldier do to stop it?"

"Hardly anything happens here and whenever a fight does break out what the old soldier does is, he clears off, so as not to get involved."

I soon came to appreciate that the knife was a handy tool for lots of jobs, especially the sort of jobs that need doing around a ranch. Nevertheless, as some of the men in question had scars on their faces, I asked whether that was the result of brawling. "In some cases, the answer is yes", my friend replied, "though that's very rare. There are some blustering chaps among the natives, though, who are belligerent types and go about trying to pick fights so they can show off their bravery. And that's when the real Creoles, and especially the gauchos, more so that the Creoles, leave marks on their faces to set them apart."

This explanation calmed my fears – partly, at least – until something happened that cleared up my doubts.

I got a job working a threshing machine; there were about thirty of us workers, from a variety of nationalities and about as many again native-born. One fine day, four Russians left their work and asked to be paid off so they could move on. The overseer, the machine-operator, a shifty sort who carried a pistol at his hip, tried to force them to resume work by threatening them, until such time as he could find replacements for them. A heated argument ensued, after which the overseer began punching them, until a strident shout froze him in his tracks. The man shouting was one of the locals who squared up to the foreman with a bound, knife in hand. The foreman made ready to defend himself, gun in hand and a pitch fork with sparkling steel prongs in the other. But the local man kept on getting closer and closer, and when quite near tossed him this warning:

"Brienzo" – for that was the overseer's name, "you're no coward. If you want to fight, pick on men, not some poor wretches who haven't a clue how to defend themselves. Now, see to it they get their money so they can leave whenever they want."

The foreman lowered his arms as if to set down his weapons and said to his opponent: "Take it easy, Vargas, now, get back to work and I promise to fix things up for these fellows."

The whole episode left me flabbergasted.

It was then that I realised the value of a knife in such untoward circumstances, both as a working implement and for the defence of justice. And I had had an insight into the great significance with which the natives invested the term "hombre" (man).

It was reassuring for me to see that amid that hellish storm-tossed tumult of people and things, amid the riotous lifestyle, there were solidaristic people, capable of staking their lives in the defence of human rights.

Spreading The Word

Thanks to my companion (a native born friend looking for work, which was then in short supply with the harvest not yet ripened) being an acquaintance of a cattle ranch foreman, we got work there, with the added advantage that the boss was by all accounts, a good employer.

The estate was a large one, near what was then the little hamlet of Madagla, in the southwest of Buenos Aires province, and it was given over to the raising of stock.

The first thing I noticed was that the boss was an Italian, one of a people who share with the Spaniards a reputation for being the worst exploiters. It also struck me as unusual that his hands were almost entirely native-born, unlike most foreign born bosses who only took on what locals they absolutely needed to keep the ranch ticking over.

I realised later that there was an agreeable camaraderie among the ranch's employees and that they went to their work with a will. I realised that it was the boss's absence that helped forge that atmosphere as well as the conduct of the overseers, who, outside of their administrative functions, were just so many comrades more working with the teams. The rest of the picture was filled in the day the boss travelled up from the capital to pay out the wages. With infectious friendliness, he would chat with the workers, asking if they were unhappy or had any problems, and after this frank opening he would pay each of us at the agreed rate, plus almost as much again as a reward for our good work. Once this was behind him, he went back to the capital, not even bothering to inspect the ranch, confident, in view of the profits it was bringing in, that everything was going well.

After this unusual state of affairs set me thinking, I came to the conclusion that this good employer was, perhaps, merely one of the few to have appreciated the fact that these sons of the soil, treated harshly and with meanness, give their employers a lot of worries and very little return. But with good treatment, they gave willingly of their best.

Given such unfeigned comradeship, the contentment of the natives – which was concealed behind a melancholy surface as a result of their having been stripped of their land and liberty by civilised folk, leading some superficial authors to claim that the Creole was sullen by nature – was palpably great and halcyon. The cooking-dining area was often given over to carnival where, to the strumming of guitars, the natives used to sing their distinctive songs, and dance their dances, punctuated by Paraguay tea (mate) aplenty, a glass of new wine, and also, from time to time, by the flourishing of turned-up skirts.

On such occasions, neighbours would drop over from other ranches where a false sense of propriety ruled out any such appealing revelry.

One evening, somewhat more of these outsiders turned up than usual, so I, who had been present at some of these lively "sprees" told my friend I wouldn't hang about that night as there was no room in the kitchen. To which he replied: "It's no spree tonight. Tonight, there's to be a meeting of the shearers to take a decision and pass on the word. You can stay for that, if you like."

Though intrigued to find out what this "spreading the word" was all about, I went to bed after the evening meal, confident that my friend would fill me in the next day, and the following day I did ask him to explain this, "spreading the word" to me. So he told me: "There has been some talk among the shearers for some time back about putting in for improved working conditions: 8 pesos a day and a peso for every horse working the round-ups. The moment has come and we mustn't let it slip by.(1). Those outsiders that called over yesterday came to spread the word as far as here, and others will set off from here to pass it on to other areas."

What with the notions I had about the labour movement and its battles, I couldn't fathom this way of pressing a claim across a vast area without an organisation. But from what I learned later, I concluded this way of launching an organised movement without an organisation worthy of the name was still an original move, even in terms of the FORA's thinking in which free initiative and independent decision-making in harmony with anarchist thinking, played such a crucial role. And, if the FORA promoted strike waves, organised ones, without organisation and affecting the stevedores, farm labourers, stockbreeding areas, as was the case in Patagonia, that was on account of the vast distances separating the workers, irregular employment, persecution or such other factors that made an articulated organisation an impossibility, but that never prevented vast areas being seized by strike waves, and with satisfactory results. In short, circumstances dictated the form. Whereas, in the case of the shearers, it was soemthing of a self-evident, as it is also for some schools of individualism, that association stifles the initiative of the individual.

I was to learn later that these men, who were acutely sensitive to ideas of freedom, were not without knowledge of the FORA's influence. But they selected only those notions and forms of struggle that suited them; it was a question of temperament more than a product of prolonged study.

"*La Protesta*", then being printed clandestinely, used to be available in all sorts of places. The powers that be had not sunk so low in their corruption as to interfere with the mail. Quite nearby, in the city of Bolivar, there was a propaganda group that used to produce ther periodical "*Libre Examen.*"

The eight pesos a day that the shearers were pressing for was twice what a skilled workman was earning around that time. But the shearer's working day was not to be calculated by the clock or hours of sunlight, but rather was governed by the situations thrust upon them by natural conditions in remote

fastnesses, without the benefit of homes or shelter, and at seasons that called for the utmost sturdiness.

If he felt bound by anything, the native, and moreso the shrarer was bound by his word. If he promised to deliver a herd somewhere or other, he would not shrink from the trials of raging pain, facing wild beasts or cattle thieves with reckless courage, to do so, helped by his Creole horse whose good nose for danger sometimes saved his rider's life.

Regardless of the dangers and the enormous sacrifices their work demanded of them, the locals derived a lot of pleasure from it; they would go to it with a will, whereas they had little taste for industrial work.

Why the little Creole horse should have been worth as much pay as any four carthorses and six ranch hands, is beyond me. And though I might describe the feats performed by this noble animal in round up operations in the service of their untamed ranches, few people today would credit it, and, as time goes on it will be a thing of the past. In its day, there was much talk of the accomplishments of the little creature: but I have never seen what one might call the history of it, though it deserves one more than all the nags and their like that are employed on race courses for the purpose of emptying the pockets of working-men and thus, the bellies of their poor dependents.

El Catalan

While I was working during the 1911 harvest, and regardless of the pressures imposed by the corn being so ripe and the working conditions so poor, I had to break off working for a while and fo to Carlas Casares, city capital of the agricultural area where I was working. I had bought myself a horse, essential transport, especially for us itinerant workers who hadn't gone to put America in our pockets. But I hadn't bothered my head with registering the bill of sale.

A good hearted local, realising my ignorance asked me whether I had registered the bill of sale as (the law) required, and when I told him that I hadn't, he told me I ought to get it done right away: when workingmen had good horses and their purchase hadn't been registered, the police used to impound them and that would be the last seen of them. Once I learned this, I went off to the Municipality and having filled out the necessary documents in the City Hall, I galloped off along the streets, – which were half deserted, what with the harvest being then at its height – to head back to work. There was a crowd gathered outside the doors of the Spanish Centre, and to find out what they were discussing, I pulled up and one of the group reached me a pen and paper and asked:

"Want to sign?"

"What is it for?" I asked him.

"For the release of El Catalan," he replied.

"I don't know any El Catalan," I went on.

"You haven't heard of El Catalan that killed Menendez?"

"No," I assured him.

"Want to find out?"

"Yeah."

"Well, they are giving a bit of a talk in the Central hall. You can go on in."

Whatever the demands of the harvest, the Hall was crammed with people, being addressed by a man from the stage. From what I had heard of similar instances, I realised that I ought to sign the appeal for his release. I signed it, leaving the metting while it was still in progress.

The Menendez in question, who The Catalan (by birth and by name), had killed was the over-manager of a wholesale warehouse that used to make loans to farmhands and others who wanted to do business, giving preferential terms to his Spanish countrymen. Menendez made El Catalan a loan of 700 pesetas to buy a little farm of four hectares – it was to be paid back as a four figure sum, 7000, an operation very much in vogue at that time, with those who devoted themselves to the "protection" of the poor. When El Catalan was called up to pay as agreed on the date set by the agreement, he refused to have anything to do with this tampering with the figures. So to make good his loss and with the connivance of the local law, which was open to the highest bidder, the creditor put the farm up for auction to recover his investment. On the date fixed for the attachment and auction along came Menendez himself with the judge, his secretary and their hacks who had come to invest the proceedings with a semblance of legality. El Catalan, who was lying in wait armed with a hunting-piece, greeted them with a hail of fire that left Menendez dead and the magistrate wounded.

According to the laws then prevailing in Argentina – which have since been abolished, due, perhaps to the progress of civilisation – if a majority in any town or city requested the release of a prisoner, then he had to be set free immediately, no matter what the charges against him from the judicial authorities.

Most of those familiar with the episode, and especially the Spaniards among those, sided against Menendez who had a long record of shady deals brought off with the connivance of the law, behind him. And as I found out later, such was the number of people petitioning for his release that El Catalan was only held for 13 days. Which gave me great satisfaction.

I soon fell in love with the natural beauty of the countryside. I felt comfortable among these working folk, in spite of the different national origins of them all. Though they often cost me dear before I learned them, their habits and customs I found agreeable. But the injustices perpetrated there by the law terrified me. But what made me plump for resistance and struggle, were the attempts at strikes that arose from time to time. Plus actions like El Catalan's which were many in those days, and which all helped form an anarchistic (in the good sense of the word) atmosphere; plus a fine spontaneous comradeship that was the product of the respect the workers used to enjoy, to the annoyance of the landlords and all sorts of exploiters and bosses.

Later I was to find out that the anarchist ideas sown in the countryside by the FORA, who moved out of the city to take up agricultural work, were influences behind these acts of rebellion. And that at the time, in the City of Carlos Casares itself, there was a Society of Bakery Workers, belonging to the FORA. Which, like all the societies and their members, were spreading the ideas that put punch and power into the struggle.

The FORA and The Gauchos Against Venture Capitalism

What was and is known in Argentina as "venture capitalism" are the great consortia with their colonialist outlook, their overseas directors, who behaved as if the country was some sort of territory seized by the force of arms, where they could let their insatiable appetites have free rein. And whereas in the capital and the big cities, there were others to stand up to their despotic procedures, thoughout the rest of the territory there were only the gauchos and the FORA who resisted them.

Among the native born were some who made a living by acting as the bosses bodyguards: but, likewise, there were others who risked their lives in the defence of their rights and those of their fellows with singular altruism. And it's this that made them worthy of the term "Gaucho" – a good rebel.

When it comes to farm work, large areas can be worked with a few employees if there is much more common place than the permanent. This being the case coupled with persecutions, made a permanent organisation difficult. But struggle is always possible in an atmosphere permeated by anarchist ideas, so little known and written about.

Poem on page 11, by C.G.

The struggle for freedom
Is my fate,
Wrestling with the shadows
That darken my path.

When strikes cropped up in the countryside, governments that showed a certain tolerance to strikes in the cities, launched persecutions that turned into real man hunts pursued in a climate of absolute silence. Fighters killed in the cities got flashy funerals with lots of press coverage whereas the ones who fell in the backwoods from the bullets of the "cossacks" mostly spent their last moment surrounded by vultures and some were found in an advanced state of putrefaction by a casual passer-by. But it was not all tragedy. Laughable incidents cropped up in the middle of this hazardous struggle.

Passing through, Pehuajo city where we had gone to relax after a particular long harvest, my companion (a native) and myself could make out a line of "cossacks" just as we were approaching the little settlements of Monescaon, and both of us paused to think it over: My companion said to me:

"Let's keep on, my friend: the soldier here, I know him. He's a good man and he'll let us know what's going on."

The guard in question was a former agricultural labourer, who when he found the work too much for him, decided to end his days as a guard. From what my friend was saying, he had the right idea about how to spend his time, flirting with the *chinas* (Indian servant girls), drinking away and eating enough poultry to empty whole farms.

The guard appeared as we reached the middle of the settlement, and after a friendly greeting, told us:

"You picked a bad time to come, lads."

"How's that?" we asked.

"Because that pack of dogs from police

H.Q., are passing through and they're looking for trouble."

"What are the police doing down here?" we asked.

"It's the stevedores, – they put in for better conditions and called a strike when they were refused and then the carters came out in sympathy and then the "cossacks" turn up, and now this morning a team from the political police arrived. (I already knew they were about, and I was on my toes, and they couldn't get hold of anyone). They asked me who was behind the strike and I told them that it was the workers."

"Where's their local?" they persisted.

"Don't have one." I replied.

"Where do the Society's members hold their meetings?"

"There is no Society here."

"Do you know who the Strike Committee are?"

"As far as I know, there is no Committee."

"What about the delegates?"

"I don't know of any delegates."

"What's the most active around here?"

"The FORA." In the end they advised me to stop any suspicious persons around whilst they made a tour of the other settlements where the stevedores are on strike. I reckon they'll be back any time now – I tipped off the lads – so they've taken off. They won't go away empty-handed those secret police, even if the only thing that's happened here is that a foreman got a bit of an ear-bashing for not joining in the strike. Somebody will be taken away in chains whether he's a striker or not."

My friend and I stole away from that place, discussing what the guard had done, and sure that it would cost him his job, in spite of the foxy way he had helped out the strikers.

From a purely legal point of view, what the guard had told the secret policemen was strictly true, for there was no workers' society there. Permission had never been sought for meetings or public addresses. No delegates, as such, had been through. But dispensing with all these requirements, propaganda meetings were held, resolutions passed, and strike declared without permission, president or formality, in cafes or out in the bush.

Not that the organisation putting the strikes together, thought lightly of setting up libraries or papers to spread education and propagate their ideas: but these things were difficult to get going in areas of sparse population. Nonetheless, the FORA did enjoy great influence there. And it was behind the bloody strikes of Patagonia and El Chaco where the leading role fell to the gaucho.

The gaucho is an unmethodical fellow, ill-equipped with the consistency organisation requires. He reacts spontaneously against injustice and more than one bloodsucker has been killed on the spot. The gaucho was already on the go when the FORA and its sympathisers began to extend its influence to the pampas areas. He was perhaps the only one to offer any resistance against the injustices perpetrated against folk down there. Many of his natural actions fitted in perfectly with anarchist ideas. Today, all that remains of him, really, is a memory and a breach in the defences of the cause of justice.

Much of what is good in Argentina, much of its moral fibre, it owes largely to the work of the FORA and its temperamental gauchos, ever persecuted and despised by "honest" folk.

But for these men, and the influence of the FORA on their education and combat, Argentina would still be a colony of venture capitalism as many of her sister nations still are to this day.

I Won't, I Won't

In 1913, to get a break from the lonely open-air life and labour of the maize harvest, I and two of my workmates went into the then little township of Quiroga for a Sunday off. For lots of people this meant splashing their found in certain spots where pleasure was on sale. "As for the rest," he added, "There's no disturbances here." I still did not know why there shouldn't have been any disturbances, but I dropped the subject, realising that the person whom I was asking did not know either.

After travelling around various regions I went back to the capital. I told myself that, alright I wouldn't make a fortune, but at least I would be able to live in a civilised way, after a fashion – something I have not managed.

In 1921, finding myself in Avellaneda in the midst of a flurry of strikes, I moved to Pehuajo with another friend, to keep out of trouble. At the time the town had six workers' societies in contact with the FORA., though they weren't officially affiliated to it. We rented a place in the house of an old Spaniard, who soon realised what were our persuasions once he saw the papers we had about us; it turned out that he was familiar with our ideas, and when he learned to trust me he showed me a trunk filled with ideological books and papers. When I saw it I realised that here was one of those little archive collections and libraries which in spite of their tiny size had had to go underground in order to escape the clutches of the police. The old fellow told me that the collection had belonged to a very intelligent bakery worker who had disappeared 15 years before. Among the periodicals was one, small-format, entitles *"La Pulga"* (The Flea). Its pro-anarchist contents were written in such virulent language that one would have thought they were going to take a stick to all sorts of rascals. I learned from its contents that that city and that farming area had a long history of social struggle, which explained the friendly climate and the working conditions. Not to mention the fact that it was a fertile area, well worked, giving a super-abundant yield that made hunger unlikely.

In that connection, the old man told me there had been a man there giving lectures that were always well-attended and well-received; that he had organised the workers in the Eagle Cafe and whenever a boss did not observe conditions all the workers used to meet in the cafe and the offending managers would have to back down or leave.

The person the old man was telling me about was Pietro Gori, who had been there in 1904 and whose work lived on.

The Eagle Cafe could hold 500 people, along with a small stage and an orchestra stand, which was graced by a variety of artists or performers from among the clientele. Its crowds, which were always capacity were made up of workmen in no hurry to make their fortunes. Subversive ideas circulated from table to table, flying from customer to customer, giving rise to heated arguments in which they dissected the deception of religion, the absurdity of politics and the greed of the rich, or the poor who wanted to get rich.

That atmosphere of comparative well-being, restrained egotism and confidence to face today and the future had undoubtedly dulled the fighting-spirit of anarchist thinking. But that thinking was still there in the background, ever-ready. At two movement functions I attended, the theatre was filled to over-flowing, and I got the impression it wasn't only the workers who were still working away – the ideas were, too.

Thoughts on the Atmosphere

In order to avoid friction with the socialists in the May Day celebrations in 1922, the trade unionists and the Local Federation set up a joint committee whose task it would be to coordinate things and ensure mutual cooperation. But the former, bad comrades that they were, exploited the fact that our comrades were away working in the harvest and that others lacked experience, laid on a socialist speaker for both meetings (he was the parliamentary candidate, Novello), instead of booking a speaker from the FORA for our meeting. But, whenever he made to get up on to the stage at the Local Federation's function a group of youths fiercely proud of their anarchism blocked his path and saw him off with some straight talk and clenched fists. One of the young men then gave a short talk on the meaning of May Day, and the crowds – who had seen what was going on – greeted him with rapturous applause.

A section of the Patriotic League (a sort of sindicato "libre" like in Spain) held its inaugural meeting in the area with a banquet in the plush Sonino Restaurant; but when the time came for the meal to be served, the waiters and cooks refused. The manager sided with his staff, and asked the disappointed guests to take their custom elsewhere. With a reception like that, the strike-breaking Union soon had to shut up shop.

From posters on the walls I learned that the rector of the Normal School was inviting students and the general public to a talk on anarchist ideas.

Speaking generally, and no harm to the Italians and those of other nationalities that all contributed to the friendly atmosphere, it was the many Spaniards thereabouts, that made the running.

The township where the Basque Azcona had been mayor for 20 years, elected by referendum and managing without the deliberating council and police of the state system, was a model of good administration. To justify his one-man rule, the mayor used to say that one robber of the community was enough. The street, the public square and the open countryside were his office, from where he kept an eye on everything.

The prominence of Spaniards in this work for public well-being, induced me to think that of all known types, the Spaniard is, perhaps the one with most untapped resources. For whilst we know, from those who came to "civilise" those lands right through to the Francoists of the present day, how much evil they are capable of, the Spaniard, given an environment free of selfishness and the spirit of authority, in which the moral sense and the instinct of solidarity are well-developed, has an uncommon gift for friendliness.*

money about, down to their last halfpenny: but my companions seemed like men of discrimination. Furthermore they had told me that there was a theatre in Quiroga and that's what decided me to go along with them, because at the time and thereabouts it was only rarely one got a chance to go to a theatre. After we had been along, among other things, to the much heralded play put on by six freelance artists – as they who form an informal troupe are referred to in Argentina, we headed back to our work on the Monday morning, with something to talk about over the coming week. None of us had the slightest idea that I was yet to witness something that I found very moving.

As one headed south from the town, there was a wholesale warehouse, with a sign in huge lettering that read: "The Sun of May 2nd", such and such a branch. Such establishments were very commonplace in forming areas because, as the official jargon had it, it was their duty to stand up for the farmhands in the development of agriculture. They sold everything from a pin up to the most expensive farm machinery, foodstuffs and drinks, giving the customers loans in exchange for crops likewise paid for by loan, and even without being paid for.

As we passed this establishment there was an icy blast from the south, turning the breath to steam. We went in for something to warm us up. The ground floor, with its huge floor space, was built of wood. From the far side of a flimsy partition that sealed off a compartment that could only have been the cashier's office different voices could be heard, apparently spelling out their opinions: above them we could make out the voice of a man angrily repeating, half in Italian, half in Spanish: "Non voglio, non voglio – I won't I won't." These words were followed by actions. Furious struggling shook the wooden floor and rocked the partition. Absorbed in trying to find out what was going on, I did not notice my companions leaving and they were already in the saddle when they signalled me to hurry after them. Such was the violence of the struggle that a hole was made in the partition and just before I left I made out through it, the figure of a man who seemed to be extraordinarily fat beset by I don't know how many others who were trying to restrain him.

To catch up with my friends who were in a hurry to get away from the place, I had to give my horse his head, and once I had caught them up I said: "Are you afraid? Is that it?" I got the impression they did not like the question. Overwrought and confused, I awaited their reply. In the end one of them did come up to me, and asked: "How long have you been over here, lad?" "Three years," I replied. "You've got a lot to learn," was their answer to that. And they went on, "It wasn't fear that made us run away back there, but simple prudence. The man who was so worked up back there in the cashier's office, is a farmhand they're trying to force to sign or just put his cross to an account that is, no doubt, falsified. It could turn out serious and if the boss and his people lose out in the fight, there will be some bully-boy of an inspector to make us make a statement in his favour or keep quiet altogether and that's very disagreeable.

I was much indebted for this explanation and ashamed at my ignorance. I already knew that some items sold on credit to the farmhands cost them twice the usual price, but I had had no idea that in addition to that the wholesale warehouses used to tinker with the accounts and however good a harvest the farmhands might have, they always ended up in debt.

The FORA and the Conditions of the Farmhands

Usually those who set themselves up as farmers with their savings and on the loans the wholesale warehouses gave out were, for the most part, ignorant, miserly workers who doled out the most awful treatment to their hired hands, going so far in many cases as to cut their rations at a time when there was a glut of foodstuffs that defied measurement. Nevertheless the outrages committed against them by the wholesale warehouses and the landlords were such affronts to human dignity that our papers used to make indignant protests and the matter was raised in several FORA Congresses with the outcome that it was decided that a direct action struggle would be promoted among the tenant farmers. Though it would not take an active part in the movement, the FORA would not do anything to undermine their demands.

For the defence of the farmers, or supposedly so, there was an Agrarian Federation, controlled by reformists of various persuasions. But it acted merely as a sort of society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, asking the Government, the wholesale warehouses and landlords to have mercy on the farmers.

The decisions taken by the FORA not to intervene directly in the farmers' battles were honoured: but certain comrades, among whom I recall comrade Gribaldi who was the secretary of the FORA for a time, became tenants in order to organise revolutionary resistance against the outrages perpetrated against the farmers. Making contact with whatever comrades and sympathisers they had in that sector, they started up a paper in Chacabuco, entitled *Tierra* (Land), and set in motion a campaign of demands based on respect for the human being, which culminated in a strike, in 1919 I think it was if my memory doesn't deceive me, that gripped a vast farming area, provoking alarm in the government and among the landlords. This led to the government promulgating laws which, though only half heartedly applied for fear of such movements recurring in the future, made outrages of that sort against the farmers punishable by fine, which was a valuable lesson for them and their many offspring when it came to defending their personal dignity.

The Tragedy of the Farmers in the Theatre

The La Plata Theatre, created and largely sustained by thinking men could not subscribe to the formula of "art for art's sake" and brought to its stage the most diverse social and human problems, not overlooking the tragedy of the tenant farmers. The problem was raised in all its crudity, and with the truth unvarnished, by the Theatre's production of "Mother Earth" a work by the established writer Alejandro Beruti, based on one of the violent incidents that gave rise to the outrages the farmers carried out. This particular work dealt with one of them who finds himself unable to pay his rent for the land he works, as a result of a severe drought and is to be evicted by the landlord and his thugs, which were called upon to act when the police refused to have anything to do with such injustice. On to this scene, with his family backing him and helping out as best they can, comes our Movement, in the form of a master in a rationalist school and a good natured native who, in the event, acts as a lookout when the bullies and their boss turn up and begin to use force to evict the tenants, who seizing his gun, and using it to good effect, kills the landlord. Such was the success of the piece that the Marconi Theatre, where it had its first night with the Rivera del Rosas company, turned out to be too small. Carried away by enthusiasm, we found ourselves singing the "Los Hijos del Pueblo" (Sons of the People) and shouting "Long Live Anarchy" as if we were in our own homes. The orchestra played an accompaniment to the revolutionary songs. Those folk that had only come along to see a play, got up and left; but the theatre was filled for a long time. Only the best of Florencio Sanchez's works reached a comparable success.

The FORA's Ideas and Aspirations

Without abandoning its anarchist principles, tactics and objective the FORA cast its influence beyond the working class with whom it was basically concerned, that being its base. The sense of liberty and justice defended by direct action – that was the FORA's device. And also it was the motto of those who found themselves momentarily or as members, regarding themselves as holding the same ideas as FORA. With this motto the FORA participated directly in the tenants strike in 1907. Following Ferrer's death before a firing squad, it associated itself with a general strike throughout the Spanish ex-colonies, by way of a land protest at such injustice. In both instances, its militants fought shoulder to shoulder with well-fed bourgeois who, in the defence of freedom, had descended to the terrain of direct action. And the FORA, in its turn, found itself flanked by great masses of workers who were not officially members, by the press, the student body and artistic circles, people not workers by any stretch of the imagination, during the Tragic Week of January 1919, (unleashed by the crimes committed against the strikers from Vasena), and the general strike called to demand the release by the government of Simon Radowitzky in 1929.

Almost all the time, the FORA rejected any compromise for the sake of a united front, and on the few occasions when it relented, in the hope of giving its activity a wider ramification, it was a complete fiasco, with activity the very thing that was lacking.

At the time, and today likewise, this

intransigent stand was dubbed sectarianism, exclusivism, petrification, and so on. But most of those who bandied these epithets about, ended up revising their opinions, and as for those who bandy them about today, well – they can hardly expect a different fate.

Without making any claims that it was perfect, or that it never made mistakes, I am of the opinion that as a movement with anarchy as its goal and all that that implies, it is the FORA that has most influenced all the strata of society. As a truthful chronicling of its work would prove. And those with a poor opinion of it, out of ignorance, would come to revise their opinions: but as for those that seek to dismiss it with insulting talk, they will face the same fate as befell their predecessors – a fate that the FORA has (so far) escaped and shall escape.

The Eagle Cafe

In the year 1910, I left Spain to settle down around 380 kilometres from the capital city of Argentina, a country that had shrugged off Spanish rule one hundred years earlier. Down there the conquistadors had not left behind any vestige of civilisation and they were mentioned in tones suitable for a band of highway robbers.

Organised life there gave the impression that it was just getting off the ground. The initial impression that I got was that every person was out for themselves amid the general tumult. The natives would be yearning for their "tolerias" (Indian villages) a social system that dispensed with both deities and bosses, very basic with certain features overlapping with libertarianism – only traces of them remained. A heavy-handed government would be terrorising the rich or the would-be rich, stripping them of their freedoms. Italian and Spanish workers who had come for a life of *"viva la Pepa"* would be quite contented in such surroundings. Along with the natives they ended up forming a non-conformist current, immersed in a healthy joy that showed itself in an unsuspecting comradeship with witty banter and light-hearted songs.

The cities of Pehuajo, Carlos Casares and Bolivar, all with about eight to ten thousand inhabitants lay about 20 kilometres from where I was working. I noticed that when it came to spending a day or a week off, my workmates who hadn't come to "do America" had a preference for spending them in Pehuajo where they picked up discontented talk directed against the bosses and the government. Intrigued I made up my mind to pay a visit to Pehuajo where the riotous, infectious merrymaking atmosphere led folk to stay on until they had spent their every penny.

I noticed that, unlike other townships, there were no police there. I asked an old fellow countryman why this was the case and he answered that the police were only to be

Good Public Order

The good public order which reigned thereabouts, without the benefit of police, was further proof that it is society that creates the evil doer, or, to put it a better way, the corrupted individual. Amidst that friendly atmosphere, moral censorship averted and put an end to petty offences. Usually, the everyday offences cited by the police to justify their existence, were caused by the bodyguards of the caciques who were squabbling over public offices. Their henchmen encouraged gambling, robbery, knife-play, and so on. But as Pehuajo had no caciques, it had none of the corrupted henchmen either. And when it was discovered that some like "The Great Falcon", "The Little Bull of La Linea," or "The Tiger of the Plains," were moving in from outside, or others with those bombastic names they gave themselves, a delegation of neighbours would go out to meet them and their safety could not be vouched for if "Little Bull," "Tiger," and "Falcon" did not turn back in time.

Residents' committees were also active against crooked traders. And it's worthwhile putting this or that socialistic atmosphere on record, if only to prove that our thinking, which was very influential there, is human through and through. It is not, as many believe, just so much show. It does not show itself in lyrical songs or acts of desperation. But rather in a feeling for what is good and rebellion against all that conflicts with the common good. And with their cultivation and implementation their spread is helped and they create a climate of solidarity among human beings which, if it is not quite anarchy, is some small advance along the endless road to fulfilment.

Heroic Days. The Tragic Week of January 1919.

After such a long time and with the aid of only a few documents, it is difficult to reflect the tragedy of January 1919 and its historic significance. But it pains me that an episode that set the standard for the battles of yester year, today and times to come, languishes almost in oblivion.

The tragic week, which shook society to its very foundations, claimed widespread coverage in our own publications and in the bourgeois press. But if what might be called a historical account has been published, I'm now aware of it.* A short summary in Santillan's "History of the FORA", affords this extraordinary event only a passing mention.

I was deeply distressed by Denis's account in Solidaridad Obrera in Paris, in which he invests the incident with a sense of romance. And I am not aware of any more extensive, more profound treatment having been written.

Though I lived through it all, I'm not confident that I can give a history of it. But now that great propaganda is being waged today to induce the proletariat to believe that it owes all the improvements it enjoys to parliamentarism, benevolent persons or the gifts of its leaders, it seems to me that I must seize this opportune moment to raise once again that trafic happening produced by the spirit of solidarity that beat in the breasts of the proletariat in those days.

*Since this was written a number of books have appeared in Argentina, notably by Oswaldo Bayer.

Genesis of the Tragic Week

The most violent strike in the history of the Argentine proletariat broke out spontaneously, nut we must look deep into the past to examine its genesis. Commissioned by su ccessive governments to "civilise" the country, greedy capitalist consortia stepped ashore on to Argentina's beaches, bringing their colonialist outlook with them. But among the masses of immigrants who followed them ashore there were intrepid idealists who, once they had managed to understand and be understood by the proletariat (native-born and foreign-born), organised and unleashed a titanic struggle against this venture capitalism and the *nouveaux-riches*, thereby sparing the nation's proletariat the blight of colonialism that fastened, and fastens still on other such republics. As it happened, the government was thwarted in its intention of opposing the slave-driving methods of these big amalgamates by the terms of the contracts it had signed with them; but it was equally thwarted in its efforts to contain the pressure from a proletariat that, with anarchist ideas as its guide, launched a bitter-fought struggle that put a limit on the greed of venture capital and the *nouveaux riches*.

With widespread ideological propaganda, a climate of freedom and an expectant struggle grew up that extended the concern for liberty, and it was owing to that that in 1910, the government could celebrate the centenary of Independence with some semblance of credibility; but stealthily, the reaction was preparing a coup against our Movement – a coup intended to prove mortal.

By 1909 the advances won by the proletariat through its struggles were already considerable. But at a meeting attended by a representative of the government, the employers decided to finish off the anarchist labour movement. This task fell to Colonel Falcon who machine-gunned a number of demonstrations causing a fair number of deaths, until Simon Radowitzky's avenging hand put a stop to him in 1909. But the reactionaries persisted in their work of destruction, and by 1912 it was all the Movement could do to maintain the conditions it had won. This cruel repression sowed panic inside the FORA and, in a natural quest for protection, the bulk of the proletariat joined the trade union central then known as the CORA, which is today's CGT. Those strikes with which the workers tried to defend themselves, the CORA's leaders took to arbitration courts. Wages of six pesos were cut to four, four down to three and three to two and a half; female workers earned wages of between one peso and twenty centavos or eighty centavos, whilst the speculation caused by the 1914 war tripled the cost of living. This state of economic misery apart, I witnessed, on board the refrigerator ship "La Negra" in 1916, the worst outrages I have ever seen inflicted on workingmen before or since, and with few exceptions, it was the same all over.

Back in the Arena Again

Under these conditions, the proletariat suffered and experienced a period of slavery. Among progressive political sectors there were signs of serious worry that in 1916, the Radical Party might exploit the campaign for the presidency to promise, among other things, to restrain the insatiable appetites of capitalism, re-establish constitutional guarantees and abolish the emergency laws that were used against our Movement, with provisions for the close-down of papers and locals, along with the confiscation of resources, deportations, detentions and long stretches of imprisonment without charges being brought. Promises like

that would bring a landslide in favour of the Radicals.

As might be expected, the emergency laws were not repealed, nor was capitalism restrained; but the laws were less vigorously applied; and with the benefit of a little freedom, the Movement – its fighting spirit repressed but not obliterated – began to show forceful signs of recovery.

Hundreds of comrades came out of the prisons. The proletariat which had sought refuge in the trade-union central CORA (which by then had changed its name to FORA - Ninth Congress) recovered its freedom of action, to win back the great reverses at the hands of the arbitration tricksters. Right across the Republic a voracious capitalism was beaten back and the government made itself respected. In 1919, as a result of this magnificent belligerency, the arrogant English, German and French amalgamates, and the *nouveaux riches* had been forced to grant the workers substantial economic and moral improvements. Even so, the (class) conscious workers were aware of one dark shadow that darkened the rosy dawn.

The Moment of Truth for the Waverers

Joy and confidence at having inflicted defeat on the big foreign trusts were counter-balanced by a realisation that there were *nouveaux riches* who had not been defeated. Some chose to go down fighting like heroes: others, such as the glass industrialist, Rigollau, chose to shut down his factories rather than concede improvements, until his sons, less pig-headed that he, re-opened them. The Campoamor textile company was reduced to some decrepit old premises in the Via Alsina and the proud boast that it had never given into the workforce. The only stronghold unstormed was a renegade plebeian, Vasena, who was a self-made industrialist, a big employer at the time. Not only did this newly-rich figure pay his workers starvation wages, but he also dared to strike them. This behaviour made him the man most hated by the working class and beyond the working class. On the other hand he was much favoured by the government. Because of the war-time conditions the government decided that there should be no work stoppages in his metallurgical industry and strikers should be replaced; his concerns were almost constantly in a state of dispute – it placed the armed forces at his disposal, for use in guarding workers brought over from Europe to replace the strikers.

The general opinion in anarchist and FORA circles was: "This can't go on." With this motive, the Metalworkers' Resistance Society, belonging to the FORA 5th Congress put demands to the magnate; they were, as ever rejected and as a result a general strike was called. From the outset it was extremely violent.

There were many signs that the spirit of solidarity was running high in the proletariat. Crowds of mourners at the graveside of those who died in clashes with the armed forces, turned into massive, noisy demonstrations. Had the cortege chosen to pass by the factories of the boss who was the target of the strike, they would have been subjected to unseemly mistreatment.

In one of the clashes, in the course of the strike against Vasena, which, as we said, began so violently, with the armed forces guarding the blacklegs from Europe, three comrades were killed. The proletariat of the capital city and its environs, which was already standing by, closed down work completely to attend the funeral of the three victims. Crowds attending the funeral which left Barrio Boedo via the Calle Rioja to La Chacarita sidewalks and side-streets to a depth of several kilometres. It was a custom that the dead would, one last time, pass by the concern against whom they were striking. To avert this, the authorities laid out an itinerary for the cortege, that would go straight to the cemetery and the vast number of armed forces and ambulances that accompanied the procession were in themselves a warning that they were ready to make the funeral cortege stick to the route set down. But in this case the cortege headed for the largest of the striking Vasena concerns. After some unheeded warning blasts on trumpets, the police – as the usual official phraseology has it – fired several volleys "into the air." Amid the infernal chaos, there was no time to waste counting the dead who were dealt with by the ambulances following the procession.

In the face of such savagery, those who had come only to attend the burial turned and went home: but many others continued to join the procession which pressed on until it reached the premises of the despised manufacturer. Marine infantry who were on guard there opened fire, but the cortege moved on towards its objective where it turned and destroyed what it could before pressing on to the cemetery. Amid the indescribable chaos that followed only those left dead in the streets during the fray kept their "sangfroid" and were tragic indications of the mood of this scene in the war for liberty. According to official sources, the number that lost their lives during this class was 22, and in another, later at the cemetery, three more were killed.

When the fighting in Vasena's factories had stopped and the funeral cortege moved off once again, I noticed that many of those at attending were breaking away in groups for some reason I was not aware of. I supposed that it was through fear and I couldn't help thinking I was more courageous than they. But I found out later than they had headed for other premises belonging to Vasena, and one group to his private home which they couldn't get near, it being guarded by the army. Other groups that abandoned the dead did so, so as to go off and confront those still living and working, overturning cars, trams, and carts, and by nightfall the city and its suburbs were almost completely paralysed by the strike.

The Ability To Feel Solidarity

It is pleasing to note that the most intensive strike ever seen in Buenos Aires and its suburbs was effective before it had actually been declared. What made this spontaneous and selfless action possible were the hatred that had long been brewing in the class-conscious proletariat for the tyrannical behaviour of the industrialist Vasena and the high degree to which the working class was under the influence of their sense of solidarity. Although the comrades of the FORA's Federal Council had been toying with the idea of a general strike, they were mixed up in the demonstration whose tragic outcome tipped the balance. On the other hand, apart from its huge membership, FORA, as a matter of principle had no paid staff. The general strike was declared by the Council at eight in the evening, on a nation-wide basis, with the Council assuming the responsibility for its management and for the terms to be wrung from the industrialist Vasena.

There were bloody clashes at dawn the next day and the only achievement of the police and soldiers who came on to the streets to re-establish order was to leave their weapons in the hands of demonstrators who also spirited arms away from the gunsmiths' shops. Apart from these cases, such was the respect shown for property that not even the ill-disposed have been able to come up with a single instance of looting.

The only cars that moved safely through the streets of Buenos Aires and its suburbs were the ones distributing the *La Protesta* bulletin which was continually being reprinted.

Though with less violence, the general strike spread to all the big cities of the interior.

Reactions in High Places

Although it had been making a name for itself as a liberal government, the Yrigoyen government, faced with the situation as it was, handed over power to the army in the person of General Dellepine, well known for his reactionary views, to smother the strike.

But there were already signs that solidarity with the strike had infiltrated the armed forces: it had seeped into the barracks and was behind the refusal of the troops from the Campo de Mayo to move on to the streets. Panic seized the ruling sectors and then the government through the engineer Torello, Minister of Public Works, threatened Vasena with the confiscation of his factories if he did not give the workers what they were demanding. With this threat hanging over him, Vasena ratified their demands and retired from industry, signing over his factories to a consortium headed by his son.

The Cost

The figure for those killed in the course of the strike was 370, according to an estimate by the daily paper "Critica". How many were not included in this figure one cannot tell: many took to hiding or were concealed, so as to make their recovery or die (as the case maybe) without official interference. All praise is due to the doctors who, comrades or not, risked their lives to save many fighting men from death or police custody. A huge number of people were arrested, too many to estimate.

In Argentina, the belief in spontaneous, levelling revolutions that saturated the anarchist Movement in its early years, was strong and made stronger by the intervention of a spirited youth when such occasions arose. It was on the prompting of this thinking that the Painters' and Bakers' unions and I can't remember what others issued proclamations stating: "Let us make the social revolution." Other comrades, no less devoted to the cause, and remembering past pexperiences, were of the opinion that such an attempt could unite reactionaries internationally leading to a St. Bartholomew's Night for the Movement. But

the argument was brought to a close by the proletariat in the struggle getting ready to go back to work, once the news reached them that Vasena had ratified their demands. At a meeting of delegates from the FORA, the independents and the other trade union group that had thrown its weight behind the movement, a proposal that a demand be issued to the authorities that all prisoners be released, fauled, but a resolution to campaign for their release was passed.

The Usual Judases

As we said, the hatred that the industrialist Vasena had earned himself, was entertained by many more than the FORA movement and the working class. The stoppage spread spontaneously to the workers belonging to the other trade union central, leaving their leaders with no choice other than to come out in solidarity with the move, and, likewise, so did the Socialist Party. But by its third day the strike had assumed a scale that the government found alarming, and more so the trade union leadership, who unilaterally called off the strike, calling upon the proletariat to go back to work announcing that the government had promised to settle the dispute. But, to their credit, the bulk of the socialist trade unionist workers, with the exception of a tiny minority, went on with the strike off their own bat.

When asked, in a newspaper interview, why it was that their members were not going back to their work, the socialist and trade unionist leaders, replied with an allegation that their were troublemakers who were preventing them from doing so. Once the strike had ended, the trade union centre sent a deleration along to the government to state that responsibility for the disruption, "that had done damage to the national interest and the interests of the workers" was not theirs. To which the FORA replied, as did *La Protesta*, that the government could give credence to what these gentlemen said, as they were quite incapable of any selfless act in favour of the oppressed. "We men of the FORA" – they said, – "We are the ones who called the strike that brought Vasena and his backers to their knees, and we acknowledge that responsibility."

Diplomatic Language and the Howling of Beasts.

In his "Voyages of The Beagle," Darwin who came ashore at what is now Buenos Aires, in about 1832, could even then, at night hear the disturbing roaring of the wild animals. By 1919 civilisation had driven them many kilometres away from the capital. But 15 days after the strike had ended and when anyone with commonsense could see that everything was peaceful, four British warships anchored in Buenos Aires harbour, and, through the agency of the consulate, they offered their services in re-establishing order. This made those of us who did not understand diplomatic language burst out laughing. In the panic caused by the week of fighting the bosses were to settle all disputes with the workers. We were working away, happy and optimistic amid an atmosphere of peace that the most wary among us found disquieting. But, for the comrades who understood diplomatic language a little, that offer to re-establish order was a greater source of anxiety, than the roaring of the wild beasts that Darwin had referred to. There were frenzied meetings which I, at the time, could not understand: but, until the Yrigoyen government turned down this offer and tranquility resumed, I could not find out.

In diplomatic language, the re-establishment of order did not mean measures like the close-down of locals, papers, dispersal of demonstrations with arrests being made, beatings, banishments and detention for militants: no, re-establishing order had quite a different meaning – the application of draconian measures putting an end to freedom of thought and association, through which workingmen defended themselves against ravening capitalism with its colonialist outlook and the insatiable greed of the *nouveaux riches*. Militants ought to take the time to study the language of diplomacy, to understand it. Not to become masters in the art of knavery, but so they can understand the language used by reactionaries world-wide to come together to crush social disturbances, with ignorance paralysing the Movement's defences against the plots being hatched against it.

Right and left, reactionaries across the globe agreed, behind the cloak of diplomatic phraseology, to crush the Republic being hatched in the consciousness of the Spanish people. All who hated liberty used the same diplomatic language to drown the revolution of 1936 in a sea of blood. Today, many of them shed crocodile tears over the doleful fate that, thanks to them, awaits the Spanish people.

I will wind up by saying that much remains to be said on the subject by more talented men with better documentation. For lack of better sources, I may have been mistaken on details in certain passages. As for the event in itself, it was the greatest lesson to emerge from the spirit of solidarity – a lesson taught to the powerful and the hypocrites, whatever badge they wear. And an experience for the proletariat. In events of this sort they get an idea of their potential to secure a complete emancipation.

(Translated by Paul Sharkey.)

TWO WORKERS EXPERIENCES IN RUSSIA

The name of Mollie Steimer, we trust will be recalled, if only very dimly, by some of the workers into whose hands th s article may fall.

Mollie Steimer came as a child to the United States from Russia. When she was quite a young girl her rebellious spirit brought her into the real class struggle just at the time when the revolution in Russia broke out; and as a consequence of her activity with a number of other young workers who dared to denounce the action of the United States government in sending American soldiers to Siberia, she was brought before a United States court. Defiantly she stood up for her ideas. For this she had to spend two years in an American prison, after which she was deported to Russia.

But almost as soon as she stepped foot on her native soil, where a self-styled government of the workers ruled supreme, she found herself again in difficulty. She found the prisons of Bolshevik Russia filled just like those she had left behind. No, not with Grand Dukes and Czarist generals, but with working men and women. They had dared to do in Russia what she had done in the United States – they had criticised the government – or were at least suspected of dissatisfaction.

For protesting against this, and for endeavouring to alleviate a little bit the suffering of these prisoners and of their families, she was thrown again into prison and finally deported from the land of her birth.

The capitalist government of the United States and the Communist government of Russia proved alike – that there is no real difference between one government and another no matter upon what pretensions it is founded. The Anarchists have all along contended that in the event of a Socialist state materialising it would prove not one iota less despotic than a capitalist one – nay, that by the nature of its position and its programme it was bound to prove even more ruthless in its suppression of all who dared to be dissatisfied or to demand real freedom from economic or political slavery. The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in Russia has only borne out that prediction.

How far the working masses of Russia are from that real freedom can be judged from Mollie Steimer's letter, following:

Among other things it has been stated in the American press that I was very happy to leave Russia, and that I preferred exile in Germany to freedom in Russia. This statement attributed to me, is a deliberate lie!

It is true that the hypocrisy, intolerance, and the treachery of the Bolsheviks arouse in me a feeling of indignation and revolt, but, as an Anarchist, I have no admiration nor defence for any government of any land, and the statement that I prefer exile in Germany rather than freedom in Russia is ridiculous and false.

I made it very clear to the press correspondent with whom I spoke that in spite of all the difficulties with which I had to put up with in Russia, I was deeply grieved when I was forced to leave that country. This was not true when I left America. Although I have my entire family, good comrades and many dear friends in the U.S.A. Yet, when I was deported from there by the capitalist government, my heart was light. It was not so in the case of Russia. Never have I felt so depressed as since I have been sentenced to exile from Russia. My love for Russia and its people is too deep for me to rejoice that I am an exile, especially at a time when they are undergoing extreme suffering and most severe persecution. On the contrary, I would prefer to be there, and together with the workers and peasants, search for a way to loosen the chains of Bolshevik tyranny.

I regard the Bolshevik government as the worst foe of Russia. Its system of espionage is perhaps worse than anywhere else in the world. Espionage overshadows all thought, all creative effort and action. Despite tales to the contrary told by foreign observers who have spent a few weeks or months on Russian soil under Bolshevik guides, and despite the statements of those who receive money from the Bolsheviks for their services, there is NO freedom of opinion in Russia. No one is permitted to express an opinion unless it be in favour of the ruling class. Should a worker dare say anything at a meeting of his factory or Union which is not favourable to the Communists, he is sure to land in prison or be booked by the agents of the G.P.U. (the new name for the Tcheka) as a counter-revolutionist. Thousands of workers, students, men and women of high intellectual attainments, as well as undeveloped but intelligent peasants, are languishing today in Soviet prisons. The world is told they are counter-revolutionists and bandits. Though they are the most idealistic and revolutionary flower of Russia, they are charged with all sorts of false charges before the world, while their persecutors, the "Communists" who exploit and terrorise the people, call themselves revolutionaries and the saviours of the oppressed. Behind revolutionary phraseology they hide deeds which no capitalist government on earth would be allowed to commit without a protest arising from the whole world.

Let me give a few examples of how the proletariat is treated by the co-called revolutionists:

On March 5, 1923, the Central Government Clothing Factory in Petrograd reduced the wages of its employees 30 per cent, without giving notice or making any explanation to any of them. When the salaries were handed out, each of the workers was under the impression that it was a clerical mistake, and went for an explanation to the office, with the result that 1,200 employees went simultaneously to ask why so much of their pay was missing. To this the factory director replied that the people ought to be satisfied with what they get and ought to thank them (the directors and the government) for supplying them with work at all. Amazed at such an answer and boiling with indignation, they decided not to resume work until they got a satisfactory explanation. Union representatives were thereupon called, but those officials refused to come until the workers went back to their machines. The factory manager told them also that if they dared to strike, all of them would be considered counter-revolutionists and dealt with accordingly. Immediately the workers called a meeting. While they were discussing their grievances, the union representatives entered. But instead of sympathising with the workers, one of these "defenders of labour" pounded on the table with his fist and called in a thundering voice: "I order you back to work."

Naturally, such behaviour only aroused all present to the highest pitch of excitement. The order was bitterly resented and the meeting continued. An old workingman got up and related the conditions under which he and his family were forced to live, and asked how on earth he could keep from starvation with the miserable wages he received. The description of his own life being the very mirror of the life they all led, resulted in the most pitiful scene. Everybody suddenly burst into tears. Young and old, men and women, all were crying, and several in the audience fainted.

A few hours after this came several chiefs representing the G.P.U., the Union and together with the head director of the Petrograd Clothing factories, announced that the wages would be reduced only 18 per cent instead of 30 per cent. The workers, thereupon decided to resume work and quietude prevailed in the factory. But at the end of the next week 120 workers, who were considered to be more outspoken and determined than the others, were discharged from the factory, thrown out of the Union, and put on the blacklist; that is, on their passports were written: "Citizen . . . discharged from the Central Government Clothing Factory for mutiny against the Workers and Peasants Government, with the purpose of taking over the factory."

Thus, because these proletarians of the "Communist" state protested against a reduction in their wages, they were thrown out of the Union, and consequently they can no longer obtain work. What is still worse, they are registered by the G.P.U., as counter-revolutionists!

Now, let us take the case of Skorokhad factory. In June, 1923, the Leather Makers Union and the Communist Committee of the Skorokhad factory decided, without consulting the workers, that a club house of the district should be repaired at the expense of the Skorokhad workers (about 3,000 in number). Each of the various departments were told that it must work eight hours overtime to cover the expense of the club, and that "the other departments have already agreed to do so." All departments without knowing about each other, indignantly refused on the following grounds:

1. That the club is not a workers', but a Communist club, only Communist lectures are delivered there, and no other are permitted.
2. That even if they would agree in principle to working on behalf of the club, they resented the action of the Union officials and the "Communist" Committee, in having decided for them, as if they were so many cattle to do the work.

The workers demanded a meeting of the entire factory. This the Union and shop committee (which usually consists of Communists or Communist sympathisers) refused to grant. On that day no one remained working overtime. The next day, when this refusal was repeated, the doors of the factory were locked, and the customary passes that permit the workers to leave the factory were not given out. About half the workers then returned to work – the other half stood waiting until the two hours were up and the gates opened. Each evening of that week the same thing was repeated. The doors were locked and the passed not issued. Yet it was only under the threat of being discharged that the rest of the workers submitted. As usual, a week later, those workers of the various departments who did not act like cattle, but who showed character and spirit were discharged.

In the same month – June, 1923, – the workers of the Putilov factory and shipyard went out on strike, demanding an increase in their salaries and the discontinuance of the practice of deducting high taxation from their weekly pay. Out of the small wages that the workers receive in Russia, the Government orders – without consulting the workers, of course, – a certain amount be deducted for various purposes, such as the Red Army invalids, the Red Army and the Red Aeroplane Fleet, "Cultural" work, union dues and other countless things; because of these deductions, the workers, at times, get no more than hald of their wages.

After a three days' strike of the Putilov workers, the wages were increased. But their second demand was declined, and the employees nevertheless returned to work. However, as a result of this strike, about 400 workers were discharged and 100 arrested. The most tragic part of all this is that the Union and Shop Committees, of course under the Communist management, participated in these discharges and arrests, in co-operation with the factory administration and the Government Political Department, for there is a law in Soviet Russia that no workers can be discharged without the consent of the Union and Shop Committee. But the Government solves this problem by placing their own agents as officials in the Unions and Shop Committees.

It happened that I was kept in the same prison where those 100 Putilov workingmen were detained. When asked why they were imprisoned, I received the answer: "They charge us with counter-revolution. God knows what they meant by it."

The above mentioned facts concern only Petrograd; but there are thousands of similar cases all over present day Russia, and yet the Bolsheviks are continually publishing stories about the glorious conditions and the free-living in the shadow of the G.P.U., cannot tell the truth to the world. Should he try it, or should he even try defending his own rights within Russia, he will find himself listed as a counter-revolutionist or a bandit, liable to arrest at any moment.

No, I am NOT happy to be out of Russia. I would rather be there helping the workers combat the tyrannical deeds of the hypocritical

Communists.

Mollie Steimer.

Berlin, November 1923.
Mollie Steimer is still alive and active, and living in Mexico.

From a Communist (1924)

Gabriel Miasnikov, one of the oldest and most respected members of the Russian Communist Party and leader of the organisation in Motovilikha, could no longer tolerate the abandonment of the revolutionary principles of the R.C.P., and protested openly and vociferously within the party. For his part in organising "The Worker's Group" in opposition to the Party he was arrested and jailed.

It seems that Miasnikov managed to escape from prison, make his way to Constantinople and thence to Paris in 1927 where he remained until 1945/46 when he returned to Russia never to be heard from again.
(See "The Miasnikov Memorendum" by Sam Dolgoff in CPAR Vo. 1, No. 3)

After having been imprisoned in Moscow for 20 days, I declared a hunger-strike in order to force a formal indictment and open court proceedings against me, or to secure my liberation. On the tenth day of my hunger-strike (which began on June 1, 1924) the "G.P.U." Commission attempted to subject me to forcible feeding. Everyone familiar with our revolutionary traditions knows how determinedly we always condemned and resisted the attempt to terminate a hunger-strike by force. Even Russian Tzarism resorted to such methods only on very rare occasions.

Only recently the "Pravda" characterised such treatment in Poland as a most barbarous and outrageous procedure. But that seems to refer only to the Polish bourgeoisie. When applied, however, in Tomsk it is not an outrage but the flower of proletarian communistic culture.

Twice I resisted the attempt to feed me forcibly. I continued my hunger-strike – and then the Tomsk prison authorities and the local "G.P.U." acted in a manner than transcends anything done by the Polish executioners and sets a fine example for the Fascisti of the whole world. On the thirteenth day of my hunger-strike, at 2 o'clock at night, they broke into my cell where I lay unconscious, dragged me out of bed, and brough. me to an insane asylum.

Indeed such proceedings are not practised even by the Fascisti of Poland. They have not gone that far yet, but here the motto is: Whoever protests is crazy and belongs to the insane! Particularly when he is of the working class and has been a Communist for 20 years. The Fascisti do not seem ripe yet for this kind of proletarian ethics.

It is obvious that these tactics are intended to stifle all political opposition. They brought me to Tomsk in order to hide their dark deeds . . . Vasslov, the chairman of the local court, declared to me: "If we were to act legally, we would have to release you, because your imprisonment is illegal." And another representative of the Government, Mestcheriakov, sought to persuade me: "Recant! Say that you are sorry. It depends upon yourself whether you will be released or remain here."

By such means my life – and that of my family – is made a constant torture for they are trying by all provocative means to force me to recant and renounce . . . I have committed no crime; I maintain it absolutely. The sole reason for my arrest was the fact that I trusted the word of honour of Krestinsky and Zinoviev (and for that same reason I returned to Russia from abroad). And they sent me to Tomsk because I trusted the word of honour of Menjinsky, Deribas, Agranov and Slovatinsky. Also because they thought they would get rid of me here with less trouble. And because I have committed no offence, they can bring no charge against me.

When my revolutionary proletarian past, origin, and activities are considered, I am treated more cruelly than any of the counter-revolutionists an' common criminals in the whole of Tomsk prison. No one is permitted to speak to me, neither prisoners, wardens, nor keepers. Every counter-revolutionists is permitted to have relations with the outer world, but to me it is forbidden . . . My wife and three children, the oldest of whom is four years of age, are in administrative exile. Her crime is more serious than mine, for she is my wife. And the babies are exiled too, because they are my chi ldren . . .

G. Miasnikov.

(From "Letters from Russian Prisons" published for The International Committee for Political Prisoners by Albert and Charles Boni, New York, 1925).

GREGORY PETROVICH MAXIMOFF

Gregory Petrovich Maximoff was born on November 10th 1893 in the village of Mitushenko, Smolensk Province. His parents sent him to Vladimir Theological Seminary to study for the priesthood, but a year before he was to be ordained Maximoff renounced religion in favour of science and enrolled in the St. Petersburg Agricultural Academy, graduating in 1915 as a qualified agronomist.

In his restless search for coherent revolutionary orientation, Maximoff studied the literature of the various radical groupings. But it was the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin that shaped his revolutionary career. Maximoff's ideology – a synthesis of communalism and syndicalism – is based upon the teachings of Bakunin and Kropotkin. Maximoff defined this relationship:

". . . I am a communist [because I believe in] the organisation of communal production on the basis of 'from each according to his ability' and of communal consumption on the principle of 'each according to his needs' . . . the state would be replaced by a *confederation of free communes* . . . I am a syndicalist [because I believe that] the means by which capitalism can be overthrown and communism installed is the seizure of production by the producers' labour unions . . . *syndicalist production built around communist relations between producers* . . . " (Constructive Anarchism, Chicago 1952, p.24, 31 – Maximoff's emphasis).

Kropotkin also confirms this relationship: " . . . I believe that the syndicalist movement will emerge as the great force . . . leading to the creation of the communist stateless society . . . " (quoted Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, Princeton, 1967 p.227).

The Russian anarcho-syndicalists did not intend to become a sect of impotent grumblers. Already, remarks Maximoff ,

". . . the first two conferences of the anarcho-syndicalists in 1918 set forth and in detail the political and economic characteristics of the first stages of the new social structure . . . our press was filled with articles on this subject . . . (the anarcho-syndicalists) launched a bold campaign against the chaotic, formless, disorganised and indifferent attitude (towards the constructive problems) of the Social-Revolution) rampant among the anarchists . . . " (*Constructive Anarchism*, p61)

Maximoff's preeminent place in the history of Russian Anarchism rests upon his ability to adjust theory to the practical needs of the workers. He formulated workable, constructive libertarian alternatives to Bolshevism: free soviets, grass-roots housing and neighbourhood committees, workers self-management of industry through federations of rank-and-file factory committees, industrial unions, agricultural collectives and communes, networks of non-interest, non-profit cooperative agencies for credit and exchange, a vast network of voluntary organisations embracing the myriad operations of a complex society. (see *The Guillotine at Work*, p.349, 353, 364-66, 374-78: *Constructive Anarchism*, p.26-31, 101-147; Paul Avrich, *Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, Cornell, 1973, p.68-74, 102-106).

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Maximoff became an active anarchist propagandist, not only in student and workers' circles, but also among the peasants, where his agricultural knowledge and understanding of peasant problems proved most effective.

In 1915 Maximoff was drafted into the Czar's army . . . Although his educational background qualified him for the officers training school, Maximoff preferred the life of the common soldier, the better to spread anti-war, anti-militarist revolutionary propaganda among the conscripted workers and peasants.

Emma Goldman wrote that Maximoff:

". . . an anarchist of long standing . . . participated in the revolutionary struggles beginning with the February Revolution of 1917, was one of the editors of *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labour) and a member of the All-Russian Secretariat of Anarcho-Syndicalists . . . he is an able and popular writer and Lecturer . . . " (*My Further Disillusionment in Russia*: Doubleday, 1924 p.142

In line with coordinating the resistance of the already spontaneously organised rank-and-file factory committees against the increasing domination of the labour movement by the state controlled unions, Maximoff played a major part in organising the first conference of the All Russian Conference of Factory Committees (October 1917) and before that The Petrograd Factory Committees (June 1917).

Golos Truda printing collective and bookshops in Moscow and in Petrograd circulated throughout Russia translations of Anarcho-Syndicalist books and pamphlets; a five volume collection of Bakunin's writings and works by Kropotkin, Stepniak and other Russian anarchists. *Golos Truda* was soon suppressed and succeeded by Volny Golos Truda (New Voice of Labour).

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No account of Maximoff's life would be adequate without recording the important part played by his wife and comrade-in-arms, Olga Freydlin. Olga was still a young girl when she became an anarchist. In 1909 she was sentenced to eight years of hard labour for smuggling and spreading subversive literature. But, because of her youth she was condemned to life-banishment in Yenesink Province, Siberia.

With the release of political prisoners by the Feberuary 1917 Revolution, Olga came to Moscow. She also actively participated in the revolutionary movement in Kharkov and other Ukrainian areas – particularly in the anarcho-syndicalist and cooperative movements. Later, Olga went to the Urals, and became active in the Ural Anarchist Federation, where she filled a responsible post in the People's Educational Committee. When it was occupied by the Czecho-Slovakian counter-revolutionary army, Olga returned to Moscow in 1918. She was very active in the Golos Truda Group and it was there that she first met Maximoff.

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In the spring of 1919, Maximoff came to Kharkov to work with the Southern Bureau of the All-Russian Union of Metal Workers, in the department of statistics. When the trade unions mobilised trade union officials for voluntary propaganda work in the Red Army, Maximoff refused because he would be forced to spread bolshevik, not anarchist propaganda. He agreed to serve in front-line combat against the counter-revolutionary white guards, only if he would not be obliged to participate in the suppression of workers and peasants strikes, demonstrations or curtailment of civil rights. For this, and other 'subversive' activities, Maximoff was arrested and saved from execution only by the threat of a general strike of the Kharkov Steelworkers Union. He was, however, thrown into the Cheka dungeons. His harrowing experience is graphically portrayed in the chapter *One Day in the Cheka's Cellars* (The Guillotine at Work, p.425-31).

Although the anarchist movement condemned the bombing of the headquarters of the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party, the bombings became the pretext for the wholesale arrests and persecution of anarchists all over Russia.

In 1920, Maximoff and others organised the underground Federation of Food Workers, the first step toward the establishment of a Russian General Confederation of Labour. (It's programme page 369; *The Guillotine . . .*). In November 1920, Maximoff became the secretary of the Executive Committee of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation.

With the disciplining, in 1921, of the socalled "Workers' Opposition" movement within the Russian Communist Party, and the crushing of the Kronstadt Sailors revolt and peasant and workers strikes and riots, the backbone of the growing anarchist movement was broken. Book-shops, printing facilities, newspapers, halls, clubs, were closed. Maximoff presents three documents protesting the attitude of Russian Communist Party and the Red International of Trade Unions (the Profintern) towards the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists:[1] Appeal of the All-Russian Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists to the Workers of All Countries:[2] The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party:[3] the Executive Committee of the Third (Communist Party) International. (*Guillotine . . .* p.440-53).

In July 1921, thirteen anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist prisoners in the notorious Cheka Taganka prison in Moscow, among them Maximoff, Yarchuck, Mratchny, and Volin declared a ten day hunger strike. (*Guillotine . . .* p.478-499)

Through the intervention of the syndicalist delegates to the Profintern congress, then in session. (Augustin Souchy, Germany; Armando Borghi, Italy; Orlandis and Gaston Leval, Spain: the French delegate Sirolle, among others) Lenin and Trotsky agreed to release the anarchists if they gave up their hunger strike and agreed to deportation from Russia, never to return. In this connection, we must not fail to note the part played by Emma Goldmann, Alexander Berkmann, Olga Maximoff and other militants in bringing the plight of the hunger strikers to the attention of the foreign syndicalist delegates. Maximoff and the other anarchists were deported in January 1922. After surmounting terrible difficulties deliberately planted by the Russian Communist Party's Cheka, they finally reached Berlin on February 7, 1922, to be welcomed and cared for by the German anarchists. (Described in detail by Maximoff, *Guillotine . . .* p.478-99).

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With the arrival of the Russian anarchist exiles, Maximoff, Volin, Yartchuck, Mratchny, and a few others, joined later by Alexander Schapiro, Nestor Makhno, Peter Archinoff, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Senja Flechine, Mollie Steimer and other refugees, Berlin became the nerve centre of the International Russian Anarchist Movement, where archives and manuscripts smuggled out of Russia were deposited.

Rudolph Rocker, in his memoirs, tells how Archinoff's manuscript *The History of the Makhno Movement* and Berkman's diary of events in Russia, *The Bolshevik Myth* sent for safekeeping until their arrival in Berlin from Russian, and deemed lost in transmission, were located, and later delivered intact. (*Revolution and Regression* – Yiddish translation, Buenos Aires 1963, Volume I, p.180-84).

The exiles left Russia more than ever determined to continue their struggle for the liberation of the Russian people from their new dictators. For Maximoff and his comrades, deportation signified not the end, but the beginning of new battles. This key passage from his *Guillotine at Work* illustrated the character and scope of Maximoff's activities during his three years stay in Berlin:

While yet in Russia confined in Taganka Prison " . . . it was decided that we go to Berlin, where there was a strong and healthy anarcho-syndicalist movement, and to launch a concerted work for Russia, acting as the Foreign Bureau of the All-Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation . . . to publish a paper for Russia . . . and also propagandistic and agitational literature . . . we hoped that with the material and moral support of German, French, American and other comrades, we should be able to set up a publication in one or several European languages, where the truth about the Russian Revolution would be told, where one could share one's revolutionary experience, and a series of problems brought forward by the Revolution in Russia, and where one might appeal for the organisation of an anarcho-syndicalist international based upon the principles of Bakuninism of the First International . . . " (*Guillotine . . .* p.499).

In this they were not disappointed. Maximoff and Alexander Schapiro, who wrote its declaration of principles, contributed significantly toward the organising of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workingmen's Association (IWMA) as the revolutionary alternative to the Bolshevik dominated Red International of Trade Unions (Profintern). They helped establish the Joint Committee for the Defence of the Revolutionists Imprisoned in Russia.

In the Russian anarcho-syndicalist periodical *Robotny Put* (Workers Way) which Maximoff helped establish and edited; in his pamphlet, *Instead of a Programme*; in other writings and in discussions; Maximoff emphasised that the anarchists should learn from the experience of the Russian Revolution, how to correct their mistakes and work out constructive, workable measures for libertarian reconstruction of society.

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The Maximoff's left Berlin in 1924. After a few months in Paris they came to the United States in 1925, settling in Chicago, under the name Urkevich. Under the guidance of his comrade, Boris Yelensky, Maximoff became a paperhanger, and his wife Olga found employment in a downtown Chicago department store.

The IWMA and Maximoff regarded the IWW as part of the anarcho-syndicalist movement. The twenty thousand member Chilean Administration of the IWW joined the IWMA. Although the American IWW did not officially affiliate, it always maintained, and still

maintains, close fraternal relations with the IWMA, and accepts a membership card in an IWMA as the equivalent of membership in the IWW. Shortly after settling in Chicago, Maximoff therefore became a member of the IWW and until its suspension in 1927, edited its Russian organ, *Golos Truzhenika* (The Labourer's Voice).

When the editor of *Delo Truda* (Labour's Cause) recanted his anarchism and with the permission of the Communist Party returned to Russia, *Delo Truda* was transferred from Paris to Chicago and Maximoff himself became its editor. Paul Avrich notes that under " . . . Maximoff's supervision *Delo Truda* became the most important journal of the Russian emigrees . . . " (The Russian Anarchists; Princeton, 1967, p.247) When *Delo Truda* merged with the Detroit publication in 1940 to become *Delo Truda-Probuzhdenie*, Maximoff stayed on as its editor until his death in 1950.

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I first met Maximoff in 1926. When I congratulated him for having learned so quickly enough English to converse, he replied that he must perfect his English the better to participate in the building of an effective American anarchist movement.

In discussing the basis for such a movement Maximoff helped clarify my ideas, introduced me to the ideas and writings of the classical anarchists (particularly Bakunin and Kropotkin) and thus achieve a correct orientation.

Maximoff rejected the romantic glorification of conspiracy and violence in the amoral tradition of Nechayev; total irresponsibility; excessive preoccupation with one's "unique life-style", rejection of any form of organisation or self-discipline and the idealisation of the most anti-social forms of individual rebellion.

For Maximoff, Anarchism was not only a standard of personal conduct (he never underestimated its importance). Anarchism is a social movement, a movement of the people. Like Bakunin and Kropotkin and the classical anarchists, Maximoff defined Anarchism as the truest expression of socialism. He insisted that we must work out a constructive realistic approach to the problems of the Social Revolution and relate anarchism to the socio-economic problems of our complex society.

We were receptive to Maximoff's ideas, not because he indoctrinated us, but because we had been led by our own experience to think along similar lines. We too, felt the need to distinguish ourselves ideologically and organisationally from fundamentally conflicting tendencies getting together, when necessary, for specific purposes.

In the late 1920s or early 1930s we identified ourselves as an "Anarchist-Communist" group and named our montly organ, "Vanguard: An Anarchist-Communist Journal". Maximoff was a regular contributor. His articles, signed or unsigned, as well as his constructive suggestions enhanced the value of *Vanguard*, still considered one of the best radical journals of that period.

Besides his profuse writings, Maximoff strove to preserve the continuity of the Russian anarchist movement in America, periodically addressing groups in New York, New Haven, Akren, Youngstown, Gary, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Waterbury and Dobbs Ferry, and in the interim conducting a voluminous correspondence. The magnitude of Maximoff's efforts is all the more impressive when we consider that he found time to do all these things after working long hours or at the weekends.

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Maximoff suffered a massive heart attack and died suddenly on March 10th 1950 upon returning from his day's work. When we visited Olga Maximoff a few years before her death, she told us that she fell and broke her leg, if I am not mistaken, two or three years before. Incompetent, careless medical care, made necessary a shortening of her foot. This, and increasing deafness, forced her to quit her job in the department store. She died May 7th, 1973. Olga left instructions not to conduct a funeral and donated her body to medical research. (Maximoff's body was cremated and interred in Waldheim cemetery and interred in Waldheim cemetery near the tomb of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs).

Irving S. Abrams an intimate friend and comrade who had known the Maximoff's when they first came to Chicago in 1925, informed me in a recent letter that " . . . she gave all she had to the Alexander Berkman Fund for the Relief of Political Prisoners, in Russia and other countries," which the Maximoff's had helped organise and under whose auspices *The Guillotine at Work* was first published in 1940.

* * * * *

Maximoff was a prolific writer. Besides editing and writing articles in *Delo Truda-Probuzhdenie* and voluminous writings awaiting translation, there appeared his 625 page book, *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia (Data and Documents)* a pioneering expose; a series of pamphlets, among them My Social Credo, a concise outline of Maximoff's ideas, *Bolshevism: Promises and Realities: The World Scene from the Libertarian Point of View*, a collection of articles by anarchist writers from different countries; *Bulgaria: A New Spain*, persecution of anarchists and other dissenters etcetera.

The Political Philosophy of Bakunin, a systematic compilation of Bakunin's constructive ideas and *Constructive Anarchism*, an outline of Maximoff's practical ideas, were published after his death by The Maximoff Publication Society, organised by its secretary, Irving S. Abrams, Maximoff's wife, Olga, and other comrades to honour Maximoff's memory by publishing his works in English translation.

As I write these lines twenty eight years after Maximoff's untimely death, I still feel keenly the loss of the dear friend, the valiant comrade, who inspired me (and so many others) to explore new roads to freedom. *The Guillotine At Work* surely is still an important project. Maximoff's message is still relevant.

Sam Dolgoff.

CHINESE ANARCHISM

INTRODUCTION TO ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA

The reprinting of Albert Meltzer's *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* **is a major event. Outside of** *The Origins . . .*, **Robert A. Scalapina and George T. Yu's** *The Chinese Anarchist Movement*[1] **(which does not go beyond the early 1920's, stopping short of the "Shanghai Commune") and Olga Lang's** *Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth Between the Two Revolutions*,[2] **most of what has been written about Anarchism in China has been as sidelights to other subjects.**[3] **In the third number of** *Libero International*, **organ of CIRA Nippon, there appears a 34 item bibliography ("Asian Anarchism in Western Languages (2): China" – republished here as an appendix)**[4] **– heading the list is** *Origins. . .* **It is credited to "Internationalist" – this is the first copy that I read, published by London's Coptic Press in 1968, mimeographed on altogether five colours of paper. .**

Libero International refers to it as "the pioneer libertarian study on the Chinese movement"[5] – and so it is. The pamphlet is *not* a comprehensive study, but a broad, sweeping outline of Chinese Anarchism from its beginnings under the dual impacts of Chinese anarchists in France and Japan, all the way to the Cultural Revolution. Neither is it a scholarly work. These limitations must be kept in mind. It was meant as an introduction to a chapter of the Unknown History whose definitive work has yet to be written. This writer was not even aware of there being an anarchist movement in China before reading the pamphlet – that it informs those interested that such a movement did indeed exist, and exerted a powerful influence as well – therein lies the value of *The Origins. . .* Written in the inimitable Meltzer style, complete with anecdotes and fascinating sidelights (such as the role of Esperanto, or a note on the depiction of Jews as a type in the writings of the anarchist Pa Chin), it is an ideal jumping off point for further studies.

Anarchism in China – as elsewhere – was not the full grown parlour creation of wise (or mad!) philosophers; it achieved its strength because its ideas – and believers – were responding to deeply felt needs and tensions within Chinese society. Anarchist ideas and methods took hold in response to a China dominated externally by foreigners and internally by a deeply-seated authoritrian system – an authoritarian system divided between the old Mandarin type forms and the rising Chinese capitalist class. A tension between competing authority systems existed (a tension that led not only to anarchism, but also to the Chinese Nationalist and Communist movements as well). Perhaps the existence of competing authority systems led to a questioning of all authority – be that as it may, anarchism responded to the degradation and exploitation of city workers (Chinese anarchism was primarily urban; the Communists were rooted in the peasantry – now, who was it spoke of the "idiocy of rural life"?), the stifling effects of the traditional family, the suffocating death rattles of a long-dying Imperial system, and so on.

As in days of yore, so today: libertarian tendencies are taking root in response to the tensions and contradictions within present-day China. Note that the term "libertarian tendencies" has been used; there is no evidence that a full – or even half-blown Anarchist movement exists. Under the state capitalist tyranny of the Chinese Communist Party, the once widespread anarchist press no longer exists. After the Maoists took power, the anarchists were forced underground. Whether they still operate is an unknown. How many still live is likewise an unknown.* Whether influenced by the pre-1949 veterans or not, libertarian tendencies are manifesting themselves, and on several levels. During the Cultural Revolution, there were reports of Chinese workers repudiating both the government and the Red Guards – and of the "Peoples' Liberation (!) Army" having to move in to "restore order." To this day, PLA units are detached to factories. Occasionally we hear reports of workers being tried for "hooliganism" and "anarcho-syndicalist deviationism"[6] – cover words for taking Direct Action and having the temerity to question the Peoples' Bosses. I was told of a group of workers in a bicycle factory in Wuhan that took over their factory a la LIP in Besancon. Lately, the number of reported "disturbances" in the wake of the 1976 Tienanamen uprising has been increasing, although specific details are lacking.[7] On another level are the responses of former Red Guards since the Cultural Revolution (translation of their writings is due to the diligence of Hong Kong's "libertarian socialist" group, the 70's Front).

** Another unknown is the number, if any, of veterans of the pre-Communist movement now in Hong Kong. The handful that are known are inactive. This writer has wondered how many, if any, of the Shanghai textile workers who immigrated to Hong Kong in the 1950's, were anarchists or anarchist influenced.*

The Cultural Revolution was decreed to be at an end in 1968 when it appeared to Mao & Co., that it was getting out of hand – that is, these upstart youngsters were beginning to think for themselves, instead of acting as pawns in the power struggle.[8] What we are seeing now is the emergence of critiques of Chinese Communist society. Maoism, Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Maoism, the cult of the personality, etc. – critiques that begin not with the classical writings of Anarchism, or the debates between Marx and Bakunin, the analyses of Kropotkin, and so on – but critiques that begin with the living experiences of the participants, responses to the reality of China today. We are seeing the responses of a generation reared in Communist authoritarianism, a generation of the indoctrinated who never knew the horrors of the "old" China (only the terrors

CLIFFORD HARPER

of the new), a generation raised in the worship of Mao Tse-tung; weaned on the Good Book, little and red. And these responses are libertarian in tendency. People are tired of being ordered around, pushed around, directed around – all in the name of the State, in the name of Mao Tse-Tung Thought, in the name of the Revolution – they are beginning to ask questions. And answer – NO!

Let us trace the course of these writings. From within China, we have the document, "Whither China?" issued by the Sheng-wu-lien Red Guards of Hunan Province in 1968.[9] An analysis of the Cultural Revolution, it is couched in the language of Maoist theocracy, complete with references to the "wise supreme commander," "the great teacher of the proletariat," and so on. Nevertheless, throughout there are libertarian glimmers. For example:

"Why did Chairman Mao, who strongly advocated the "commune," suddenly oppose the establishment of the "Shanghai People's Commune" in January? This is something which the revolutionary people find hard to understand.

Chairman Mao, who foresaw the "commune" as the political structure which must be realised by the first Cultural Revolution, suddenly proposed "Revolutionary committees are fine!"

Revolution must progress along a zig-zag course. It must go through a prolonged course of "struggle-failure-struggle again-failure again-struggle again-until final victory."

Why cannot communes be established immediately?"[10]

"Whither China?" appeared in January 1968. In February 1968, a nineteen year old student, Yang Hsi-kwang, was arrested in Wuhan and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. As of this writing, he is still in jail.[11]

More than six years later, on Nov. 7, 1974, a wall poster one hundred feet in length appeared on Canton's Peking Road. Entitled "Concerning Socialist Democracy and Legal System – Dedicated to Chairman Mao and the Fourth National Peoples' Congress,"[12] credited for issuing it was Li I-che, a group of three ex-Red Guards; the actual author was Li Cheng-t'ien, who had previously written other wall posters. Arrested several times prior to "Concerning Socialist Democracy," he was sent, in August-September 1975 to the Shek Yan Chang coal mines for "re-education."[13]

"Concerning Socialist Democracy" goes beyond "Whither China?" Still written in Maois' rhetoric, there is a very real feeling of the rhetoric being used as a mask. The "enemy" is listed as Lin Piao – but the criticisms of the "Lin Piao system" go much further than one man:

"Let us make some retrospection about the scenes when Lin Piao's System was 'flourishing'!

We have not forgotten the giving prominence to (empty) politics which rewarded the lazy and punished the diligent, the "daily reading [of Mao's works and quotations] " which resembled the incantation of spells, the "discussion-application [of Mao's Works and thoughts] " which became more and more hypocritical, the "revolution erupts from the depth of the soul" which became more absurd, the "manifestation of loyalty" which encouraged political speculation, the grotesque "loyalty dance," and the excruciatingly multitudinous rituals of showing loyalty – morning prayers, evening penitences, rallies, falling-in, reporting for and quitting work and making duty shifts, buying and selling things, writing letters, making phone calls, even taking meals – which were invariably painted with violent religious colours and shorouded in such an atmosphere. In short, loyalty occupied one hundred per cent of the time and one hundred per cent of the space. The movements of this "good" and that "good" were, in fact, competitions of the 'left! left! and more left!" and contests for 'the most. . the most. . and the most. . " The innumerable "meetings of representatives of active elements" were, in fact expositions of hypocritical, evil and ugly behaviour and a gambling house which offered "10,000 time profit for one unit of capital." "

And this quotation:

"The theoreticians have asked: "Is the essence of the Lin Piao line 'leftist' or 'rightist'?" This question is indeed solemnly absurd. The essence of all the opportunist lines . . . is rightist, no matter whether its appearance is leftist or rightist, because they will ultimately lead to losses, or even failure, of the revolution. To this matter, there is no distinction between 'leftist' and 'rightist.' Do our theoreticians really lack this bit of common sense?

Furthermore, has any one of the historical opportunists in the Party not appeared to be 'leftist' at some time and 'rightist' at another?

Our theoreticians! Has Lin Piao not propogated the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius? How can we say that he is 'ultra-leftist'? But, on newspapers and documents published from 1960 to 1971, can we find any instruction issued by this "the highest, the highest' Vice-Chairman Lin which called us to learn the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius? They wanted people to emulate Tung Chung-shu*, but they also wanted people to worship the Mao Tse-tung Thought as a kind of religion! Was it not that the new principle of rites – 'whoever opposes Mao Tse-tung Thought will be struck down' – which has enabled us to see the feudalistic nature of Lin Piao? On the other hand, was Lin Piao not, as an opposite side to Liu Shao-ch'i and Chou Yang and their ilk who intensely hated the Mao Tse-tung Thought, very 'leftist'? "

In other words: to hell with their labels, they are all cut from the same cloth!

These tendencies become more obvious in the writings of those who have fled to Hong Kong – where survival no longer demands the donning of a Maoist-cut cloak (very severe). The criticisms become sharper, the questions raised, deeper – and the conclusions reached more incisive. From questioning this or that "line" or this and that "group," they progress to questioning the Holy-of-Holies itself – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the State, the nature of class society, the moulding of personality and so on.

** Tung Chung-shu – Confucian scholar credited with having Confucianism become the state religion in 136 B.C.*[15]

Revolt against the State's attempt to mould personality – this has been one of those responses that have led to the re-emergence of libertarian ideas mentioned earlier in this essay. Sam Dolgoff, writing in regard to the Cuban Revolution and the Castro-Guevara attempts to form the "new socialist man" made the point that ". . .They (sic) attempt to build communism failed because the 'new socialist man can be formed only within the context of a new and free society, based not upon compulsion, but upon voluntary co-operation."[16]

So too in China. Much as the "social engineers" would like, people are not Skinner Box rats that will respond in the "correct" manner (or "line") upon being exposed to certain stimuli. In China, as in other totalitarian states, the individual is suppressed and subordinated totally to the State, the Party, the Fuehrer. This suppression of the individual and the creation of the "mass man" is one thing that all totalitarian systems, both right and left, have in common. I am not saying anything new here. The fight to remain an individual, to think as an individual, is at the core of many of the writings we are discussing here. Former Red Guard Wu Man (who fled to Hong Kong in 1973) noted that "In China the ideal was not accomplished by the collective character of the people but by the strangling of the life of the individual. In clinging to our individual ideals, we are rebelling against autocracy. This is invaluable to us, as it is the future hope for China."[17] A very interesting sidelight is revealed by Wu concerning the Cultural Revolution:

"The Cultural Revolution is also an important reason why we could read so many books. This might seem unbelievable. The one thing the general public abroad could not forgive China was that the authorities encouraged Red Guards to 'destroy the four ancients' thereby destroying Chinese culture. Actually we did not destroy it – we rushed into the national libraries and confiscated the books which we then read in private. After the Cultural Revolution, a document issued by the Sheng-wu-lien "Whither China?" further stimulated our desire for reading. "Whither China?" affected us very deeply, for which we have the Communist leaders to thank. When they issued an order to criticise this essay, the whole country was in an uproar. All the Red Guards fought to get a copy of it. The method they used was to attack it on the surface but to promote it on the quiet, like putting a comment on each publication saying that this essay was being criticised by the Central Committee therefore everyone should read it in detail; once was not enough, it must be read at least three times over. . . We needed a lot to read, to provide a basis for discussion. Our discussions went really deep, for some had already raised such questions as 'the revolutionary could remake the world' but could he 'maintain his hold on it'; the validity of Marxism etc. The fervour with which the Red Guards devoured books had to be seen to be believed. Because it was forbidden to read the banned books in public, we established underground libraries in which we circulated our books and discussed problems. ."[18]

It should be pointed out that there was never a single, unified Red Guard movement, and that not all of the Red Guard groupings went "above and beyond the call of duty."

Sau Choi, in "The Social Personality in Chinese Communist Society," writes that Mao "seeks to change the social personality according to the political and economic needs of a single dictatorial party state."[19] He analyses the new social personality as being composed of the religious personality and the political personality. The religious is idealistic, hero-worshipping and "selfless." As to the latter he notes that:

"To the West, idealism means humanism and something that is desirable. On account of their experience, they have no idea of totalitarian idealism which can be characterised by the believer's passionlessness and dependence on the figure head. This kind of idealism defies the will of pursuit and refutes knowledge of self." 20

He then goes on to the core of totalitarianism:

"One other characteristic of the religious personality is 'selflessness.' Anything that suppresses the self, the id, forms the core of Mao Tse-tung's standard of ethical values. This mode of ethics manifests itself in a 'selfless personality.' This is not the sublime state reached through religiousness, but a cruel suppression of desires brought about by force."

And further:

"Formulation of emotional ties is a normal need in human interaction. In the existing Chinese society, these emotional ties are suppressed all but one, that between the people and the ruler, the people and the state."[21]

Another former Red Guard, Yu Shuet, discusses the moulding of social personality (among many other things) in her brilliant 1974 essay, "The Dusk of Rationality."[22] Many of the conclusions reached in "The Dusk of Rationality" are strikingly reminiscent of Bakunin's writings on god and the State, or of Rudolf Rocker's epic *Nationalism and Culture* – a masterpiece crying to be re-printed (*it's on our proposed publications list - eds.*). Yu, though, has started from different premises. Hence the excitement of her essay. She writes that ". . . The religion of Mao Tse-tung has managed to become a social force because of the sense of dependency and the psychology of withdrawal (sic) of the weak caused by the individual impotence within the masses. . ." And further:

"In the economic relation of totalitarian capital, man is thoroughly impotent. The sense of impotence of man has led to dependence and the psychology of worship. This is the socio-psychological foundation of religion. Mao Tse-tung's thoughts have been able to become the dominating religion of China because such thoughts have developed at an opportune time. At the same time, he has grasped two essentials in controlling the masses. The first is the so-called "the viewpoint of the masses"which levels all values to the same plane, shaping man into something without individuality. The other is the 'cult of the idol' and this is the religious feeling towards the supreme leader. This has made Mao Tse-tung the focus of all passions and the desires and hopes of the people are sublimated into the worship of Mao. This in effect gives Mao the power to dominate people's thought and behaviour.

In order to transform Chinese society, Mao Tse-tung has established the social cultural model through organising various movements. And this model is the 'spirit of Lei Feng' praised by Mao Tse-tung. The spirit of Lei Feng is an entirely religious personality. It implies the prevailing of the spirit and mind over the body. The content of this personality is being 'being like screws' whereby the personal existence of man is negated; 'selflessness' whereby the personal worth of man and freedom of human personality are abandoned: a nihilistic will of life-negation; 'being able to suffer a lot' where the material needs of human are despised; and 'faithfulness to the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung' whereby free thoughts are crushed. The consciousness of the people is unified by religious thoughts.

The model of Mao Tse-tung uses to reform human thoughts is contrary to the humanism of socialism. It is a mixture of religious thoughts and feudal ideas."[23]

The endless "criticism-self-criticism-criticism" sessions so adored by fellow-travelling Western "intellectuals" as examples of the so-called "peoples' democracy" and the so-called "new socialist man" in operation at the grass roots level become easily understandable, as but further attempts to break down the individual, cause impotence before the State, total dependence and control – the total and complete subordination of Self to Authority. Those familiar with the literature of those imprisoned in Russia and Nazi Germany will readily recognise that the self-deoasement process is at work.

The fact that Mao is dead makes no difference – True Knowledge of the True Religion is now vested in the High Priests of the Central Committee, as cults of personality centering around Hua Kuo-feng begin formation.

How widespread the ideas of people like Yu and the others mentioned in this essay are, is something that cannot be estimated, given the state of the free press in China. But definite tendencies they are. Tendencies in response to the realities, the tensions, the contradictions, of Chinese society today. Out of tendencies grow movements – who can tell what the future will hold?

I close with a quote from Yu Shuet:

"Give us ideals! Give us aims! Show us the practical way! – People have become too cowardly. They thirst for dependence and worship. They need the support of a tailored ideal. Or they need to grab power to balance their sense of impotence. They would rather admit defeat than to believe that they can achieve anything by their own efforts. And so, as a result, man continues to be enslaved. But the time will come when mankind achieves self-consciousness in the grand way, then we should not tolerate the impotence of ourselves and mankind. In continuing struggles we do not seek domination or power but rather to just move closer to the only ideal which is – the equality of mankind and the self-consciousness of life."[24]

Shelby Shapiro
(Agana, Guam, July 1977)

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ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA

by ALBERT MELTZER

FOREWORD

The struggle of the Chinese people against despotism and tyranny is unequalled in the history of the class struggle. They have had every conceivable form of tyranny thrust down their throats. In demanding a new social order based upon justice, they have confronted the most extreme forms of oppression known to man. The indifference and scorn with which successive ruling castes of China have looked down upon the toilers can only be equalled by the attitude of the Spanish aristocracy which still believes in its divine right to rule.

But national differences begin to fade when the people strike back against their rulers. It is understandable that the methods used by the Chinese Anarchist Movement, in reply to the atrocities of the warlords, bureaucrats, and ruling classes of the Celestial Empire, have been similar to those undertaken by lovers of freedom wherever a ruling class has added the force of suppression to the fraud of rule.

In tracing the origins of the Chinese Anarchists, so far as its modern manifestation is concerned, Albert Meltzer illuminates a part of labour history that ought not to be forgotten. Like the history of the Spanish movement, or that in Poland, Bulgaria, the Argentine, the Ukraine or wherever, it is scarred with the marks of battles far more significant to us than the clashes of imperialism glorified in the schoolbooks. But the story of the revolutionary movement is not told to commemorate the past or merely to provide inspiration for the future. We cannot escape the fact that we have time and again to fight over the old battles, to reconnoitre the same ground, eat the same dirt, and fight the old enemies (sometimes with new names). There are no training manuals for the struggles of the future except the record of experiences of the past.

Stuart Christie

It was in the early years of this century that the Anarchist movement was introduced into the Celestial Empire. It is true that classical Chinese thinking (Lao Tzu) contains some elements of anarchism, though some modern Chinese anarchists deride this (there are some, they state, who find every single modern conception somewhere or other in the Chinese classics!). But in its modern form, Anarchism came to China during the period of turmoil when the nation was turning against the Imperial dynasty (an alien race super-imposed on China).

As in other countries where Anarchists introduced the socialist movement, and preceded other forms of socialist thinking, the Anarchist movement became large; but at the same time included many who, in other circumstances, might conceivably not have been anarchists at all. It is important to recognise this fact, as many otherwise are thought of as "backsliders" who merely, in fact, moved to their natural ideological "home." Edgar Snow in his conversations with Mao Tse Tung states that Mao himself was once influenced by the Anarchists, but my information is that "he was, at most, a member of the Temperance Movement." This, however, is not quite so absurd as it sounds in English ears. Teetotalism was as identified with revolutionary opinions in China as it is in Great Britain with Liberalism and religious non-conformity.

The real founders of Chinese Anarchism were Li Shih-Tseng and Chang Ching-Chiang, though Li himself denies this. He states that when his students returned to China armed with the knowledge of Anarchism they obtained in France, they found that workers they encountered in many craft guilds had already come to the same position, and merely adopted the new words as descriptive of their attitude. Li and Chang had both come from wealthy families and had gone to Paris with a government mission that contained a large number of students. The idea was that they should study Western ideas and apply them to business. From the first moment they arrived in Paris, in 1902, Li and Chang became interested in the C.G.T., then at its best as an anarcho-syndicalist organisation. It was what Emma Goldman called "the university of anarchism" at the time. A living example of labour organisation at its best, where the workers could study to take control of their own destinies, the C.G.T. fascinated Li and Chang, who had not heard of such a thing as a trade union before. They had been introduced to anarchism at its most constructive and dynamic, and immediately abandoned the mission for the libertarian cause.

In order to stay in France, Chang founded the Tung Yun Company, a commercial enterprise specialising in Chinese imports, which also founded a tea house. (See Appendix III.) He sent home to his native village for young men to come out and study. The idea was that they should finance themselves as Chinese cooks, while at the same time learning Western skills to take home. The idea was to create an industrial proletariat, and the students were to be the teachers of the peasants coming into the towns. This idea, incidentally, was approved by the Chinese government, which imitated it over the years. So far as Chang was concerned, however, he had no interest in the government, but hoped to form a "Chinese C.G.T.", or at least a revolutionary movement in China. Many of those who worked with him became active anarchists, including Chu-Min-i.

Another Chinese, a biologist, Wu Chih-Hui, had also come to Paris to study chemistry. He began experimenting on bean-curds and products and also became interested in Anarchism. When in 1906, Li, Chang and Wu, working together in their concern, purchased a printing press, Wu Chih-Hui joined them. They founded a weekly, *The New Century*, which reached right around the world. It was the first anarchist paper in Chinese. By this time there were several other "patriotic" Chinese papers, i.e. anti-imperialist, in that they opposed the Manchu dynasty. Some of these turned to socialism, though parliamentary socialism never caught on in China-partly because there was never the opportunity for it. The Paris anarchists, who became a major force within the Chinese revolutionary movement, united with others in a Society for the Study of Socialism. The upsurge of "Young China" brought socialistic propaganda, including anarchism, into prominence.

So great was the influence of anarchism among the young Chinese scholars of the pre-revolutionary period and subsequently until 1914 that the government often found difficulty in finding suitably educated persons for government posts. The Chinese anarchists, however, reckoned from the beginning on "two anarchists" – "hard" and "soft." The "hard" anarchist – or as we should say, militant – was recognised to be a fighter who would certainly in no circumstances take part in government. But as there was no conception of what we call "local" government on the English model – which has nothing necessarily to do with *ruling* – the scholar could never become a militant (unless he could teach privately earn a living in journalism, or as was more often the case, start his own business). To be a teacher or a librarian or a clerk, one had to accept government favours, rely on canvassing high officials, kowtow (literally) to the mandarin and help to keep the order of the State just as much as if one were a policeman. (Ultimately, the scholars began to rebel against this.) But since this existed, the revolutionists accepted that a scholar might be "soft" – *i.e.* he might (in our terms) "sell out" yet not be regarded as a traitor. The plight of the Scholar was understood. Just as the worker had to work for bread, so – it was felt – the poor scholar might have to "join government" and sell out. Provided he did not become an informer, he might still retain the affections of his comrades, as we shall see later.

THE END OF THE EMPRESS

As the aged Empress neared her end, the very foundations of the Empire began to quake. In London, Sun Yat Sen had formed a world-wide Chinese movement to plan the overthrow of the Manchus. The Chinese, regarded as pariahs outside their own country unless they were wealthy merchants, were waking up. Sun Yat Sen was himself inclined to the theories of Henry George rather than socialism, but his plan for the regeneration of China was solely based on a "popular front", the unity of all classes against the "alien usurpers" and on military organisation. His chief military adviser, a Canadian gangster named Moishe Cohen ("Two Gun Cohen") became famous as a Chinese general and Sun's military heir (acceptable to both Communists and the Kuomintang in later years). He criticised and disliked the anarchists for their advocacy of assassination (see Appendix II). The anarchists, for their part, criticised militarism and nationalism.

We may here take a look at the Chinese Anarchist Movement as it existed before 1911 – when it was still the "Paris group" that the movement centred upon, although it was sending back its students to China year after year, trained in both Western skills and libertarian ideas. The New Century Movement, as it is more properly called, was anarcho-communist, taking a position similar to that of the French or Spanish movements. There were naturally special differences arising from the Chinese character: incomprehensible as it will seem to British Anarchists, they took from the first a position of complete opposition not only to gambling but to drink and even to sexual indulgence. (The characteristics of Anarchists were: Not to Drink, Not to Gamble, Not to frequent prostitutes, not to take concubines, and not to patronise rickshaw boys. The Western type argument – you are condemning the rickshaw boy to starvation – was regarded as irrelevant. Should he live as an animal? they would ask. Even years later, with the motorised rickshaw, certainly no elderly Chinese Anarchist could bring himself to use it.) They were the first to cut off their queues, and it is due to the Chinese Anarchists first and foremost that the "pigtail", symbol of servitude, was abolished. The horror of the Chinese authorities can only be compared with that of some modern governments at finding youths with long hair today. Persons who cut off their pigtails were beaten up and thrown into prison, often sent out with false queues. The indignation of the older generation may well be imagined.

But the Anarchists introduced worse "modern habits." They refused to wear traditional dress – youths wearing suits instead of robes – and even disapproved of girls using cosmetics or attractive hair styles. This might give the impression that they were fanatics. This was not the case. They enjoyed life and they appreciated its gifts to the full. They were in revolt against stifling traditions that had raised pleasure to a refinement of torture. It is true a Western girl might cripple herself with high-heeled shoes, but the Chinese girl was doomed to bound feet from birth, which meant she wobbled helplessly and appealingly, to conform to ideas of upper class elegance. She needed servants to support her. She was defenceless before her man. She did not use cosmetics like the French girl – who could fight in the Resistance with her handbag beside her, and give herself a reassuring stroke with her lipstick before facing the Gestapo. The Chinese girl spent three hours at her toilette, re-fashioning her hair and applying her make-up. The working class girl, even the peasant, was freer than her mistress. She stood on her own two feet while the other was a slave to beauty. Suddenly the middle class youths began to protest that their idea of beauty was that of the peasant. The emancipated girl underwent whipping and bullying from her parents and from the officials; she was often denounced publicly as a prostitute and sometimes outraged conscience tried to sell her into prostitution. Not, however, if she became an Anarchist. They had a swift answer to such tactics: the pistol or the knife.

Throughout the years of the New Century Movement, it carried on a rigorous campaign against religion. They were opposed to all forms of religious superstition, and some claim that the later success of the Chinese Communists may be due to the negative successes of the Anarchists in that it was they who over the years opposed traditionalism, the family domination and religious superstition, all of which the Marxist considered beneath his notice; but without the disappearance of which Marxism could never have come into power. Some later Chinese Communist writers have, indeed, expressed their gratitude to certain pioneers in the field of sweeping away superstition, family worship and tradition fixation. All such pioneers were in their time Anarchists.

To Li and Chang there were "Five Means of Revolution":

BOOKS & SPEECHES "to move people and to spread education"; MEETINGS & GATHERINGS "by which the people's power is brought together" and they are able to realise their strength; RESISTANCE TO TAXATION which weakens the State; OPPOSITION TO CONSCRIPTION & STRIKES – which is, curiously linked together, the suggestion that the soldier should withdraw his service and the worker withdraw his labour (see Appendix I); ASSASSINATION & MASS UPRISINGS – it was considered that assassination would mitigate tyranny and ultimately make it less worthwhile. But only mass uprisings would alter the system.

Gradually, the slow process of industrialisation in China made it plain that there would never be a "Chinese C.G.T.", at least within the lifetimes of the persons concerned. Li studied the Tong system very carefully. In many of the tongs, a guild system exists similar to Freemasonry as it no doubt was originally – when the masons were really "masons" and kept their secrets, which included their trade secrets. The tongs were powerful; amongst the secret societies, the Anarchist movement began to work. It was as a result of their work in the tongs that the Anarchists came into contact with Sun Yat Sen, and a section of the New Century Movement entered into the Kuomintang. The relationship between a section of the anarchist movement and the K.M.T. hereafter became always ambivalent. Some of those who entered did so to denounce Sun and to cause a schism. Others went in and worked with him; to the extent that, after the Revolution, they accepted parliamentary positions and renounced their anarchism. Of the latter, some were merely "soft" anarchists who, in their old age, wanted the chance to work at their chosen profession after years of wandering and fighting; others, indeed, felt that the "main objectives" had been achieved. Both Wu and Li became members of the Kuomintang and there are contradictory reports of their later activity.

THE "JAPAN" MOVEMENT

Meanwhile, however, Wu and Li had performed a powerful piece of work in introducing Anarchism to China. It was also introduced to China, quite separately, by way of Japan. So vast is China that it was some years before the "Paris" anarchists were aware of the existence of the "Japan" anarchists; it was not a schism but an unawareness of each other's existence. The Japanese Anarchist movement had grown considerably under the influence of Kotoku. He was a brilliant speaker and writer, the editor of a daily paper who turned to socialism and transformed his paper into a labour journal; and then to anarchism under the influence of Kropotkin. He was subsequently hanged for lese-majeste to the Mikado.

The first well-know Chinese scholar to go to Japan to study, and to come under the influence of the Anarchist movement, was Liu Shih-pei.

To this day the writings of Liu Shih-pei are treasured by Chinese Anarchists. Liu, unlike many of his contemporaries, venerated Chinese tradition, which he claimed was libertarian, and stated that in China, Taoism and the writings of Lao-Tze had prepared the way for libertarianism. Traditional Chinese government was indifferent to the people; the people were indifferent to it. The mark of the Taoist scholar was to scorn government. The government regarded the people as plants or animals; the people regarded the government as repulsive and evil. Hence, there was no difficulty in realising Anarchism, and China, by virtue of its unique background, should be the first to do so, for "indifference" to government could be turned into a victory for anarchism. Other writings of Liu go on to stress the "Chinese" nature of anarchism.

Many of the students in Tokyo and elsewhere returned to their native China to take part in anti-Manchu and anarchist movements. They became the base of a movement which ultimately fused with that introduced by the "Paris" group.

LIU SHIH-PEI

The story of Liu – unknown in the Western Anarchist movement – would make a moving story for a skilled novelist, particularly in view of the stirring background of the times. For Liu was a brilliant scholar. His veneration for the classics, and his integration of them with modern anarchist thought, was based on a thorough knowledge of them. Many shook their heads and felt he would be a "soft" anarchist, but he insisted he was a militant. Yet he had a beautiful wife, Ho-Chen. On one occasion she even defended herself at a meeting – could she help her beauty? She did not wear cosmetics. Yet many felt it was inconsistent with liberation to have so beautiful a wife. Ho-Chen was herself a militant, a fact that answered all criticisms. She took part in an assassination attempt and was arrested. The Chinese police and their bamboo tortures were not an invention of Sax Rohmer. At the first attempt of the police to put the beautiful Ho-Chen to the torture, Liu recanted; he made a deal and is suspected of having caused one of the group in which they worked to be arrested. He was a professor, and they were both forgiven by the authorities for the sake of his scholarship; but Liu died shortly afterwards, it is said, of a broken heart.

THE NEW MOVEMENT

The movement that had been created by both the New Century and by Liu had undergone severe repressions and persecutions. It ultimately fused into a new anarchist movement, the credit for which must go to Liu Szu-fu (known as Shih-fu). For the first time, the movement ceased to be an emigre supported movement, though it still relied on workers going abroad to study and coming back with technical skills and revolutionary experience.

Shih-fu edited a journal in Hong Kong. In 1907, he had taken part in an attempted uprising in Kwangtung. Shih-fu had been chosen to spark off the revolt by an assassination of the naval commander, Li Chun. Unfortunately, his knowledge of chemistry was rudimentary and the bomb exploded in his hand. He lost the fingers of one hand. Sentenced for terrorism to thirty years' imprisonment, he won the admiration of his warders by his scholarship and was released after three years. The local officials petitioned for his release, so great was the veneration in which lesters were held in China. He was released in 1909, and for the next years was the great inspiration of the Chinese Anarchist movement. He initiated the famous Ping Ming Press. After an attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent, he went to live in Shanghai. He was indeed the first to find that Shanghai afforded the perfect centre for subversive activity in China. The Chinese government had no authority within the International Settlement, and the Europeans could not tell one Chinese from another – they were all sub-humans so far as they were concerned. Nor could the Settlement police ever read the press! Their Chinese subordinates might be able to, but they never chose to intervene. It was not a healthy pastime.

Most of the New Century articles were reprinted, but also articles and pamphlets from all over the world. Over seventy books were published, not including translations, in six years!

ESPERANTO

Here we must digress to pay tribute to the efficacy of Esperanto, the international language. It is inseparable from the story of Chinese Anarchism. At one time the radical labour movement all over the world looked to the success of Esperanto; one must suppose that the dream faded, or something happened. But in China it was used from the first. Books and pamphlets were translated by the Ping Ming Press from all over the world. Russia, Spain, England, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico – ideas and struggles were rendered into Chinese direct from the anarchist press. How? Only by the Esperanto anarchists. The Chinese anarchists could no more have undertaken to translate from so many European languages than we could from Chinese.

Compare the availability of anarchist literature in China until only a few years ago qith that in England – where no governmental restriction whatsoever has existed during the whole of the period concerned! Other than Kropotkin (himself as much a part of the British movement as any other) what foreign authors on anarchism are known? A fragment of Bakunin, a few pamphlets of Malatesta, the Americans . . . but nothing from the Spanish writers, nothing from the French, not even the historians of the International – one book by Proudhon – little or nothing from any non-European language.

Why? Because the Chinese writer in the Anarchist publishing house could draw on the world's anarchist literature in Esperanto translation. (I trust the Esperantists will accept this as an "unsolicited testimonial.") The immense work of the Chinese Anarchists can only be appreciated by looking at 1944. Kropotkin's centenary came in a difficult year to be celebrated! But in London, there was the publication in one volume of selected writings by Kropotkin, edited by Herbert Read. A handsome job. But not to be compared with the *entire works* of Kropotkin, produced as a centenary tribute, 1940-45, by Li Pei-Kan (known as Pa Chin), of whom we will learn more later. But suffice it to say that he was, of course, an Esperanto scholar (though this was translated by his brother directly from the Russian).

THE REVOLUTION OF 1911

When Sun Yat Sen assumed power, Shih-fu began his well-know publication *Cock Crowing In The Darkness* (later known as the Voice of the People) which later pioneeerd the first industrial societies, embryonic trade unions. He protested at the acceptance of office under the Kuomintang by many of the old guard, some of whom protested still that they had not betrayed their anarchist ideas. The Communist Party had appeared in China, and its undoubtedly revolutionary drive and organisational ability brought it into sharp conflict with the Anarchist movement. It pointed with derision at the fact that some anarchists were going into the Kuomintang (though this was still a liberal regime and had not yet been corrupted) but the *Cock* did not attempt to excuse them or gloss over the problem. "If anyone ever imagined that Anarchists would give you freedom, would solve your problems, would lead you to the promised land, he never understood anarchism," it crowed. "There are no supreme saviours, no leaders, not even anarchists, no not the gods themselves, and if you imagined that the gods or the anarchists were not men with all their imperfections you grossly deceived yourselves. Would I have taken office? No. I hope not. But then I hope I would not have yielded to torture, like comrade X, nor to the plaintive cries of my hungry babies, like comrade Y. What concerns me is: how shall we go on fighting?"

The first task of the *Cock* was to organise industrially: and a new anarchist movement began in the few industrial cities that existed in China. They began to form Tongs and even western type unions. Between 1919 and 1923, strikes took place which showed the growing power of industrial workers in general, and transport workers in particular. In 1920, the anarchist movement was established in Canton (which Pa Chin called "the Barcelona of the East"), following the textile workers' strike in Changsha. This has remained ever since a stronghold of anarchism. During 1965 and 1966 the workers went on strike in the self-same places, this time against Communist Party control, and *held the factories without management or control from above.* The seeds were sown in 1920. The re-introduction of Party management in 1967 has not been a happy one, and the struggle goes on.

Next, Shih Fu founded the Society for Frugal Study in France. One of the continued attraction of France was the total absence of religious instruction in the schools. At this time, the revolutionary movement found itself fighting not only traditional religion, but also the missionaries. The temperance societies, the old strongholds of the left, proved happy hunting grounds for the Christian missionaries. Moreover, on the material plane, the adoption of Christianity meant the possibility of a career even for the scholar, unhampered by governmental decrees or by mandarins. The "foreign devils" brought trade to China and gave preference to business administration to the Christian. It was not entirely the virtues of the New Testament that caused many to turn Christian in those years. The "rice Christian" was on a higher level, too, much, of course, as Church with us once meant unemployment.

Once more students were going across to France. This time they tried to found their own university, in Lyons. The so-called "work study movement" proved an enormous success. It was re-inforced by the fact that ultimately the French Government itself sent for Chinese labour, during the European war, to supplement its manpower at a cheap cost. Amongst the Chinese coming to France were hundreds of work-study socialists and anarchists. They had their differences with the French authorities, and during an attempt to take over their university (for which they had paid) hundreds of them were arrested by the police, taken to Marseilles and forcibly

deported. Amongst the students concerned were dozens who are now Chinese officials. One of them was Che'n Tu-Hsin (later a Communist official in South China) who on his return entered into a public debate with Ou Sheng-pai: one of the *Cock* group, which became a literary duel. The extended debate in their various papers was made into a book, which has been preserved. It is hoped that a Chinese scholar will some day translate it into English. The only reason this has not been done is due to the overweening vanity of Mao Tse Tung, who has insisted on his writings being published over and over again, and has forgotten there were other Marxists than himself. There are few good critical attacks on Anarchism (the pamphlet by Stalin on Anarchism is too absurd to merit contempt). This exchange, under the name of *Discussions on Socialism* , is a fair critique by Ch'en of Anarchism, from an orthodox Communist point of view, with a sustained reply by Ou. (Published Canton, 1922)

Ch'en is honest from a Marxist-Leninist point of view in denouncing voluntary associations and free federations. "What is enlightened about the collective judgement of ignorant men?" he asks. Ou, who takes an anarcho-syndicalist point of view as did the Chinese movement from then on, answers Ch'en as may be expected. (A summary of the exchange is given in Scalapino and Yu.)

THE WRITINGS OF PA CHIN

Among the students now coming into the Anarchist movement during the heyday of its mass appeal in the 'twenties was Li Fei-kan, who was the son of a wealthy family and abandoned it for the anarchist movement. He adopted the name "Pa Chin" – or in English, "Ba Kin" (*Bakunin* – Kropot*kin*) and became a radical journalist. He wrote extensively for the anarchist movement and translated the entire works of Malatesta, much of Bakunin, many works of Kropotkin as had not already been published, as well as numerous other works. Later, he went to Paris to study, and later to London. He met Tom Keell, Alexander Berkman, Max Nettlau, and corresponded over a long period with Emma Goldman (of whom he wrote a "Life" in Chinese).

Ba-Kin, or properly Pa Chin (by which name he is famous throughout China to this day) became a novelist. His life and works have recently been dealt with by Prof. Olga Lang, in a magnificent survey and introduction to his novels. She gives episode after episode from them. Her impartiality is the more remarkable in that she was born in Russia, and her family apparently suffered or were incommoded by the Makhnovistas. Pa Chin's novels are far from impartial. He takes character after character from the anarchist movement. Yet he retained the affection of young readers throughout China, under the Kuomintang and under the Communists. His heroes and heroines are all anarchists, and if the novel sometimes does not make it explicitly so, one may depend on it that they have a picture of Bakunin on the walls or refer to one of the figures from the Anarchist movement. (See Appendix IV.) Time and again he was criticised by other writers for his attachment to the Anarchist movement, or for his pessimism as to the future of China (under the K.M.T., and the C.P.).

THE SHANGHAI COMMUNE

Although Liu (Shih-fu) died in 1915 at an early age of T.B., the journal he had established in Shanghai, and the organisation, the Heart Society, Hain-she, continued to flourish during the 'twenties. The student movement that was established by Shanghai anarchists in Chengtu spread rapidly. It clashed with the army on several occasions (the incidents forming an impression on Pa Chin, who incorporated them into his novels). But as a result of the extended student agitation, the Young Communist movement came into existence. In response, the anarchists established the Chun-she (Equitable Society) which began to publish *Ping Ming Chih Sheng* (Voice of the People). This was the origin of the Ping Ming Press, so well known in international anarchist circles; it was devoted to the memory of Shih-fu.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement, whether K.M.T., Communist or Anarchist, grew all over China. 1925-27 is called "The Great Revolution" – which the K.M.T. ultimately took power. In 1925 there was a great strike

Pa Chin

in Shanghai, which heralded strikes and violence throughout China. A "United Committee of Labour, Students and Merchants" was set up, which called for a general strike in Shanghai (under foreign domination) and which was echoed by demonstrations and strikes all over China. (This is not to be confused with the C.P. adventure in Shanghai.)

With the ultimate victory of the K.M.T., Chiang Kai Shek became Premier. He immediately began to rid himself of his Communist allies. They were driven underground and made ultra-revolutionary calls for uprisings against Chiang's government. In many parts of China they became private armies. The long struggle of the Communist Party to win power had begun. As the years went on, the Kuomintang became more and more corrupted with power; it took up where the old imperialists had left off. In contrast, the Communists still opposed the old capitalistic order; they lived austere and strenuous lives. They had all the "governmental" virtues at the time. They would do anything for the people bar surrender their chances of power.

At this moment a great strike enveloped Shanghai, the main reason being economic, but which also had a social-political tinge. The previous strikes had been supported by Chinese financiers and capitalists, opposed to their business rivals in Shanghai. Now the workers turned on the Chinese capitalists, too. In large parts of Shanghai, they were able to seize control of their factories. The Anarchist movement proclaimed the "Shanghai Commune." They endeavoured to seize the city and make it a Free City, independent of the foreign settlement and of the Chinese government. It was the last major battle of the Anarchist movement organised as such. It proclaimed to China that it would establish the free society in Shanghai or go down fighting before the whole country. The united forces both of the Kuomintang and the foreign powers (whom it was supposed to be opposing) helped to crush the Shanghai Commune. It went down fighting. (In a pamphlet, "Let Shanghai Burn", the Communists promised "not a penny nor a pellet.") Then, later, they launched their own abortive revolution in Shanghai under Russian leadership.

CHOOSE! NATIONALIST OR COMMUNIST!

The years that followed were difficult ones for the Anarchists. They had to choose between Chiang and the Red Army. It was no mere academic choice (such as the armchair leftist faces in England when he says, perhaps, he will give "conditional" support to , say, Ho Chi Minh. They had to choose in which territory to live. Some of the old guard had gone into the Kuomintang, some no doubt went to the Communists. But the many who remained anarchists had to decide in which territory they would live. There were some who said that at least in the K.M.T., one could hold meetings. This was at all times a risky business. Did it compensate for the corruption? Ultimately there grew up a dis-united, unfederated movement, separated by the vastness of the country and the lack of postal communications or a free press, which used the International Settlement of Shanghai as its "post box" and headquarters.

Yet when Pa Chin returned from Europe to Shanghai in 1929, he was able to begin publishing immediately, the first work being "From Capitalism to Anarchism", an adaptation of Alexander Berkman's "A.B.C. of Communist Anarchism". And the files of *Freedom* regularly display news from China, the workers of Canton in particular remaining anarchistic. There was a general exodus of students from the anarchist ranks. No longer did large numbers of young middle-class students come to anarchism. They went to nationalism or communism (or Christianity). But the output of literary work by Pa Chin meant a great deal to the anarchist movement. (He from then on called himself by his correct name, Fei-kan, when writing anarchist books, or translating them; and used the name Pa Chin for his novels.) From the excerpts in his novels given by Prof. Lang, one can tell that the Anarchist movement must have remained active during the later 'twenties and early 'thirties. It was not until 1935 that the major blow fell upon China and any libertarian hopes she might have.

THE JAPANESE INVASION

This was the invasion by Japanese imperialism. The Anarchists had always been urging friendly relations with the Japanese workers and peasants, although of course they bitterly opposed the Mikado's regime. Now they were denounced as pro-Japanese. (In Japan the Anarchists were arrested and imprisoned as pro-Chinese, i.e. anti-

war.) The disaster that fell upon China was unprecedented, as the Japanese rolled across the country. The Communists were the first to take up the challenge, for Moscow's line was then anti-Fascist and Popular Front, calling for the unity of all classes and peoples to resist the Fascist powers (Japan, Germany and Italy) that threatened the Soviet Union. Indeed, the Communists, by kidnapping Chiang himself, forced the line of Unity upon him and established the Popular Front by force. (The Central Committee welcomed "petty bourgeois, revolutionary intellectuals, and even certain sections of the national capitalists and war lords" as well as workers and peasants, in 1935; and by 1936 had extended this to Chiang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang.)

It is impossible to state what the reaction of the anarchist movement was. Many felt strongly that this was a war of national liberation, but they had no illusions whatsoever about the nature of the forces that were opposing Japan. Yet one may suppose in general they took an anti-war line (see Appendix I); it was generally assumed that this was, in fact, their attitude. In fact, they had been reduced to a few hard core groups, which felt the pressing need was to preserve the identity of their movement.

According to Prof. Lang, Pa Chin identified himself with the fight against the invaders. But my information contradicts this. Perhaps, as a "soft" anarchist (which he undoubtedly became after 1930 and was generally recognised as such, though it did not diminish from the esteem in which he was held in anarchist circles), it was considered that he was entitled to say one thing publicly and another privately. He was most certainly attacked by Communist writers for not joining the League of Left Writers, and when they extended this body to the Chinese Writers Association, which all Chinese patriotic writers were expected to join, and he still refused to enter it, Hso Mou-yung denounced him in such strong terms as to be indicative that they would like him arrested. Denounced as a wrecker (those were the days of the "Trotsky fascist wreckers" in Moscow mythology), all that saved Pa Chin was the vigorous defence of his freedom to join or not to join by the veteran and venerated writer Lu Haun.

1936 – THE YEAR OF REVIVAL

One main reason why Pa Chin would not denounce his opinions at this time was his enthusiasm for the fact of the Spanish Revolution. At last, it seemed the Anarchist cause was about to be won. He was abused and denounced by the Communists for not joining in the paean of praise for "The Republic." "I had to tell of the solidarity of Chinese anarchists with the valiant fighters of the C.N.T. – F.A.I.," he stated. "In the whole Chinese literary scene I am the only person who dares to speak for these two groups of people."

Meanwhile, in Shanghai, the Anarchists reorganised once more under the slogan of the Cock Crying in the Darkness. Demonstrations were held in support of the Spanish workers. Long discussions took place as to how it was possible for the Chinese Anarchists to help. But of course there was no way they could put pressure on General Franco. They were isolated from the struggle. It is interesting to note that a group of 25 Chinese Anarchists who left Hong Kong to take part in the Spanish Civil War were refused entry at Marseilles and returned to the East in a boat sailing for Annam. It was a handful of these comrades who established the first Vietnamese Anarchist group. Its ultimate fate is unknown. The weekly bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona was regularly printed in Chinese from 1936 to 1938.

The "Sons of Shih-fu" began an intensive propaganda campaign on behalf of the Spanish libertarian movement; but naturally the amount of direct intervention it could make on the Spanish scene was limited (see Appendix V). The example of Spain, however, rallied many round the Anarchist banner once again. In 1937, the "Black Flag" Group, which was formed in Canton, took the initiative to launch a new Equitable Society or trade union movement; and one of its main activists came back from London.

DR' CH'EN AND THE ENGLISH MOVEMENT

A young Chinese student Ch'En had been studying medicine in London and had come in contact with the then existing London Freedom Group. He was intensely interested in many English labour organisations and made a long study of them. Harry Jones (who had also welcomed Pa Chin to London some years before) was exceedingly helpful to him (though he disapproved of the terrorist position accepted by Ch'En and other Chinese anarchists). He wanted to go to Spain as a doctor but was persuaded by Emma Goldman that the C.N.T. – F.A.I. wanted people like him in their own countries, to assist them (she herself had wanted to go to Spain as a nurse and was asked to carry out propaganda work in London instead). He returned to China with two huge works he had compiled, with the aid of the Freedom Group – one, on English labour methods of organisation, the other a Summary of Anarchist Principles, which became a textbook of the Chinese Anarchists. Ch'En remained in correspondence with Harry Jones until his death, and with myself since. He entered into militancy on his return to China and has remained a "hard" anarchist during the thirty odd years that have passed since.

There have, of course, been considerable difficulties in correspondence over the years, particularly the war years, and it has been broken; however, the Chinese movement has always remained tolerably aware of the existence of the international anarchist movement in general and of discussions of anarchist theory in Britain. "The years are over when we could have long and fruitful public discussions," wrote Dr. Ch'En. "It is all the more valuable that we should have the advantage of the discussions held by others. Our principles are subject to the same process of decay and change like any others. . . but our aims and inspiration remain the same." One sidelight on this correspondence is perhaps worth recording: a few years ago the Communist daily in London published pictures of an Aldermaston Rally, appearing to be tens of thousands (which perhaps it was). But right in front, and dominating the scene, were Anarchist banners, which the Daily Worker, as it was then, blotted out. Presumably they sold the pictures to China, and presumably the Chinese editor did not understand the Latin squiggles. He left them in, to the amazement and delight of Anarchists in Canton, who saw, apparently beyond any doubt, in a Communist paper, the pictures of tens of thousands rallying in Trafalgar Square behind banners such as "Ealing Anarchists" and "Down with the State" which any English reader could assure them meant the Anarchists were looking up in a big way.

THE WORLD WAR

The World War went, of course, unnoticed in China, already engrossed in its own "Great Patriotic War", except that it now had acquired, to no immediate benefit, the Democratic West as its Allies. (Russia did not declare war on Japan until the very last moment, just in time to get in on the Peace Treaty.) Pa Chin was living in the French Concession of Shanghai until 1940, when he left for Junming, in the province of Yunnan, which was an important cultural centre for China. There was a refugee colony of all China's intellectuals. There he established the Wen-shua Sheng-hsuo Publishing House, brought out Kropotkin's Ethics for the first time and published the entire works of Kropotkin. His brother had learned Russian specially for the purpose, and they later brought out Herzen's Memoirs (which not until 1968 was fully available in English).

Ch'En found himself in Japanese occupied territory and was later banished to an isolated village, where he practiced as a doctor and also learned the ancient Chinese art of chiropracture and acupuncture. Meanwhile, the most active of the industrial militants began a series of strikes in the textile and transport industries, which for some reason remained steadfastly anarchistic when other workers were going over to the Communist Party. The seamen began to organise (partly due to dissatisfaction with the Communist Party) and also gave active support to the anarchist movement. When the war ended, the movement came into the open again. It could count on a fair number of groups, it being estimated that there were about 20 middle-class student groupings and two or three industrial organisations, each containing some five or six hundred members. (Officially they claimed 10,000 members, including the members of co-operatives, and an uncounted number of sympathisers.) But the end of the war did not mean liberation, except in the narrowest national sense. The anarchists resumed their publishing and industrial activities, but it was not long before the next blow fell. Mao Tse Tung and his followers had taken over the country. The Anarchist movement was now not only illegal; it was in conflict with a rival that had always been bitterly jealous of its every success. It was no longer confronted with the Manchu-type government that "looked upon the people as plants and animals" nor even with the Nationalists who "held the headsman's axe in one hand and the keys to office in the other, and invited you to choose." Marxism in China was bitter – a relentless enemy of the Anarchist movement. It was not conditioned by unity in industrial battles, as had been the case in some countries. The Marxists and the Anarchists had never united. The Marxists formed a Popular Front which the Anarchists did not join, the Anarchists formed unions which the Maoists looked on as "serpents' nests."

THE MOVEMENT GOES UNDERGROUND

The Anarchist Movement went underground, after a brief period of correspondence with the world in general, and after a show of resistance in Changsha. It was well understood within the movement that the "soft" anarchists would have to make their terms with the regime. A large number of professors and academics took jobs, often standing out for the teaching of the classics and other subjects in which they were not asked to extoll the regime. At the time the Mao regime was short of professorial staff and readily forgave the holding of past opinions, or the continued holding of them in private. None of the Chinese went into exile. It is, incidentally, true of all Chinese intellectuals (not only the Anarchists) that they preferred to stay rather than go to Formosa (so hated was the corruption of Chiang Kai Shek by this time) or to countries abroad. A few later went either because of banishment or to avoid imprisonment. Pa Chin stayed and went on writing. It was the fate of all these intellectuals to become victims of the Cultural Revolution. Before going on to that, it may be mentioned that the militant Anarchists – although they had prepared for the worst – were not wiped out by the Communist regime. Already, under Chiang, they had experienced the worst of persecutions. Only the toughest survived. The tough remnant that went underground was able to resist any form of oppression. In fact, so far as industrial organisation is concerned, they were able to make greater progress fighting the Maoist regime than they had done under the Nationalists. In theory workers' control existed in many factories. But it was subjected to nationalisation; in other words, although the workers were supposed to be running the factories, the managerial staff was appointed by the State. The workers were just as oppressed as before. But there was a clear line on which the demarcation took place. The anarchist industrial militant began to concentrate on ousting the management. To raise such slogans has now become a criminal offence under the legal code.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

When the students began to rise in defending Mao, their actions cannot be equated with the students of Paris or even Moscow. They came out in favour of the regime and to re-assert their own privileges; they did not come out as a protest against alienation. In some cases, the elderly – and let us face it – possibly wavering professors were "soft" Anarchists, or others who had been in the radical movement of one sort or another. (It may be that they despised the professors for being prepared to support the regime when they really "knew the answers", though the workers did not take this point of view.) The reaction against academic learning began. Professors were publicly humiliated and derided. The 80 year old Prof. Hsaio was ordered to draw the dung cart, as part of his "re-education." In a dignified letter, he stated that at his age there was only one answer to tyranny, and that was suicide. He did not agree with his students that the honourable task of the nightsoil carrier was degrading; on the contrary, he said, if they wished to degrade the dung-carrier they should appoint him to be their professor. He for his part had carried his load of dung around the lecture halls long enough, and it was time to end his life, appreciating the intention of the Maoists to humiliate him. Even the London "Daily Mail", no friend of the anarchist movement, to put it mildly, carried a tribute to this "Chinese Seneca", as Bernard Levin called the aged libertarian. In some cases the factory workers forcibly intervened to defend some of the old intellectuals against the students. The most honourable of the Chinese intellectual anarchists steadily refused employment as a professor, and lived for years in complete poverty, "awaiting death" with a handful of his friends; their only means of livelihood being parcels that they regularly receive from factory workers. When their postal service was stopped, lorries regularly came to provide them with their necessities of life.

This, however, is the fate only of the section of the Anarchist movement that came from the scholars; the working class section has encountered a vastly different experience. For any understanding of modern China, it is necessary to realise that the Anarchist movement was confined to the factory workers and other industrial workers, apart from its followers of petty-bourgeois origin. Notwithstanding its veneration for Kropotkin and its apposite teachings for a peasant economy, it made no headway among the peasantry. Only since the Korean war has it become more diffused than among the city industrial workers; for the Anarchist movement was prolific in North and South Korea (an artificial division), influenced both by Chinese and Japanese sources. Now the Koreans are as widely scattered over China as (say) the Irish in Britain. They have introduced Anarchist teachings to the peasants, in a movement called "Towards Free Communes", the extent of which can only be guessed. Exaggerated reports have appeared abroad; Chinese sources themselves give different accounts of its influence.

The Communist Party, oddly enough, with its Marxian teachings of the importance of the factory worker, only made headway among the peasants! To the Anarchists, the Communists were "war lords." Ever since the Long March of 1934, when they displayed heroic qualities, those of the peasantry, the Communist armies gained ground and reputation, but as soldiers, not as industrial workers (as in, say, Germany). There was no unity of Anarchists and Marxists even at work; they did not work in the same places except in very rare instances. To the Marxists, the Anarchists were mere "agents of capitalism" and "agents provocateurs" who had usurped their place in the industrail proletariat. Anarchism was to them "a sign of China's backwardness" and they were bitterly ashamed of their peasant following (which was in contradiction to all Marx's teachings). To the Anarchists, the Marxists were mere war-lords, and the idea of unity with them never crossed their minds. If they had to choose between living under Chiang and under Mao, it never occurred to them that the decision entailed any favourable comment on either side.

THE MAOISTS SPLIT

Without going into the question of the Maoist split, which belongs to an essay on Maoism itself, it may be mentioned that one of the causes of the "Cultural Revolution" was the fact that since Mao, for the first time, Communists entered the ranks of the factory workers to an overwhelming scale, and Marxism became the official doctrine of the industrial proletariat. The Anarchists (although their numbers probably did not alter a great deal) became a small minority. The Communist factory workers and the Communist brought up as a soldier had different interests. The former took on many of the attitudes that had formerly been those of the Anarchist alone. With the degeneration of the regime, there was an increasing of discipline; this discipline was, however, on the one hand, exerted by the Party machine being built up in the factories and State-run communes; and on the other hand by the Army. Thus fighting could, and frequently has, broken out between what one might call the Party of the proletariat, the Party of the peasantry and the Party of the Army (all of which form one Communist Party). Yet in addition to this there have been clashes with the Party-as-One and the Anarchists, and other groups of radicals, the populists in particular. (The Populists are a coalition of socialistic elements, with some suspicion of pro-Formosa leadership.) Since the regime has been somewhat uncontrolled in its abuse, it is hard to know who is doing what. The Maoists are Stalinists and support Stalin's line; they used the term "Trotskyist" to denounce the (Moscow Line) revisionists or alternatively the term "revisionist" against Moscow and "Trotskyist" against Tito, at least until Mao's death and the change in policies. Certainly none of their attacks on Trotskyism appear to be directed against what we would think of as Trotskyist, not that this is particularly clear to the West. Often the Army denounces the "Party of the proletariat" as anarchists and sometimes the reverse, which occasionally leads one to suppose that the anarchists are greater than they are. But it is certainly clear that all movements tending to push out managerial control and establish the workers in control without superior authority, and any attempt at de-centralised communes, are what the Maoists mean by "anarchism" and are part and parcel of the present day programme of the Chinese Anarchist movement as such. The forces with which they can be identified have, in fact, as in other countries, become stronger than they are themselves.

Such, at any rate, are the origins of the Chinese Anarchist movement in brief outline. It is already attracting the attention of historians. One brief final mention might be made of Pa Chin. He is still alive and has long since undergone public "humiliation" and "penance" and has been allowed to go on writing. He no longer writes original works. The task assigned to him is the re-writing of his own books. The anarchist books written as Li Fei-kan, are of course contraband. The novels, written by Pa Chin under that name, are being re-issued. The characters are no longer anarchists; the pictures of Bakunin disappear from the walls; the heroes and heroines become "revolutionists" and even followers of Mao; as a final degradation, the endings have to be re-written. They were too pessimistic. In return for the right to go on living humbly, and to be allowed to have access to writing materials and publishing houses, this is what is expected of Pa Chin. He has undergone public lectures and criticisms and had to make public confession, to be allowed this privilege. They could (like Hitler) have murdered; or (like their hero Stalin) have killed or deported; but they "rehabilitated" (blessed liberal word!). Such is the fate of many intellectuals.

The militant in many countries will criticise them for having yielded; indeed, at a certain point, Prof. Hsaio decided that, after all, at his age, it was no longer "useless to jump into the ocean" (see Appendix II). However, the Chinese militants took a different view. They did not blame the "soft" libertarians. Their fury was directed at the regime. The bitterness and sense of frustration felt when learning of what indignities have been heaped on men like Pa Chin can be shared by those in London and Paris who have in past years met their fellow Anarchists from China and been inspired by their sense of personal dignity, individual responsibility and ability to view dispassionately the enormous task of educating so vast a country in its road to freedom.

Appendices

Appendix I.

The following satirical broadsheet on the Chinese Anarchists first appeared in 1938. It was probably written by a Communist but was widely circulated by the Kuomintang. It had something of the appeal of a "Message for Garcia" (a short story on the Cuban war, subsequently distributed by the Hearst Press and later throughout the world as an anti-socialist tract). This circulated throughout China. It appealed to Nationalists and Communists alike. Western readers will see through the satire to a realisation of the Anarchist position:

HOW GRAND TO BE AN ANARCHIST!

No really, my dear friends, how jolly it is to belong to what Mister Pa Chin calls that noble band of self-sacrificing idealists, the Anarchists, no less! The One-Armed Prophet once told us that Anarchism meant utopia, heavenly paradise, and that it would come in China first! Was he not right, my jolly friends the Anarchists? Do we not live in Utopia in China right now?

For you must know that all men are brothers, we love you all, and when we have blown up all whom we disagree with not a soul will be in disharmony, not even a dog will foul the streets! But our brothers are not the Communists, not even the Kuomintang, nor yet the Japanese invader. Indeed no! If you are a worker, and an Anarchist, you may skimp your work and steal your materials, you may think only of your higher wages. It matters not whether you are under the invader or the patriot, the communist or the K.M.T! If you are a peasant, hide your livestock and think only of your family. Patriotism? We have abolished it! Communism? It does not exist! If you are a soldier, run away with your guns and your ammunition; it will come in useful when you turn bandit. But we must not say bandit; nothing hurts the anarchist more than to use such a term. Does he rob on the public highway? Yes, but he is an idealist! He robs only the opponents of anarchism; but as anarchism is opposed to all government, he is at liberty to rob all the world, and if the foreigner fortunately comes to China, he is another one who may be robbed!

What better than to be an Anarchist? Family duties are wrong; the country is a myth; patriotism is at a discount; you have no loyalty to a revolutionary party. Why, you wealthy merchants who scorn anarchism as mere rhetoric, and whose bellies are stuffed only according to the law, you do not know the half of it! These idealists who have given up all, *they* do not send their sons to conscription; *they* do not give up all they have for the common cause; *they* are not restricted by the convention which says that laws are to be obeyed!

Only one must never punish an Anarchist for breaking the law. Other criminals, yes. But they will make great protests and may even murder the executioner, and all our intellectuals will not say, "What horrors!" They will sigh and say, "Alas! There is neither liberty nor justice in China!"

Appendix II

The Chinese Anarchists have always believed in the use of what is called "terrorism." Accused of inconsistency in that they opposed militarism yet advocated (and practised) assassination, Li Shih-tseng pointed out: "Militarism is that by which the strong sacrifice the lives and money of others in order to preserve their own power and that of the state. Thus it is unfair and should be eliminated. Revolutionary assassination, on the other hand, is the sacrifice of the individual to eliminate the enemy of humanity, thereby extending the common rights of the world. These two, militarism and revolutionary assassination, are as different as two things can be." (This is contained in his famous "Answers" to objections.)

Another objection answered by Li was that moral shame would alter the Imperial regime. Many young Chinese students committed suicide in Japan as a protest against the government (an action similar to that of the Buddhist monks burning themselves to death in recent years). In his article ("On the Uselessness of Jumoing into the Ocean") Li takes them to task: "If you fellows really see in death the answer to these things, why do you not follow in the footsteps of the Russian Terrorist Party by killing one or two of the thieves of mankind as the price of death? Whether one plunges into the sea or is decapitated (the penalty for assassination) both are the same death. But they are different in their impact. Whereas one has no impact and the person concerned dies merely as a courageous man, the other has a great impact, especially on the Chinese official class. For the fear of death is one of the special characteristics of Chinese officials. In sum, in this twentieth century, if there is the possibility of eliminating even one thief of mankind and thereby decreasing a portion of dictatorial power, then the year of the great Chinese revolution will come closer. . ."

(Scalapino & Yu)

Appendix III

As a piece of totally irrelevant information, one may mention that the present popularity of "the Chinese" restaurant in Great Britain, and the growing interest in Chinese food, may be traced back to the tea house that was opened in Paris in 1902, as a means of financing anarchist propaganda! Naturally this was reinforced by modern travel making our eating habits more cosmopolitan. The idea that Chinese students should go abroad to learn more about modern industry, and finance themselves by working in Chinese catering, came from Chang ching-chiang, the Anarchist. Few Chinese restauranteurs will know this today!

Appendix IV Pa Chin and the Jews

A curious sidelight on Pa Chin's works, not noticed by Prof. Lang, was brought to my notice by a friend who visited China in 1948. One of the Chinese writers complained to him of the difficulty in translating many Russian and Polish novels was the fact that so many had Jewish characters usually in caricature or denigration, "Fagin" types, but that the Chinese reader had already a preconceived notion of Jews and these stage-Jew types appeared incredible to him. The fault, he said, was Pa Chin's, who had always depicted the heroic, militant and totally non-bourgeois Jew in his writings. Such figures (I realised after reading Prof. Lang) were not of course Pa Chin's assumption of typical Jews; the only Jews he met were in Paris, where he met them in the anarchist movement and nowhere else. Emma Goldman appears in several of his novels; also Berkman, in various guises; and his great hero (in "Dream on the Sea") is Sholem Schwarzbart, a Jewish anarchist who killed the Czarist general Simon Petlura in Paris, in revenge for the Ukrainian massacres of 1919-20. Pa Chin has even invented a Chinese word, Black Beard (Schwarz-bart; Hsia-t'zu-pa-te) to describe "the Jews who were never slaves."

Appendix V.

Emma Goldman was the representative in London of the C.N.T.–F.A.I. In the years 1936-39, as their accredited agent in London, she was also in contact with the Chinese Anarchist movement. Pa Chin, of course, was an old friend (who described her as his spiritual mother). When the British Anarchists had wanted to send volunteers to Spain, the C.N.T. – F.A.I. advised against it. They did not wish to "depopulate" the anarchist movement abroad, where they had so little support, merely to have a few more hundreds or thousands in addition to their million or so in Spain. The advice given to the Chinese was also not to send volunteers to Spain. The 25 who sailed were not in contact with the Shanghai group. Ultimately I think only one Chinese ever arrived in Spain. He was a chemist and had a key position in industry. When Barcelona fell, he claimed British nationality and was handed over to the British Navy (as a Hong Kong citizen) and returned.

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The files of *Freedom*

Personal conversations with Dr. Ch'En Chang 1935/36 and subsequent correspondence.

ANARCHISM IN CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT

by K.C. Hsiao

Students of Western political thought are familiar with the fact that theories of protest appear in every age of grave social unrest and that anarchism is one of the most extreme forms which such theories occasionally assume. This connection between political speculation and historical circumstances obtains also in China, and, since the days of the "Warring States", a school of thought which bears much resemblance to Western anarchism recurred once and again during times of suffering occasioned by despotic rule, internecine wars and general destitution. In the following pages I shall attempt to present a few outstanding instances of it.

The direct origin of Chinese anarchism may be traced to the Taoist writings of La-Tzu and Chuang-Tzu. As is well known, both these ancient philosophers constructed an ideal of a primitive Golden Age which was entirely governed by the dictates of Nature, and, Rousseau-like, attributed all the evils of the existing order to a fall from this earthly Eden through the corrupting influences of civilisation. Being irreconcilably opposed to every form of meddlesome, paternal government, they advanced a doctrine of non-action (wu-wei). That government, according to this doctrine, is the best, which governs the least. Thus declared Lao-Tzu: "The people are hungry, because their rulers have imposed too many taxes upon them. They are difficult to govern, because their rulers have governed too much." Again, "The more mandates and laws are enacted, the more thieves and robbers there will be."

Lao Tzu's teachings, on the whole, resemble more or less the "minimising doctrine" of Spencerian individualism, but hardly measure up to the standard of full-fledged anarchism. He inveighed against over-government without demanding the abolition of all government. Chuang-Tzu, on the other hand, furnished us not only with a more elaborate denunciation of interference, but came also much nearer to philosophical anarchism. His great love of freedom made him an antagonist of every form of restriction and control. While Lao-Tzu insisted that a good government ought to govern as little as possible, Chuang-Tzu held that a truly wise man did not govern at all. The following passage expresses this idea forcefully: "T'ien Ken was travelling on the south of the Yin mountain, and arrived at the river Liao. He met a nameless man to whom he addressed this request: 'I beg to ask about the government of the empire.' 'Begone!' said the man, ' you are an unpolished person. Why do you raise such a bothersome question? I shall seek the companionship of the Creator; when I am tired of it I shall ride the whirlwind and fly beyond the six cardinal points to roam in the land of Nowhere and dwell in the lonely wilderness of space. Why do you then come worrying me with the government of the empire? ' T'ien Ken enquired a second time. The nameless man replied: 'resolve your mental energy into abstraction, your physical energy into inanction. Allow yourself to fall in with Nature, without admitting the element of your private wisdom; then the empire will be in good order.' "

The anarchistic implications of this are obvious. Similar sentiments reveal themselves over and over in the *Nan Hua Ching*, and it may not be out of place to quote another striking passage from the ninth chapter.

"Horses," Chuang-Tzu wrote, " have hoofs to carry them over frost and snow; hair, to protect them from wind and cold. They eat grass and drink water, and fling up their heels and prance. Such is the real nature of horses. Palatial dwellings are of no use to them. One day Pai Lo appeared, saying, ' I understand the management of horses.' So he branded them, and clipped them, and pared their hoofs, and put halters on the, tying them up by the head and shackling them by the feet, and disposing them in stables, with the result that two or three in every ten died. Then he kept them hungry and thirsty, trotting them and galloping them, grooming and trimming them, with the misery of the gaudy bits and tasselled bridle before and the fear of the knotted whip behind, until more than half of them were dead.

"The potter says, ' I can fashion clay: I mould it round as though made with compasses, or square as though made with a carpenter's rule.' The carpenter says, ' I can cut wood: I bend it as a hook or straighten it as a line.' But on what grounds can we think of the natures of clay and wood desire this application of compasses and rules, of hook and line? Nevertheless, every age extols Pai Lo for his skill in managing horses, and potters and carpenters for their skill with clay and wood. The governors of the empire have made a similar error. . .

" My idea of good government is different. The people have certain unvarying instincts, – to weave and clothe themselves, to till and feed themselves. These are common to all. And the people do not spoil their simplicity by creating distinctions and discriminations. Such a people may be called free according to Nature. And so in the age of perfect virtue, men moved quietly and gazed steadily. At that time there were no roads over mountains, nor boats, nor bridges over water. . . In this age men shared one dwelling place with birds and animals; they formed one community with the entire creation. No difference between good and bad was known. Being all equally without knowledge, they never left the path of virtue. Being all equally without knowledge, they never left the path of virtue. Being all equally without unnatural desires, they were in a state of integrity and innocence. The original nature of man was not lost.

"But when sages appeared, hobbling hurriedly along in the practice of benevolence and ostensibly very energetic in the practice of justice, doubt found its way into the world. And when they played their turgid and prolix music, and took to teaching their intricate and over-formal ceremonies, all began to be divided among themselves.

"Were the integrity of things left unharmed, who could make sacrificial vessels? Were white jade left unbroken, who could make the regalia of courts? Were *Tao* and *Teh* not abandoned, who could introduce benevolence and justice? Were men's natural instincts their guide, what need would there be for music and ceremonies? Were the five colours not confused, who would practise decoration? Were the five notes not confused, who would adopt the six pitch-pipes? Destruction of the natural integrity of things in order to produce articles of various sorts, – this is the fault of the artisans. Annihilation of *Tao* and *Teh* in order to practise benevolence and justice, – this is the error of the sages."[1]

To eulogise the past glories of a Golden Age is tantamount to condemning the existing order. And Chuang-Tzu did not mince his condemnation. " Away, then," he exclaimed, " with sagacity and knowledge, and great robbers will disappear. Discard jade and destroy pearls, and petty thieves will cease to exist. Burn tallies and break signets, and the people will revert to their natural integrity. Split measures and smash scales, and the people will not fight over quantities. Utterly abolish all the restrictions of sages, and the people will begin to be fit for the reception of *Tao*." Chuang-Tzu was far from being an agitator or revolutionary. But stirring words like these would not bring disgrace to an anarchist manifesto.

II

I have taken some space to restate the views of these two familiar philosophers for the reason that practically all the anarchistic doctrines that are to follow do not go beyond them in their conception of the ideal perfection of Nature and wickedness of human institutions. Both the works of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu were produced probably during the Warring States period. They reflected the feeling of antipathy to the existing order, which usually waxes strong in times of unrest. With the advent of the Han Dynasty a period of comparative peace and prosperity dawned upon the people, and the anarchistic side of Taoist philosophy suffered a temporary eclipse. The doctrine of wu-wei continued to be taught and even applied; it was taught and applied, however, not as an anti-political doctrine, but as an art or method of government. Taoism, in other words, was for the time being transformed into " Huang-Lao".

The first noteworthy recurrence of Taoist anarchism, so far as the existing literature shows, came in the era of the "Six Dynasties". Like the Warring States, it was full of disasters wrought by nature as well as man. Moreover, for the first time in the history of China, barbarians from various lands invaded the "Middle Empire", making rapid conquests and eventually sharing the empire with Chinese rulers who had retreated to the south. Such tremendous and unprecedented cataclysms shocked the people out of their intellectual complacency, and they began to adopt a critical, sceptical, if not also a quizzical attitude toward every social institution. The Taoist philosophy suited the temper of the age

remarkably well, but by this time the "Huang-Lao" of the Han Dynasty had undergone transformations and become "Lao Chuang". The idea of transcendental freedom in the *Nan Hua* was elaborated at the expense of the retiring morality of the *Tao Teh Ching*, and literati and philosophers re-echoed the anarchistic sentiments of Chuang-Tzu with a vengeance.

The more articulate followers of Chuang-Tzu of this period include many celebrated names. But we need here only mention two or three whose views are especially relevant to our purpose. We may begin with Yuan Chi, a literary man who lived in the third century. In his *Biography of a Great Sage*, he puts his own philosophy of life into the mouth of a fictitious nameless person who was supposed to have lived since the Creation. According to his narration somebody, evidently a well-bred gentleman and upholder of conventionality, addresses an epistle to the nameless Great Sage, criticising him for his unconventional ways. The Sage's reply is a merciless attack upon conventionality and, at the same time, an enthusiastic encomium of anarchist freedom. He points back to the Golden Age when Heaven and Earth were first separated from each other and living creatures roamed contentedly in the benevolent chaos of primitive wilderness, and contrasts it with the unhappiness of a later age. Originally men, like other animals, lived in a state of perfect innocence, without any knowledge of benefit or injury, competition or struggle, lordship or servitude. There was no physical equality among them, it is true; but when the wise and the stupid, the strong and the weak, each and all followed the dictates of Nature, inequality was no hindrance to peace. "For there were no kings, and everything was in order; there were no officials, and every matter went well." Unfortunately, however, artificial modes of life were introduced, and the sins of the originator of civilisation were visited upon the people. Distinctions between the noble and the lowly, the rich and the poor, the ruler and the ruled, spread their evil influences in all directions, bringing injustice, conflict and hatred in their wake. The misery which government brought forth was the greatest. For when ambitious persons competed for the right of rulership or positions of honour or gain, they fell together by the ears and inflicted harm on one another. When a licentious king squandered away the resources of the land to satisfy his insatiable appetites, the people were deprived of the means of subsistence. And tyrants knew full well that in order to keep the people in subjection, they must be fooled. So kings invented rewards and punishments to make the people covet and fear. But at last the royal coffer drained away its contents through excessive spending, and the people lost their dread of the sword and gallows through too liberal applications of them; rebellions burst upon the empire like an earthquake. Here, then, we discover the origin of the disaster in which states were destroyed and kings slain. Or, as Yuan Chi summarises the whole situation: "When kings were instituted, oppression arose; when officials were appointed, robbery began."

Another striking restatement of the anarchistic theory was made by a certain Pao Chin-Yen, recorded in the *Pao Pu Tzu* of Kung Ho. Pao enumerates a number of evils inherent in kingship and dilates on them. His picture of the pre-political state of freedom and happiness need not detain us, as it resembles closely what Chuang-Tzu had already sketched before. A brief survey of his idea as to the origin of government may be of interest. "Confucianists," he says, " are wont to hold that God created the people and set up kings above them. But did God earnestly declare that He intended to do so? (No, certainly not) The truth is that among primitive peoples, when the strong dominated the weak, the latter had to submit to them. When a person with greater cunning played deception on the simple-minded, the latter became his servants. Submission and servitude, these are the conditions under which the relation between ruler and subject arose. It was the ultimate result of competition by force and wit, and the blue heaven above had nothing to do with it." Pao Chin-Yen does not inform us clearly how men forsook the ancient state of nature which was "without kings and subjects" and degenerated into political society. The general cause he gives is that in more recent times *Tao* and *Teh* suffered decadence and men relied on their own cunning. Government arose as an inevitable consequence of this decadence. It arose, however, without serving any useful end. On the contrary, matters went from bad to worse by the appearance of kings. For when there were no kings, there could not be any tyrants to torture the people, to rob them of their possessions, to make bloody wars for the pleasure of one man. If, for example, Chieh and Shou had only been private individuals, they could do comparatively little harm in spite of their cruel disposition. It is certain, therefore, the institution of rulership had greatly increased the evils of the world. Thomas Paine had asserted that "Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness. Pao Chin-Yen, at least, does not admit it.

II

The closing years of the T'ang Dynasty and those immediately following its downfall were full of confusion and bloodshed. Revolts of mutinous governors and ferages of bandits added sufferings to the people already rendered hopelessly destitute by frequent droughts and floods. The last emperors, who neither understood the responsibilities of a monarch nor realised the dangers of persistent misgovernment, lived the life of care-free spendthrifts on a royal scale. To meet the exigencies created by unbounded expenditure they resorted to the customary expedience of imposing heavier taxes, and, in some extreme cases, they even went so far as to adopt the method of direct confiscation. Thus, according to the historians, the youthful emperor Hsi Tsung (874-888) showered numerous gifts and huge sums of money upon his favourite actors and musicians, and confiscated all the valuable goods of merchants who kept shops in the markets of the capital. Such then were the conditions of the time. Since the early years of the dynasty the emperors believed, or pretended to believe, that they were descended from the great philosopher Lao Tzu and made efforts to honour him in a variety of ways. Under imperial patronage Taoism naturally exerted considerable influence and it did not fail to supply discontented elements with its time honoured ideas of anarchism. A remarkable little book written during the turbulent years of Hsi Tsung's reign under the pseudonym Wu Neng Tzu by a person whose identity we are unable to discover, deserves special attention.

Wu Neng-Tzu adopts the traditional Taoist materialism and conceives the created world as the product of the division and mingling of the original Pneuma. Men, being created by the intermingling of the pneumatic stuffs of Heaven and Earth exactly as the lower animals are, stand on an equal footing with them. Men and animals, indeed, belong to the same category of things, devoid of any real distinction. For all living creatures are capable of acts of self-preservation and maintenance, of making sounds and cries to communicate among themselves, which respectively evince their intelligence and power of language. These attributes sufficiently establish the fundamental similarity of animals to men.

Having thus proved the humanity of animals, or the animality of men, which amounts to the same thing, Wu Neng Tzu proceeds to trace the development of human society from the earliest times to the present:

"In the time of great antiquity," he writes, "the naked animals dwelled promiscuously with reptiles, scaly creatures, and fur and feather. There was as yet no distinction between male and female, husband and wife, father and mother, brother and sister. No houses were built; they lived in nests in summer and in caves in winter. No cereals were cultivated; they ate raw flesh without removing the hair and drank blood. When they breathed, they moved about freely and of their own accord; when they died, they fell without external interference. Each had no intention to plunder or harm others. . . In short, everyone lived entirely according to Nature, displaying freely his own instinctive naivety, there being no superior authority to coerce or restrain. This was a perfect state of innocence and integrity, and it continued to exist for a long time.

"But after a while a species of naked animals, which were all too smart and which called themselves men, invented methods to subjugate all the other animals. Moreover, they taught one another the art of cultivating cereals. Ploughs thus came into use. They built houses of wood and clay, initiating the use of axes and hatchets. They instituted marriages, establishing the distinction between man and woman and the various family relations. They made coffins and shrouds to bury their dead, and thus funeral ceremonies came into vogue. They wove nets to catch birds and animals, and invented the culinary art. Primitive simplicity was thereby spoiled and selfish intention arose. But men still lived without government and were strong or weak according to their own natural endowment.

"The all-too-smart ones then chose one from among themselves to rule over the rest. They designated one king, and the multitude, subjects. The one had the right to enjoy the service of the many, whereas the many were forbidden to be disrespectful to the one. Whence sprang the distinction between rulers and subjects, the noble and the lowly. Those who were noble occupied elevated positions and the commonality were placed on the level of modest similarity. In a later age, official ranks and salaries were instituted, and subjects were promoted or degraded according to their individual merit or demerit. Hence the people enjoyed their material goods and satisfied their desires strictly in accordance with their ranks and positions. They called the all-too-smart ones 'sages'.

"But soon the lowly became envious of the noble and the poor coveted after the riches of the wealthy. The result was the development of the disposition to compete and quarrel. The so-called sages were alarmed and came together to devise a suitable remedy. They said: 'Originally they were simple and unspoiled! they were not distinguished from animals. But we arbitrarily called them men, and men were separated from animals. Originally they knew no distinction between noble and lowly, ruler and ruled. But we arbitrarily divided them, and they became kings and subjects. Originally they harboured no avaricious desires, and never understood what was official rank and emolument. We had created arbitrary classifications, and the people began to realise the difference between honour and disgrace. Now they have lost all their primitive integrity, given themselves up to strong appetites and capricious hankerings and concealing within their hearts an intention to rival and compete. Competition breeds strife, and strife, disorder. 'What shall we do?' The still-smarter one came forward with these assuring words: 'I have a way!' He then proceeded to teach the people the principles of benevolence and justice, loyalty and honesty; to restrain them with the measures of ceremony and music. A king that oppressed his subjects was to be called tyrannical, and subjects who encroached upon the prerogatives and sanctity of their king were to be stigmatised as rebels. A father who does not love his children was to be designated as unkind, and a disrespectful son, unfilial. Brothers who could not get along with each other were to be called unfraternal and lacking in respect, and faithless husbands and wives, unchaste and unloving. Those who committed these offences were regarded as wrong, and those who avoided committing them, right. Honour was conferred upon the latter and disgrace was the punishment for the former. A feeling of pleasure in doing what was right and of shame in wrongdoing was thus cultivated, and contentious propensities suppressed. As time passed, however, unquenchable desires grew into a great conflagration, breaking all bounds of virtue and propriety in a struggle for their own satisfaction. The so-called sages regretted what they had done and, as a last resort, enacted laws, instituted punishments and organised armies to keep the people in check. When an individual person committed a crime, he was punished; when a state committed an offence, a punitive expedition was sent against it. The result was culprits receiving various degrees of punishment – jails, shackles, whips and sticks, and exile – filled up every state; and wars fought with all sorts of weapons – lances, spears, bows and arrows – were witnessed everywhere in the empire. Families were destroyed and states exterminated; such disasters became everyday occurrences. Man's life was destitute, miserable, and short. And there was no end to this state of affairs!

"Alas! Nature has made us all animals, but we were humanised against Nature. Arbitrary modes of life tantalised our desires; arbitrary distinctions intensified our conflicts; arbitrary culture polluted our integrity; punishments and punitive wars endangered our lives; and all these artificialities served no better purpose than to make us forget our original nature, disturb the balance of our emotions, and bring ruin to life itself, in a mad pursuit of extraneous trivialities! Men have lived and died in all ages without being able to recover from this delusion. This is the fault of the so-called sages."

I have quoted Wu Neng-Tzu at considerable length. The fact that scanty attention has hitherto been paid him and that he has made by far the most eloquent statement of Chinese anarchism affords an excuse for doing so.[2] He may lack the revolutionary zeal of Bakunin, the constructive imagination of Tucker, the scientific background of Kropotkin, or the religious sentiment of Tolstoy. His failure to stress the importance of the economic factor in political justice would make him a disappointment to Western anarchists. But it is certainly difficult to surpass him in bitterness and acrimony in his tirades against government. In one respect, probably, Wu Neng-Tzu is more thorough going, even more consistent, than Western anarchists. However divergent in their conceptions of ideal life, all Western anarchists were agreed in being constructive, i.e., they attempted to point a way out of the present quagmire and suggest methods for the attainment of future happiness. Some of them even went so far as to outline the organisation of an ideal society. Anarchism with Wu Neng-Tzu, however, as it was with his predecessors, is a pure negation: a denunciation of the state without any suggestion as to what is to be done or what shall take the place of the state. Western anarchism therefore is a doctrine of hope, whereas Chinese anarchism seems to be a doctrine of despair. This very difference makes the anti-political utterings of the Taoist school the most uncompromising protest against misgovernment we have ever encountered.

Two more citations on this point before we bring this brief survey to a close. The first of these is a disparagement of the pomps and vanities of a human ruler, disguised as a historical fable, which I venture to render in part as follows:

"When the emperor Kuang Wu (25-57) was an insignificant commoner, he was a bosom friend of Yen Ling. After he had ascended the throne, Yen Ling was still fishing on the Fu Ch'un River. As Kuang Wu could not forget his old companion and greatly admired his high moral character, he went there one day personally to invite him to join his court. Yen Ling refused to comply with his wishes. Thereupon Kuang Wu said: 'I am a friend of yours. Now I have become emperor and you still keep on fishing. This makes me ashamed of you. I have official ranks to ennoble you, wealth to enrich you; I can make you the superior of thousands and myriads of men, the wielder of a power great enough to move hills and mountains, to command even the forces of Nature, if you wish. I can make your kinsmen dukes and marquises, with all the glories appertaining to them. I can give you painted mansions, fine horses and carriages, luxurious fabrics for clothing, delicacies for food, music and dance for entertainment. In short, I can give you endless pleasures through your earthly existence and endless fame after death to boot. There is no comparison, certainly, between this and an angler's life in point of honour and reputation. So come now with me!'

"Yen Ling laughed, saying in reply: 'When I first associated with you, you were a man of high purpose and contented with the life of modest means and low station. You seemed then to be not without some worth. But now you have become high-flown and boastful and make a fool of yourself! Now, since the days of the ancients the territory within the four seas has been regarded as very extensive. But of this piece of land, hills, mountains, rivers and seas occupy about half of the area. Of that part which is habitable, barbarians occupy about three-tenths, leaving to the people of the Middle Empire something like one or two-tenths. And within this restricted space, revolts, wars and invasions have constantly occurred. Now, the majesty of the emperor of the Middle Empire consists merely in a self-invented augustness among a people who occupy one or two-tenths of the world's space, amidst incessant wars and strifes. And the so-called majestic power consists of no more than the power of life and death according to the monarch's private whim, the privilege to gratify his sensual desires with numerous palaces, abundant treasures, delicious food, beauteous women and agreeable music, – and, remember, all these within the one or two-tenths of the world's space! Finally, does not an emperor grow old? Does he not die, leaving his flesh and bones to rot under the ground, food for worms, even as a private subject? The majesty of an emperor does not help him! . . . "

The awe-inspiring sublimity of the "son of Heaven" is thus reduced at naught at one stroke. When we recall that a cult of emperor-worship had existed for some time in the Han Dynasty and an unbroken tradition of rendering semi-religious reverence to emperors had prevailed for centuries since the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, it would not be a complete exaggeration to say that Wu Neng Tzu represents a complete "transvaluation" of political values. It is a remarkable revolution – in ideas.

But to come to the second citation which alludes to the famous interview between Lu Wang and Hsi Peh on the banks of the Wei River. The more important portion of the dialogue runs as follows:

"Hsi Peh: 'The government of Yin has become tyrannical; the people are suffering. I wish to save them. I am looking for a virtuous man to help me in this task.'

Lu Wang: "The tyranny of the government of Yin and the sufferings of the people are none of your concern. Why should you contaminate me with them?'

Hsi Peh: ' Sages do not cultivate virtue merely for their own good; they invariably apply their wisdom for the benefit of the whole world. Are, then, these matters not our concern?'

Lu Wang: ' Men and birds and animals and insects and worms float together in the universe, all alike being the emanations of one Pneuma, just as all the cities and houses we behold around us really rest upon Nothing. Destroy all the cities and houses, Nothing remains always Nothing. And if one destroys all men and other living creatures, the Pneuma remains always Pneuma. How can the government of Yin tyrannise the people? How can we say that the people are suffering? But, since cities and houses already built need not be destroyed and men already born need not be killed, I am going to save them!' "

To the logical minded it is perhaps regrettable that Wu Neng Tzu's anarchism breaks down at last. But I wish to point out that Wu Neng-Tzu had good reason to recant partially his anarchistic philosophy. We are informed by the preface of this book (presumably written by another hand) that when the revolt of Huang Chao broke out, Wu Neng-Tzu fled to whatever place of safety he could find, leading a wandering life for several years. Had he followed strictly the logical necessity of his metaphysics of Nothingness, he would either have had to give up his life or face the charge of flagrant contradiction between words and action. Apparently he knew better and chose what seemed to him the lesser of

two evils.

After the close of the T'ang Dynasty, the star of the Taoist creed was definitely on the wane. Certain elements of its metaphysic and cosmogeny were incorporated into the system of some Sung philosophers, but its theory of government found no disciples. Not that tyrants and misgovernment had disappeared or voices of protest had been silenced. Other ideas of government were attracting men's attention and it is well that the facile iconoclasm of the Taoists was relegated to a place of obscurity, if not of oblivion.

K. C. Hsiao

(First published in the *T'ien Hua Monthly*, Shanghai, 1936)

Footnotes

1. This translation is based on those by F.H. Balfour and H.A. Giles.
2. To the present writer's knowledge, no translation of *Wu Neng-Tzu* in Western languages is available.

Kotoko Shusui

ASIAN ANARCHISM IN WESTERN LANGUAGES

JAPAN, CHINA and KOREA

Boris Badinoff and Ozeki Hiroshi: *Anarchism in Japan*, Anarchy, London, c.a. October 1971: quite good, detailed information on anarchists in the pre-war labour movement and on the struggle with the C.P; not so much in the post-war period, mainly for lack of things to write about. Summaries of current (1970-71) groups' positions and activities are useful and interesting, but need updating. A reasonable introduction that suffers from being inadequately documented.

C. Tsuzuki: *Kotoku, Osugi and Japanese Anarchism*, Hitosubashi Jul. of Social Studies March 1966: a history of the early movement based on biographies of Kotoku and Osugi. Written by a university professor who tries to show that Japanese anarchism grew out of traditional Eastern nihilism; plenty of facts but hardly inspiring reading.

C. Tsuzuki: *Anarchism in Japan*, Anchor Books 1971: the best source on the modern movement concentrating on the popular movement of the late 60s/early 70s. He stresses that these were highly anarchistic in their aims and methods and puts his finger on the pulse of what is happening today.

Phil Billingsley: *The Japanese Anarchists*, Leeds Anarchist Group 1969: a brief history up to 1923, concentrating on Kotoku and Osugi; very short, and inacurate in places, but useful as a summary and in combination with the previous two.

Martin Bernal: *The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism, 1906-1907* (in M.C. Wright: *China in Revolution*, Stanford University, 1968 pp97-142): actually concerns the Chinese movement, but the publishing and other activities of the Chinese anarchists in Japan are described, along with their relations with the Japanese comrades; written by a scholar – very detailed and copiously footnoted, most useful for showing the inter-relationship between the two movements.

F.G. Notehelfer: *Kotoku Shusui*, Cambridge University, 1971: this is also written by a scholar – a very detailed biography which tries to show, almost apologetically, that his anarchism was an inevitable result of the cultural strains placed upon the traditional samurai ethic by the sudden political changes after 1868. See the review piece in Libero International, 1.

Kan Eguchi, *Memoire sur la situation politique japonaise 1967-73*, published by the author, Kamifukuoka City, Saitama March 1974, mimeograph. English language edition translated by Mike Malet, *Memoir on the Japanese political situation 1967-73*. Dundee 1974: general picture of the Japanese political situation, although only the last page or so deals specifically with the anarchist movement. Interesting.

Stuart J. Dowsey, (ed): *Zengakuren: Japan's revolutionary students*, Ishi Press, Berkeley 1970: poorly organised but with scattered mentions of anarchists, a short section on anarchists, and a 2-page unannotated bibliography that could prove useful. Written by Japanese students in English.

Saburo Ienaga: *History of Thought* – Chapter V of *Le Japon au XIe Congres Internacional des Sciences Historiques a Stockholm*. L'Etat actuel et les tendances des etudes historiques au Japon (vol. I). Ed. Comité (national) japonais des Sciences historiques. Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, Tokyo 1960. Part III "From the Meiji Restoration to the present" is a bibliographical essay on "democratic" and socialist (as opposed to Emperor-centred or fascist) thought. It includes all major traditions including anarchism, though very briefly.

Robert Anthony Scalapino: *The Japanese Communist Movement 1920-1966*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967: Chap. I, "The Prewar Legacy" (pp.1-47) covers the prewar socialist scene from 1898 to 1935, in chronological fashion. Pp. 1-16 and 19-21, while focusing on Communists and Communism, have a great deal of material on other trends, especially anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism (especially during the 1912-23 period). The footnotes are also valuable in this section. The coverage is uneven, incomplete, but the period 1919-1930s is fairly detailed. Very biased (especially against anarchists), but still valuable for the details he gives.

George Oakley Totten III: *The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan*. Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties, I. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966. Poorly organised, mostly on parties, but a number of nice details scattered about. Chap. 2, "Antecedents of Social Democracy: 1870s-1922," pp.16-38, functions as a "historical summary of the labour and agrarian movements to the early 1920s," along with coverage of the various trends and groups within the general socialist and social movement. Incomplete and uneven, but still very useful.

Hyman Kublin: *The Origins of Japanese Socialist Tradition*, The Journal of Politics, XIV, 2 (May 1952), pp. 257-80. A good general introductory essay covering the rise and main events connected with Japanese Socialism, 1898-1907. It concentrates overwhelmingly on the Christian Socialists, and some interpretations seem fairly simplistic and unconvincing (Kublin seems to be a weepy liberal somewhat sympathetic to humanitarian socialism), but it is very well documented – the footnotes being a valuable bibliographical source – and a fair amount is devoted to anarchists (or people who became anarchists) and the various forerunner groups.

Masaaki Kosaka (Ed.): *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era* Vol. IX of *Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era*. Trans. and adapted (leaving out footnotes and "minor" characters) by David Abosch. Centenary Culture Council Series. Tokyo: Pan-Pacific Press (Kasai Publishing & Printing Co.), 1958. Pp. 322-60 include Section 1, "The Rise of Socialism" and 2, "Chomin's Thought and Kotoku's Socialism"; this is part of Chap.2, "Socialism, Pacifism, Imperialism" (pp.322-91), and covers 1853-1912. Indexed, but undocumented and without bibliography. Mainly concerned with socialism as "intellectual thought," but worth looking at.

Chitoshi Yanaga: *Japan Since Perry*. McGraw-Hill Series in History, New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc, 1949. Chap. 16, "Labour Problems & the Beginning of Socialism," pp.228-42, is an excellent general introduction and descriptive background essay, undocumented but chock full of details (names, dates, etc).

Isoh Abe: "Socialism in Japan". *Japan's Message to America* (also known as *Japan to America*): A Symposium of Papers by Political Leaders and Representative Citizens of Japan on Conditions in Japan and on the Relations Between Japan and the United States. With Introduction by Lindsay Russell. Ed. Masaoka Naoichi. Authorised American Edition, issued under the Auspices of the Japan Society of America. New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Cons, 1914. Pp. 109-16. A poorly organised and overly brief essay on the origins and development of socialism in Japan from the founding of the Toyoshakaito in 1882 to Kotoku's execution in 1911. About a third is also on social problems, the early labour movement, and social welfare in general.

Isoh Abe' "Socialism in Japan." Chap. XXVI of *Fifty Years of New Japan (Kaikoku Gojunen Shi)*. Comp. Okuma Shigenobu. English version edited by Marcus B. Huish. Vol. II, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1909. Pp.494-512. This is partyl based on Katayama & Nishikawa's "The Labour Movement in Japan". Includes 12 pages constituting a brief and general attempt at a history of socialism in Japan, 1882-1906 or so, with focus on government repression and on the Heiminsha. Anarchism is not mentioned as such, but many prominent anarchists are. An odd piece (Iso was at Waseda when he wrote this, and Okuma founded Waseda: evidently Ido was torn between trying to present a good picture of the Japanese government to foreigners [Okuma was the Minister of Foreign Affairs when Iso submitted this], yet to also present a lovable view of socialism, then being persecuted by the government).

Cecil H. Uyehara: *Leftwing Social Movements in Japan: Annotated Bibliography*, Tokyo: 1959. Though out of date mught be useful. "The anarchist movement during the height of its activities in Japan centred around one man. Osugi Sakae. When Osugi was strangled to death . . . the movement for all intents and purposes died with him. . . . To date, the anarchist movement has been ignored as an object of research. Histories of the movement except for brief mention in larger studies, have been by former anarchists or in biographical form . . ." – Introductory statement to Part D, "Anarchism," Chap. 3, "Histories of the Leftwing Political Parties."

Sharon Lee Sievers: *Kotoku Shusui, The Essence of Socialism:* A Translation and Biographical Essay. Ph.D. dissertation. Stanford University, 1969. (Unpublished). Kotoku's *Essence* (1903) was one of the first original expositions of socialism in Japanese.

Tatsuo Arima: *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969. This is the publication of his Ph.D thesis: The Failure of Freedom: An Intellectual Portrait of Taisho Japan, Harvard, 1962. Has a chapter titled "The Anarchists: The Negation of Politics," that includes a discussion of Osugi Sakae.

G.D. Ivanova: *Kotoku: Revoliutsioner i literator* (Kotoku: Revolutionary and Writer). Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1959. This is Ivanova's published Ph.D dissertation (or a spin-off thereof): Kotoku kak publitsist: Kistorii progressivnoi iaponskoi publitsistiki nachala XX v. (Kotoku as a Journalist: From the History of Progressive Japanese Journalism of the Early Twentieth Century). Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR, 1953 (Candidate of Philological Sciences degree).

Victor Garcia: *Museifushugi: Breve Storia del Movimento Anarchico Giapponese*. An expanded version of this History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan will be published by Cienfuegos Press during the course of 1978.

E. Herbert Norman: *Ando Shoeki and the anatomy of Japanese Feudalism*, Tokyo 1949. A long (350 pages) study of "Japan's Godwin" as some people have called him. In the mid-17th century Ando published a devastating critique of feudal society, based on the idea that "In Nature there is no distinction between high and low, rich and poor, first and last." Ando, not unnaturally, was promptly forgotten until an obscure intellectual archaeologist 'rediscovered' him at the end of the 19th century. Few modern Japanese anarchists have acknowledged any debt to him and he was little known outside intellectual circles. His analysis stems from his belief that the origin of social evils could be traced directly to class divisions; he concluded: "To create a ruler is the beginning of extravagance and the root of all evil."

Journals:

Mit-Teilung (London 1974-76). Edited by John Olday, who died in April, it carried regular reports from Japan, mostly on the Tokyo trial of the East Asia Anti-Japan Armed Front group, who were arrested in May 1975 and charged with a sustained bombing campaign against exploitative Japanese companies, and with trying to blow up the imperial train. The trial still continues. The six comrades have been active in promoting prisoners' unions while in gaol, some of their lawyers have been arrested.

Radical. Five issues published: the editors are now concentrating on putting out the Japanese-language magazine *"Le Libertaire"*. The poor quality of the English sometimes made the ideas in the articles incomprehensible: Back issues can be obtained from: Idea Publishing House, Matsuki Bldg., 1-464 Higashi-Okubu, Shinjuku, Tokyo. ($1 or $1.50 airmail).

Ruta (No. 24, September 1975). Special issue titled *Tres Anarquistas Japoneses: Kotoku, Osugi, Yamaga* by Victor Garcia. Available from *Ruta*, Apartado 61.881, Caracas 106, Venezuela. (This has since been expanded into a full-length book, Museifushugi (see above).

Libero International. Published irregularly but worth the wait. A unique English-language source of material on Asian anarchism, that covers the aspects (and countries) that academics have missed. Issue No.5 should be ready in Summer (1977), and will contain research and comments on Bakunin's short stop-over in Japan (to celebrate the Bakunin centenary year); an insider's view of the "dismal" record of the post-war Japanese anarchist movement; another episode from the Korean history; and the beginning of a discussion of what "Asian anarchism" really is (as opposed to the definitions imposed upon it). *Libero International*: c/o CIRA-NIPPON SIL, CPO Box 1065, Kobe, Japan 650-91. (Also available from Cienfuegos Press).

More detailed articles, especially on Kotoku, are listed in the bibliography to Notehelfer. There are several books on the labour movement, none of which do justice to the anarchists. Still, odds and ends of information can be found in them, and also in the relatively rich "preventive scholarship"-type stuff on the communist movement.

CHINA

Internationalist: *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, Coptic Press, London, 1968; many reprints including Solidarity-Chicago 1971 and Simian, London: the pioneer libertarian study on the Chinese movement; much of the contents drawn from contacts with Chinese workers and sailors; weak on history, but the movement really comes to life. Re-published and available from Over The Water, Sanday,

GLEEFORD HARPER

Orkney, Scotland.

Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu: *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* (Berkeley, California, 1961): The lone book-length foray of the establishment scholars into the history of the Chinese movement; a very small book which conceals more than it reveals. Information on work-study movements and ideological exchanges, but nothing on the important anarchist movement which resisted communist centralisation. Concludes that the anarchists were the losers from the start.

Olga Lang: *Pa Chin and His Writings* (Harvard University Press, 1967); a sensitive political and literary biography of the anarchist novelist who did so much through his books to expose the evils of the old society, and who was rewarded with the dunce's cap by the Red Guards in 1969. More information on the movement background would have been useful though, and the lack of it probably reflects the position of Pa Chin, a "soft" anarchist. Bibliography gives many titles not included here.

Chao Ts'ung: "Pa Chin Destined for the Trials in Purgatory" *China Weekly* XXIV/7 (17/11/68), Hong Kong. Not seen.

Pa Chin: "Dog," in Edgar Snow, compiled, *Living China* (New York, ca. 1936), pp.173-80: first translation of any of Pa Chin's work into English . . . "powerful" (Beni). P.173 has short biographical sketch of Pa Chin.

Pa Chin: *Family*, Anchor, 1972, translated and introduced by Olga Land, $1.95. Unfortunately translated from the emasculated 1958 Peking version with all references to anarchists removed (item 3, above, discusses this emasculation). A stinging denunciation of the traditional Chinese family. Also translated in German, Polish, Russian and Italian.

"International News – China" *Black Flag* April 1975, about Pa Chin's public humiliation by Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution" and befriending among the workers whom he was sent to for "re-education."

Victor Garcia: *The Literary Suicide of Pa Chin*: a pamphlet, translated into English. Not seen, details unknown.

K.C. Hsaio: "Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought" *Tien Hsia Monthly*, III/3 Oct. 1936, pp. 249-63: very simplistic treatment of Lao Tse and other traditional utopian thinkers with little reference to the modern movement. Republished here.

"La lutte des ouvriers chinois pendant la revolution culturelle," *Informations Rassemblés a Lyon*, 4 (Nov-Dec 1974), pp.12-15; on the workers struggles in industrial cities, especially Shanghai in late 66 -early 67; evidence of anarchist organisation in the cultural revolution, though information is second-hand and from official Chinese sources. From: HL, Boite Postale 543, 69221, Lyon Cedex 1.

"Workers on Trial in China" *Anarchist Black Cross Bulletin*, 7 (Jan. 1974), Chicago: some 300 workers charged with trying to get control of the workers' committees running their factories; indicted simultaneously with

Chinese Anarchist Pa Chin

"anarcho-syndicalism" and "hooliganism."

"Anarchists in China" *Direct Action*, IX/5 (May 1968). Not seen.

"The Ultra-Left in China" *70s Biweekly*, 29 Hong Kong. Not seen.

"Whither China?" *International Socialism*, 37 (June/July 1969) pp.23-27; also excerpted in *News and Letters* pamphlet published at 1900 East Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48207: excerpts from the programme of the *Sheng-wu-lien* an anti-bureaucratic, libertarian group created in 1968 when Mao sent the cultural revolution into reverse. Criticised Mao for not practising what he preached; suppressed amid great ideological furore.

"Chinese Anarchy," *Freedom*, 27/1/68: sees anarchism in the cultural revolution's attack on the bureaucracy. Overtaken by events.

"Conflict in China" *Freedom*, 27/4/68: a rejoinder to item 15. Denies that the cultural revolution itself inspired by anarchists, but notes how the anarchists rebelled against the false promises and were put down by the army.

Martin Bernal: "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism," in M.C. Wright, ed., *China in Revolution* Standford Univ. Press, ca. 1968), pp. 97-142: on the origins of the socialist movement and its immediate conversion to anarchism, including both traditional theories of universal harmony and new terroristic ideas; scholarly, useful.

"Chinese Socialism Before 1913," in Jack Gray, ed., *Modern China's Search for a Political Form*, Oxford Univ. Press 1969: not seen, but probably has good background information.

A long essay on Liu Shih-p'ei, Charlotte Furth, ed., *The Limits of Change*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1976. Not seen.

Robert A. Scalapino: "Early Socialist Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVIII/3 (May 1959), pp. 321-42. Not seen, but again probably good background information.

Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement* Harvard Univ. Press, 1960, $4.50: important background text to the nationalist movement which provided the first steeling for many Chinese revolutionaries including the present Peking leadership.

Michael Gasster: "The Anarchists," in his book *Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911*. Univ. of Washington Press, 1969: on Chang Ping-lin, Wu Chih-hui and Liu Shih-p'ei.

Conrad Brandt: "The French-Returned Elite in the Chinese Communist Party," in E.F. Szczepanik, ed. *Symposium on Economic Problems of the Far East*, Hong Kong 1961, pp. 229-38: not seen.

Annie Kriegel: "Aux origines francaises du parti communiste chinois," *Preuves*, Aug-Sep 1968: not seen, but note that this magazine was allegedly published under the auspices of the CIA-sponsored Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Marianne Rachline: "A propos de l'anarchisme chinois." *Le Mouvement Social* 50, 1968: review of item 9, above. Not seen.

Victor Garcia: *Escarceos sobre China*, Mexico City, Tierra y Libertad 1962, chapter on Shih Fu, Pa Chin, others. Not seen.

Preface to his translation of the Japanese anarchist Yamaga Taiji's book: *Lao Tse y su libro del Camino y la Virtud*, Tierra y Libertad, Mexico City, 1963. Not seen.

Jean Chesneaux: *The Chinese Labour Movement 1919-27* (publisher unknown ca. 1968); translated from the French original. Masses of detailed information on the labour movement; haven't seen it, but wouldn't trust the author's Maoist politics to do justice to the anarchists.

Ting Ling: Purged Feminist (Femintern Press Tokyo, 1974): short biography and translation of two articles by the woman writer purged as a "rightist" in 1957 for criticising the party's attitude towards women and towards sexual relations. *Ting Ling* is being reprinted, for details write to Larry Taub, c/o Sakata, 1-33-18 Matsubara, Setagaya, Tokyo.

"Voice of the 70s Front", *Minus 7*, No.1 (Hong Kong): news of the local situation – anti-government strikes and Maoist collusion in their suppression. From 1984 Bookshop, 180, Lockhart Road, Wanchai, Hong Kong.

Agnes Chan: "Liu Shih-fu: a Chinese anarchist and the radicalisation of early Chinese socialist thought" (PhD thesis). Contact c/o History Dept., Univ. of California, Berkeley, CA.

Paul Clifford: "The intellectual development of Wu Chih-hui," (PhD thesis): Wu was one of the founders of the Chinese movement. Contact c/o History Dept, SOAS, Univ. of London, Malet St. London WC1.

The Revolution is dead, long live the Revolution! (Hong Kong, no date). Readings on the cultural revolution in China from an ultra-left perspective. Gathered, edited and published by the *70s Front* collective. Section one includes essays by the Progressive Labour Party and the International Socialists criticising the cultural revolution from a Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist angle; section two contains the libertarian critiques, including those by Raya Dunayevskaya and the *News and Letters* group; the Situationists, Brendel's *Theses on the Chinese Revolution*, etc. Section three consists of translations from Red Guard writings, some dating from cultural revolution times, some more recent. Amazing.

Class Struggles in China: New York 1976. Translation of a French piece on the workers' movement in China. Available from the publishers, Charlatan Stew, 264 Bowery, New York City, 10012, USA.

Benjamin Schwartz (ed): *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement*, Harvard Uni. Press 1973. Not as interesting as it sounds, being a collection of essays by American academics. Though it doesn't contain much specifically about the anarchists it's a useful supplement to Chow Tse-Tung's *The May Fourth Movement* (see above).

Mary Rankin: *Early Chinese Revolutionaries* Harvard Univ. Press. Not seen.

Martin Bernal: *Chinese Socialism to 1907*, Cornell Univ. Press 1976, with as yet unpublished sequel taking the 'story' up to 1913.

Don Price: *Russia: the roots of the Chinese revolution*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1975.

Merle Goldman: *Literary dissent in Communist China*, Harvard Univ. Press 1967, concerns the so-called "rightist" writers purged in the mid 1950s, who included the feminist Ting Ling.

Minus 7. Published approx. quarterly by the 70s Front collective in Hong Kong (c/o 1984 Bookshop, 180 Lockhart Road, Wanchai, Hong Kong). Originally titled *Minus 9*, the number in the title refers to the years remaining to us before we hit 1984. It is the most important English-language magazine in Asia. Most of the articles are translations from Chinese originally written by former Red Guards now in exile in Hong Kong. The spectrum of the group is very broad: some members would be considered close to the situationists, while others merely call for the restoration of the rule of law and democracy in China. Outstanding articles include those on the Tiananmen incident of April 1976 (June 1976 issue): one called the 'Social personality under Communism' (Sept. 1976 issue) and another, my favourite, on the way the Mass Mobilisation campaigns ultimately force local communities to falsely accuse innocent people of crimes against the State, against the people and so on, just to fulfil their quota of apprehended "counter-revolutionaries." (July 1976 issue).

Down with the Red Mandarins: towards peoples socialism in China, 1977 pamphlet written by some ex-Red Guards and Chinese Libertarian Socialists. 25 ¢ from Chrysalis, POB 106943, Sacramento, CA, 95816, USA.

The criteria used to select this section of the bibliography were (a) availability and (b) direct relevance. More detailed pieces, as well as background materials, can be found in the bibliographies to items 7, 9, 12, 14 in this list (a separate volume titled Research Guide to the May Fourth Movement), 16, 24 and 25. Not much has appeared from the "China Scholars" though some academic theses are in progress, as shown above. Good libertarian critiques of the Chinese regime will be introduced in a future issue.

KOREA

Chong-sik Lee: *The Politics of Korean Nationalism*, Univ. of California Press, 1963. Detailed account of the anti-Japan struggle from the late 19th century to 1945, suggesting that nationalism permeated the thinking of communists and anarchists, creating a very negative kind of movement. Three chapters (9-11) on practical activities in China between 1919 and 1945 mention the anarchists briefly, but the main focus is on the right-wing and "pure" nationalists who occupied the centre of the stage.

Nym Wales and Kim San: *Song of Ariran, A Korean Communist in the Chinese Revolution*, Ramparts Press 1972, $2.95. Exciting first-hand account of one Korean revolutionary's passage from pure nationalism, through terroristic "anarchism," into putschism at the command of the Chine Communist Party, and finally, disillusioned with all the bloodshed, to a more fundamental understanding: "To be in advance of your time does not qualify you for leadership but only for propaganda work and criticism."

Shin Chae-Ho: Korean Anarchist

Robert A. Scalapino and Chong-sik Lee: "The Origins of the Korean Communist Movement" *Journal of Asian Studies XX/1* Nov. 1960, pp9-31, XX/2 Feb. 1961, pp. 149-67. Mianly useful as background material showing the birth of the radical movement amid the nationalistic reaction to Japanese annexation in 1910.

Communism in Korea: Univ. of California Press 1972, 2 vols. Tersely-documented, unbelievably detailed, almost readable study. A careful sifting-through will reveal important information on the anarchists, but mainly useful, like the article, for background. Vol. 1 is on the pre-1948 movement, Vol. 2 on North Korea. Highly unsympathetic to anything "un-American."

Dae-sook Suh: *The Korean Communist Movement 1918-1948*, Princeton Univ. Press 1967. Not seen. Vaguely sympathetic academic study. Lots of good background again.

Documents on Korean Communism, 1918-1948, Princeton Univ. Press 1970. Companion to above item, not seen.

"The Pre-war Korean Communist Movement", *Libero International* No.1 pp.28-30, No.2 pp.32-33. A chronology.

"The Present Korean Movement Under Martial Law", *Libero International* No. 1 pp.32-40, No. 2 pp. 38-45. On the organisations set up by the anarchists to cope with the repression of Pak Chung Hee's regime. Part 2 describes current publications.

"The Post War Korean Anarchist Movement" *Libero International* No. 3 pp.34-38.

"Shin Chae-ho" *Libero International* No.2, pp.34-37. Biography of a well-known anarchist historian.

Pearl Buck: *The Living Reed*, London, Pan, 1963. Well-written and moving histroical novel following the fortunes of a liberal Korean aristocrat and his revolutionary son from the late 19th century to the American invasion in 1945. Hero is based on Kim San. Great until the last 100 pages or so, when the all-Arserican anti-communism gets a bit too strong. Climax sees the revolutionary committing suicide in protest at American liberalism and his brother becoming keeper of UN cemetery after the civil war. Still, it's a good book with thoroughly researched background.

As can be seen, there is (to our knowledge, anyway) simply nothing dealing specifically with the anarchist movement itself except the pieces in Libero International. While the Korean movement has had its historian, in the person of Lee Jung Kyu (L.I. 2), the problem of translation has kept him almost completely unknown outside Korea. However, much of the information in L.I. is taken either from conversations with Lee or from his memoirs, published in Seoul, in 1974.

Wat Tyler.

This article was expanded from a continuing series in Libero International.
Thanks to CIRA (Switzerland), Alan Charles and Beni for help with sources.
We'd appreciate hearing of items we may have left out.

PA CHIN
AN INTERVIEW

Philip Short is the first non-Chinese foreign correspondent allowed to visit China's greatest living novelist and writer since the mid-1960's. He broadcast his impression from Peking (23/11/77) on the BBC Radio 4 programme "From Our Own Correspondent."

Said Mr. Short, "There's an unspoken convention whereby Chinese never receive foreigners at their homes. So instead of my going to see Pa Chin, he came to see me. A short, compact man, at 73 a little stooped and tottery with a brush of grey hair and an unquenchable spirit. He's lived in Shanghai for more than 50 years, but still speaks in the heavy brogue of his native province of Serchwan. In the 20s, like many young Chinese intellectuals of his day, he went to Paris to study, and it was there partly out of homesickness, as he tells it, that he wrote his first novel *Destruction*. Four years later, it was followed by a second book *Family*, a vivid and masterly portrait of the suffocating pressures of a traditional Chinese household, and the ultimately successful efforts of one of its younger members to break out into the real world of China outside.

It influenced a whole generation of Chinese youth to turn its back on the old order and search for something new. And this week after a gap of 20 years, it's being republished here as one of the first of a series of modern Chinese classics. Of all Pa Chin's novels, *Family* is the only one to have been translated into English, though until I mentioned it, he didn't know that a translation existed. He'd written it, he said, because he wanted to do something about the fate of his contemporaries. At that time he was an anarchist who coined his pen-name Pa Chin from the first two characters of the Chinese renderings of the names of the Russians anarchists – Bakunin and Kropotkin – and decades later his anarchist's sympathies along with his insistence that writers must have the courage of their convictions, rather than just following the official line, was thrown back at him when he disappeared down the maw of the Cultural Revolution. What happened then, he recalled with a wry humour, that helps to explain how he survived when others didn't. One of his best friends, the writer Lao She committed suicide. He was one of the old intellectuals Pa Chin said, when the Red Guards rebelled he didn't understand that he couldn't accept it. He himself was paraded before dozens of struggle and criticism meetings at which thousands of people shouted imprecations at him, and his books were denounced as "big, poisonous weeds." There were so many meetings, he said, because he's written so many books. It was a time when he thought he might have been less prolific. While that was going on, he thought he might have been less prolific. While that was going on, he was made to work cleaning out the Writers' Association drains, which he said, at least had the advantage that he knew what to do when his sink was blocked up. This continued for three years, during which, far from abandoning hope, he taught himself Italian to keep his mind alive. Then in 1969 he was given, as he put it, an opportunity which he'd not have had before the Cultural Revolution to do agricultural labour. And the next three years he spent in the countryside, until in poor health in late 1972 he was permitted to return to Shanghai where his wife was dying.

A year later he was allowed to resume living at home and to start doing translations. But he couldn't publish them, and many of his old friends were afraid to visit him because officially he was still an enemy of the people. And that, he said, he remained despite protection from Premier Chou En-lai until the fall of the radical leaders in October last year.

As for the future, the main task, Pa Chin said, was to eliminate the radicals' influence

on literature; and in particular their insistence that novels must be heroic from beginning to end, which he declared had had a very bad influence on China's young writers. But he seemed uncertain how much creative freedom writers would actually have, saying that certain questions remained to be clarified. And on that I didn't press him. For his own work he has a new translation of Turgenev's *Virgin Soil* due to appear next year, and before he's 80, which he thought was as long as most writers remained sensible, he wants to write two last novels, one of them set amid the upheavals of the past decade of radical dominance. And there is a logic in that. For his two great books – *Family* and *Cold Nights* about the rotteness of Kuo Mintang rule in the forties, were also motivated, as he explained it, by his loathing of what he saw as evils. But if he does write about the *Cold Nights*, written 30 years ago before China became Communist.

And to all of this there is a postscript. We'd been talking in my hotel room, and afterwards a young waiter came in to clear away when his eye happened to fall on a book, which Pa Chin had signed for me. It's the only time I've ever seen anyone literally speechless. He pointed at it, looked in disbelief at the door and struggled to get out the words. "Pa Chin," he said eventually. "Was that really him?"

Peking, November 23rd, 1977.

BOOK REVIEWS

GLIMMERS OF HOPE

The Chairman's New Clothes: Mao and the Cultural Revolution, Simon Leys, Allison and Busby, London, 1977, 261pp, £2.95.
Chinese Shadows, Simon Leys, Penguin, London, 1977, 240pp, 80p.

This review celebrates a major event – the translation and publication of two incisive books on China today by Simon Leys: *The Chairman's New Clothes* (1st ed., 1971) and *Chinese Shadows* (1st ed., 1974). Both are invaluable and should be read together. Footnotes and postscripts have been added since their original publication, although the main thrusts of his arguments are in no way changed.

The Chairman's New Clothes traces the twisted course of the Cultural Revolution, through the actions of its manipulators and main players in *their* power struggle. The motivations of the "masses" are for the most part not dealt with. Rage against the bureaucracy, while a major reason for the "masses", obviously was not a motivation of the bureaucrats. Leys does a magnificent job in tracing the ins and outs, zigs and zags, of the Cultural Revolution. The "yesterday's enemies, today's friends" nature of the Cultural Revolution can be confusing, at least to this reviewer, and the book serves as a virtual Guide to the Perplexed. His opening salvo contains the main lines of his analysis:

"The 'Cultural Revolution' had nothing revolutionary about it except the name, and nothing cultural about it except the initial tactical pretext. It was a power struggle waged at the top between a handful of men and behind the smokescreen of a fictitious mass movement. As things turned out, the disorder unleashed by this power struggle created a genuinely revolutionary mass current, which developed spontaneously at the grass roots in the form of army mutinies and workers' strikes on a vast scale. These had not been proscribed in the programme, and they were crushed pitilessly. Certain Western commentators insist on taking the official title literally, basing their interpretation on the concept of a "revolution" in Chinese culture, or even in Chinese civilisation. . . In the context of such an inspiring theme, any attempt to reduce this remarkable event to the mean and trivial dimension of a power struggle rings painfully, if not slanderously, in a Western maoist's ears. China's maoists are less squeamish: the definition of the "Cultural Revolution" as a "power struggle". . . was in fact not dreamed up by the regime's enemies; it was repeated in editorials . . . from the beginning of 1967, when the movement was sufficiently advanced to be able to do away with the protection of the cultural smokescreen behind which it had first set out."

Chairman's. . . p. 13

Basically, the Cultural Revolution was Mao's method of regaining the power he had lost as a result of his inabilities to deal with the problems of post-Liberation (1949) China, culminating in the fiasco of the Great Leap Forward. It is with the conference that removed him from power that the book effectively begins.[1]

At that conference, Mao was criticised and "kicked upstairs" to become a Venerated Elder Statesman; in his place, his faithful lieutenant, Liu Shiao Chi'i was installed. In true Stalinoid fashion, Liu purged the man (P'eng Teh-huai) who had had the nerve to openly criticise Mao – and then adopted P'eng's criticisms of the Great Leap Forward as his own. The sam thing happened in Russia immediately before the NEP period, many of whose features were directly from the points of the Kronstadt rebels.[2] And while "Trotskyism" was denounced both by Stalin and Mao, both accepted Trotsky's wonderful concept of the militarisation of labour,[3] the road to a free society. . .

Leys notes that, "cultural revolutionary" lies notwithstanding, . . . Liu's team has all along been associated with the stalinism of the purest, narrowest and most sectarian kind. By what miracle he he now been transformed into a sort of Chinese Dubcek? Any attempt to outline a Liuist "philosophy" with a specific content and in opposition to Mao's Thought must inevitably fail, for the simple reason that *a Liuist philosophy has never existed.* Apart from official communications and various speeches for which Liu . . . functioned simply as a transmission belt for the orders of his master, he has written only one theoretical work: "How to be a good communist." . . . (W)ere it absolutely necessary to credit it with an ideological line, it could best be described as a child's guide to the stalinist virtues of discipline and blind obedience, all perfectly natural in a work coming from Mao's immediate circle. (This should give food for thought to credulous Westerners who imagine that a China led by Liu rather than Mao would take the primrose path of "revisionism". They forget that China was in effect under Liu's leadership from 1959 to 1965: where then were the primroses?) The child's guide in question was, incidentally, so utterly orthodox that it appeared with Mao's approval, was constantly republished and remained for over a quarter of a century, a standard work and recommended reading for all members of the party, without anyone realising that it was a "poisonous weed"!. . . The theory of blind obedience contained within it was condemned during the "Cultural Revolution", not on principle but because it came from Liu. The "Cultural Revolution" recommended precisely this kind of blind obedience towards Mao . . .

Chairman's . . . p. 26f

Nonetheless, Liu had to follow a different course if the economy was to be saved. Meanwhile, P'eng was replaced as Minister of Defence by an even more loyal Maoist – Lin Piao – who used his post to consolidate Mao's position within the army. Leys describes what happened next:

" Once he was installed in this new position, Liu got down to forging the new instrument which, some years later, would enable Mao to carry out a successful coup d'etat against the party: namely an ideologically re-organised army which, during the decisive moments of the "Cultural Revolution", would be able to *replace* the party apparatus, over which Mao had lost all control. . . The experiments which Mao had been prevented from pursuing in the party and executing over the country as a whole were now . . . going to be tested out at the narrower level of the army . . . Between 1960 and 1962 Lin was busy developing people's militias and implanting the ideological bias for "people's war." He launched various movements. . . The deeper meaning of these various initiatives was not revealed until the advent of the "Cultural Revolution", when the party was disintegrating and the mass organisations were forced to copy these carefully prepared military models. The "elite companies" served as a prototype for the famous "support-the-left-detatchments" . . . the elite detatchments which were parachuted to all four corners of the country during the "Cultural Revolution" to crush local revolutionary initiatives, break strikes, impose order in the schools and factories, marshall rebellious youth into disciplinary battalions, protect the local mandarinate, exercise police powers. . "

Chairman's . . . p. 38f

That the army was used as a model says a lot about the basic character of Maoism, for a China which became a bureaucratic-military dictatorship (note: Hua Kuo-feng was head of Public Security). In Nazi Germany, the trend was towards becoming an SS State – replacing both government and army.[4] The militarisation of life was one of the themes running through Sam Dolgoff's *The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective* –

". . . Communization and forming the "new man" actually camouflaged the militarisation of Cuba. Castro made this clear: ". . . today I can see an immense army, the army of a highly organised, disciplined and enthusiastic nation ready to fulfill whatever task is set." In his speech of August 23, 1968, Castro announced his decision to militarise the whole island and give absolute priority to the economic battle and to achieve this, the absolute need for a dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by the Communist Party . . ."[5]

Mao's first problem was one of timing. Three attempts were made, but only the last took, the other two having been co-opted and shunted off to where they could do no harm. The third clicked, Mao manipulating things so that what first appeared to be an investigation of cultural scholars opened up into the upheaval that was the "Cultural Revolution." The fact that Mao's/Lin's hold on the army was incomplete led to many of the compromises – not that these compromises were on matters of principle, for what was important to Mao was not principle, but *power*. However, a stronger, more complete hold on the army could only have meant an earlier betrayal for those on the bottom who held his banner aloft:

". . . For a time, the army had to be restricted to the position of a neutral observer. The battering-ram which Mao used to dismantle the party apparatus was therefore made up of the "revolutionary masses," with the youth in the front line. The way in which Mao mobilised and used the Red Guards is very similar to the way in which the Empress Tz'u-hsi manipulated the Boxers. He turned against his enemies the mass of popular discontent which had been brought about by *his own* regime and which, with greater understanding, should have been used against himself. Just like the Boxers, the Red Guards were inspired by a genuine, powerful revolutionary dynamism and patriotism, but they were likewise lacking political experience and informed, educated cadres. Their naive and primitive mysticism was at the disposal of an old and experienced politician who, once he had reached his objective, did not scruple to rid himself of these innocent helpers. The bureaucratic despotism which Mao himself had established had for a long time been the cause of dissatisfaction and frustration among the youth, and they were on the point of exploding. All Mao needed to do was denounce his personal rivals as the sole origin of a system of which he himself was in fact the author and then floodgates of popular anger against them, and he had got rid of them. But when this wave had accomplished its task and turned back on itself, it would see that it had not in fact accomplished anything at all: it had drowned the puppets, byt the puppet-master remained the same and was sitting high and dry on the bank, already closing the lock-gates. The Red Guards realised in the end that they had been tricked, but it was too late: at that moment, when their role was finished, Mao was able to abandon them to a military repression and replace them with a collection of mandarins who were identical to the original ones."

Chairman's . . . p. 52f

The ideological problem was how to rid himself of his ultra-supporters, so that he could compromise in peace and take the reins of State with the same old docile horses. This was accomplished through a crude use of a vulgar dialectic, that is the "class struggle" posited by Chairman Mao: my enemies against me. A real class struggle, of course, does exist in China – the nonparty masses against the party and leaders that exploit them. Evidence of this real class struggle lies in the ferocity of the Cultural Revolution, as the people took revenge against many of those bureaucrats who had been making their lives miserable since 1949 – the communist bosses on the "right", the communist bosses on the "left" and even those "on the right, masquerading as left." Naturally, to have admitted the existence of such a real class struggle, would have been suicide. So Mao invented his own dialectic motion: "thesis" was the Party bureaucrats who had deposed him and ran China after the Great Leap Forward; "anti-thesis" were those of his Cultural Revolution supporters who got too enthusiastic, carried things towards their logical anti-Maoist conclusion, or stood in the way of compromises with the Old Guard. Sound crude? You betcha. It was.

All of this and more is contained within Leys' account.

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But of the two books, *Chinese Shadows* is far and away my favourite – in a period of one month, I read it twice, and was twice impressed. In its sincerity, it belongs to that select circle of books that cry their truth out, written straight from the heart – books such as Jack London's autobiographical novel, *Martin Eden*, Martin Gray's autobiography, *For Those I Loved*, and a highly underrated novel with the rise of autobiography about it, MacDonald Harris' *Mortal Leap* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1964) – these are but three examples. *Chinese Shadows* is another one – it was due to this book that "Simon Leys" was unmasked by that most contemptible of breeds – the Western Maoist – as Pierre Ryckmans, a Belgian authority on Chinese

art and literature. Leys/Ryckmans is no longer welcome in China, his "Beloved Country."

This book is beautifully – artistically – written. It is not history, nor a travel guide, nor political analysis – but a blend of all three elements, plus more. And although it is crammed with facts, it is not so much a book of facts, as a book of insights. Without a doubt it is the most clear-headed work I've seen on China yet – unaffected by dogma, unimpressed with power, unaffected by slogans. The author's extensive knowledge of Chinese geography, history, art, literature, architecture and language is put to excellent use as he takes his readers from province to province, city to city, area to area, describing the bamboo straightjacket that the Party has compelled the Chinese people to wear. Writing about Nazi Germany, Rudolf Rocker wrote that:

"... The insane attempt to attune every expression of the intellectual and social life of a people to the beat of a political machine and to stretch all human thought and action on the Procrustean bed of a pattern prescribed by the state had inevitably to lead to the internal collapse of all intellectual culture; for this is unthinkable without complete freedom of expression."[6]

The above quote could have been used as a chapter quote in *Chinese Shadows*, for we are given example after example of the stifling of all human creativity, initiative, spontaneity, freedom and culture, as the Maoist State sought (and seeks) to force everything into its own "Procrustean bed." From the theatre to literature to art to free expression of political dissent all the way down to the ownership of a goldfish and the colour of traffic lights, Leys unknowingly (?) applies Rocker to the situation in China Today, in often bitterly funny accounts (In both books, he belittles his writing style, especially its "sterile sarcasm" – this belittling is both unbecoming and unnecessary).

Leys feelings are not simply because he hates to see art pieces smashed. Writing about the destruction of Peking's ancient gates, he says:

"One should not be led astray by this 'archaeological nostalgia' which seem to appear now and again in my impression of the People's Republic. If the destruction of the entire legacy of China's traditional culture was the price to pay to insure the success of the revolution, I would forgive all the iconoclasms, I would support them with enthusiasm! What makes the Maoist vandalism so odious and so pathetic is not that it is irreprably mutilating an ancient civilisation but rather that by doing so it gives itself an alibi for not grappling with the true revolutionary tasks. The extent of their depredations gives Maoists the cheap illusion that they have done a great deal; they persuade themselves that they can rid themselves of the past by attacking its material manifestations; but in fact they remain its slaves, bound the more tightly because they refuse to realise the effect of the old traditions within their revolution. The destruction of the gates of Peking is, properly speaking, a sacrilege; and what makes it dramatic it not that the authorities had them pulled down but that they remain unable to understand why they pulled them down. (*Shadows*, p.58).

Ghosts of the past: China, like Russia is bound to them and has not outgrown them – although in both regimes, the worst features of the past have been further and more "scientifically" developed.[7]

My first reading of *Chinese Shadows* auspiciously took place on the very day that the newspaper announced the your of yet another group of Guam Notables to the People's Republic. Glancing at the list of those going I was immediately struck by a sentence describing these group tours with every minute scheduled to the last second, as "forced labour in political tourism." I also noticed that all of them were Prominent, in one way or another – no ordinary working stiffs, please!

Attraction of the Prominent – a basic feature to all dictatorial regimes, regardless of their politics. Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines because of the activities (or so he said) of the Maoist New Peoples' Army, allegedly armed by Peking. And within a short while, the Iron Butterfly (Imelda Marcos) fluttered behind the Bamboo Curtain as a guest of the State ... Describing the ritual of State banquests for foreigners, Leys writes:

"At the end of the banquet come the speeches. As a rule they are very long. They may also be quite striking: to hear, for example, the Empress of Iran extol the virtues of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung and in return Chou En-lai lauding the wise government of the Shah, or Li Hsien-nien welcome a delegation from the Greek government by singing the praises of the colonels' regime is certainly novel entertainment." (*Shadows*, p.29).

That such "likes attract" is sure refutation of any idea that laws from the physical-biological sphere can be applied to social situations ....

Throughout the book, much attention is given to language and its use in totalitarian systems. He points out that:

"In politics, the citizens of the People's Republic are ... equipped with a mechanical and prefabricated jargon that is a substitute for thought, that excludes the possibility of thinking. The extraordinary effects of this robotisation is nowhere better measured than in the writings of dissidents who have tried from the inside to oppose the regime. Their efforts were doomed from the start: they had no intellectual tools to mine the ideological fortress but the cardboard pickaxes that had been provided them by Maoist dialectics." (*Shadows*, p.168).

And speaking of language, for one who uses it so carefully and knows its implications, Leys must be faulted for his indiscriminate use of the words "anarchy" and "anarchistic" in both books when he means "chaos" and "chaotic." Both books prove that the real question is not "Anarchy and Chaos", but "Anarchy or Chaos" – the chaos that passed for "revolutionary order," it must be remembered, was nothing more nor less than attempts to elevate the State to its logical conclusion, the results of power principles magnified.

In both books, glimmers of hope are seen: the betrayal of the many cannot help but have caused at least some to start drawing lessons and thinking for themselves. In a truly dialectic fashion, the betrayals, compromises, the continuation of the old brand under new labels, the miseries inflicted by the regime, before, during and after the Cultural Revolution, and so on – may be creating within itself a new force that will truly oppose the old. The banishment of thousands of idealistic youth to the countryside may well mean trouble for the Chinese ruling bureaucracy, if melded with the discontent of the peasants who have still more mouths to feed. The concessions made to workers following the demise of Mao may yet lead to revolts of rising expectations.

There is much more to this book than what has been discussed here – the cults of personality, the falsification of history, much solid information on all phases of Chinese history, solid information on Chinese revolutionists who have been either buried by the Maoists because they pre-dated Mao, or elevated to martyrdom because of that fact, the toadying of foreign and Chinese Maoists and fellow travellers – and so on.

If you buy but one book on China this year – make sure that it is *Chinese Shadows*.

Shelby Shapiro.

Footnotes.

1. For an extended treatment of China 1949-1956, see Ygael Gluckstein, *Mao's China* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957).
2. Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt 1921* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
3. Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972).
4. See, for example, Helmut Krausnick et al., *Anatomy of the S.S. State* (NY: Walker & Co., 1968).
5. Sam Dolgoff, *The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective* (Montreal: Balck Rose Books, 1976).
6. Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture* (LA: Rocker Publications Committee, 1937), p. vii ("Preface to the English Edition").
7. Compare, Leonard Schapiro, *The Growth of the Communist Autocracy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1956).

SEX IN CHINA

The four cartoon panels on this page are taken from "Red Guard Romance" (written and drawn by Jay Kinney) and appeared in Young Last No. 5. However, proving again that being more radical than reality itself is always a difficult proposition, we ran across the accompanying article by Ross H. Munro in the Oct. 12, 1977, Toronto Globe and Mail.

Munro, the Globe and Mail's Peking correspondent, was recently ordered out of China by the ruling bureaucracy because of his articles about the lack of human rights in that country.
Fifth Estate

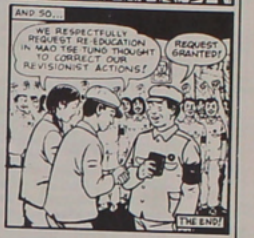
PEKING – In the summer of 1973, a young man named Chang accompanied his girl-friend to an out-of-the-way place in their factory where they proceeded to make love. Unfortunately, some fellow workers happened upon them in the middle of their lovemaking.

The couple's activity not being publicly acceptable behaviour, particularly not during working hours, the leadership of the Sian Western Electrical Factory, where they worked, proceeded to take disciplinary action. The factory first decided that it was an internal matter which shouldn't be taken to the outside authorities. Instead, the two young people would be subjected to criticism for their "bourgeois lifestyle."

Unfortunately for young Chan, his girl friend's father was an important official who came to Sian when he heard the news. Once there, he succeeded in pressuring his dishonoured daughter into changing her story and charging her boy friend with rape.

So the outside authorities took charge of the case and Chang appeared in court. Chang apparently wasn't too happy with this turn of events because the court officials declared he had a "bad attitude" towards his crime. This "bad attitude", the court declared, justified a 20 year sentence.

The court itself raised serious questions about the entire affair by sentencing the victim of the rape to three years of education-through-labour in some sort of detention centre. She was convicted of having a bad lifestyle.



A flash of insight into Maoist "correct thought"

Any romantic attachment that goes the distance, outside the marriage bed, is actually a statutory offence, worth six months in jail for the over eager young man...
Helen Snow *Women in Modern China*

"Communist Youth" and "Youth's Daily," another official publication of the (Chinese) League of Young Communists, discuss the matter of birth control at great length and advise their readers to marry as late as possible, if they absolutely have to reject celibacy....
Le Monde, Sept. 18 1963

In Shanghai, members of the Revolutionary Committee demand mercilessly that they be asked more and more questions. "How would you deal with a case of rape?" causes slight consternation however. "Rape does not exist in China," comes the inevitable reply. Maybe not, but tell me how you would deal with a rape case if such an unimaginable event should ever occur?" This causes the members to retire to a corner of the room, where a heated debate goes on for five minutes or so. Then, proudly and with complete certainty, the leaders announce: "Should a rape be committed, we should arrange a marriage."
Far Eastern Economic Review,
Cheng Huan, Sept 16, 1972.
photograph by courtesy of Black Thumb Press, Ontario, Canada.

POETRY

Capitalism in Crisis

i shot a man
in the street
and i sang of capitalism in crisis
he was an insurance man

i pinned a woman
to the wall
and i painted her in capitalism-in-crisis
she was a tory loving housewife

i kicked a kid
in the crutch
i danced of capitalism in crisis
he said he hated blacks
well i'm not black
but why should he hate

i blew up the government office
i smiled at capitalism in crisis
because i saw it go down in dust
the dusty remains
of bureaucratic pains

Nik

Six Counties

Lava of an old and crusted volcano
Bursts again to smoke the sky and
Lace the air with fire.
Scars form and harden,
Splits divide the ground,
And a pumice-grey figure
Bowed by numberless years
Looks on through hollow sockets
And shrugs.

Geoff Charlton.

'A Stranger to Nothing.'

'One comes for answers to a
place like this and finds even
in the darkness, even in
the sudden flooding of the
headlights, that in time one comes
to be a stranger to nothing.'

From 'The Cemetery at Academy, California'
Not This Pig, (1968).

THE POETRY OF PHILIP LEVINE

A personal reaction from Geoff Charlton to *Not This Pig* (1968), *Red Dust* (1971), *They Feed They Lion* (1972), *1933* (1974), *On The Edge and Over* (1963/1976), *The Names of the Lost* (1976).

In considering the majority – though not all – of Philip Levine's published books of poetry one naturally asks the questions 'what is it that makes this man's work valuable and what are the qualities that give it a unique stamp and character?' From the outset it would appear that Levine is concerned about the themes of his work – he is not an aesthete for whom form takes over from content or for whom the technical tendencies of a particular school take priority over the need to communicate. This is not to say that his work is lacking in craftsmanship or in the gift of mellifluous and concise expression – his finest free verse has an appropriateness and order which could be a source of envy to admirers of classicism. If we take 'The Book' from *Not This Pig* (1968)

" . . . In the picture the soldiers
are Spaniards, he tells me in his strange

Shakespearean English, but the men
who gave their poor lives to name
the river were Indians, uncles

and fathers of his father, their blood
sold to heaven by a priest
I wonder if he has ever said

so much at once and to a stranger . . . "

we find all the thematic material – the problem of the individual's relationship to his historical culture, the love and the tensions between father and son, the fact that men are born free yet everywhere are to be found in chains, the vastness of time and the intimacy of family relationships, the subjective experience within the objective world – all these plus the precision of usage, the setting of words out to work

" . . . the men
who gave their *poor* lives to name
the river . . . "

– one small adjective, but so evocative – and the highly individual contrivance of an almost free rhythm – some two, three or four important stresses to a line – with a regular stanza form. No mean achievement, but characteristic of the thorough professionalism – the attention to all aspects of form and content – sustained throughout all of Levine's work.

Let us look for a moment at the same aspects of craftsmanship in a poem taken from his latest work here considered the book *The Names of the Lost* (1976). The trace of resistance to clericalism and imperialism found in 'The Book' is replaced here by a characteristically libertarian poem on one of Levine's recurrent themes: the Spanish Civil War.

For The Fallen

In the old graveyard behind
the fortress of Montjuich
side by side are buried
the brothers Ascaso and
Buenaventura Durruti.
If you go there and stand
in the June sun or under
the scudding clouds
of November you will
hear neither the great wail
of the factories or the sea
groaning into the harbor
laden with goods and freckled
with oil. You will hear
the distant waves of traffic
in the late afternoon rush
and maybe the yellowed grass
eating, for this is that
time in Barcelona, you
will hear your own breath
slowing and time slowing
and then the death of time
because it stops here. You
can go down on your knees
and pray that the spirit
of men and women come back
and inhabit this failing flesh
but if you listen well
your heart will ask
you to stand, under
the fading sun or
the rising moon, it
doesn't matter, either
alone or breathing as you
do now the words
of the fallen and the slow
clouds of diesel exhaust.
Look at your hands. They
are not scarred by
the cigarettes of the police,
and the palms are soft,
the fingers long but
slightly kinked, the hands
once of a boy stained
with the ink of dull reports
the day they laid
Buenaventura beside Francisco
Ascaso and thousands gathered
weeping or sombre. The nails
were bitten down then.
The comrades must have known
it was over, and Joaquin
Ascaso, staring at the earth
that had opened so quickly
for his brothers, must
have whispered *soon.*
Soon the boy rose
from his desk and went
into the darkness
congealing in cold parlours
or in the weariness
of old pistons, in the gasps
of men and women asleep
and dreaming as the bus
stalls and starts on the way
home from work. And Joaquin,
who had never knelt, rose
and went home to prepare,
knowing he was all
of them, as you know
they are all that gathers
in your hands, all
that is left, words
spoken to no one
left, blurred in
the waves of the old sea,
garlands of red roses
that tattered, chips
of light and dark, fire
and smoke, the burning
and the cold that were
life and can still
shiver these two stiff
and darkening hands.

I quote this poem in full not merely because of its inherent interest to anarchists and libertarians but because it once again demonstrates the many-sided talent of Philip Levine as a poet. His power of evoking the environment is by no means unique. One thinks of the contribution of the Black Mountain poets in particular to an evocation of place along the dimensions of local geography and history which not only provided them with a solution to the vacuity of the poetic movement but turned the movement into a movement. But whereas this has largely been in reaction to a profound uneasiness, corresponding to a collapse of religious and philosophical bearings traditionally linking the world of poetry and other forms of contemplation, in Philip Levine's case the axes of time (life and death) remain firmly in position. The poem confronts us simultaneously with the political situation – the plight of the Republican cause – with the universal fact of death (the violent deaths of Durruti and Ascaso or the drawn-out process of ageing: the child who, long after these executions, is now a man with

" . . . two stiff
and darkening hands . . . ")

and with the changes of time and place, not merely the ageing process but also the details of Barcelona at various hours of day and night

" . . . under
the fading sun or
the rising moon . . . "

as well as at the precise moment of the observer's presence during the

"late afternoon rush."

The wholeness of Barcelona as a place is rendered in what the observer does NOT hear or see (the factories, the harbour) as well as what he does. We are brought to conclude that there is a most extraordinary breadth and depth of vision at the heart of the poem, going out to the small details of time and place

" . . . The nails
were bitten down then . . . "

as well as centralising the basic issue: what should be the attitudes of a man to his mortal destiny? To which, in the context of Spanish oppression, the answer comes

" . . . your heart will ask
you to stand . . . "

" . . . Joaquin
who had never knelt, rose
and went home to rpepare"

– a refusal to kneel before evil, and a stout courage to face one's own end, encouraged by a solidarity with all comrades, all ordinary men and women

" . . . knowing he was all
of them . . . "

living and dying and living on in their struggles – living on in the poet's contemplation years' later as well as in the lives of the Spanish people, as their struggle continues.

The remarkable thing about Philip Levine's vision, therefore, is its depth of imagination in a period when integrated vision appears to be a lost cause or a peripheral interest to so many poets, academics and specialists, to each and every man who can only protect his personal world by denying its relationship to his neighbour's. In a far different poem in the same collection, a description of morning, 'Let It Begin', Levine shows the same concern for an integrated social consciousness. Again, the hands of the poet are the symbol of his solidarity with others:

" . . . my hands are someone else's"
" . . . . . They have joined
each other as the fellowship
of the shroud . . . "
" . . . I stand
into the needle's dark eye
so the peddler could mend his elbow
and gasp under his sack of rags."

Thus the morning comes, relating the poet to others:

" . . . Light that will spread the morning glory
burns on my tongue and spills
into the small valleys of our living,
the branches creak, and I let it begin."

The major examination of Levine's work here is the discussion of *For The Fallen* and in that poem we have a certain gloominess inherent in the subject indicated by the title. Levine's interests tend towards serious matters and his attitudes are at times pessimistic but he can also write with humour in the treatment of 'Animals Are Passing From Our Lives":

" . . . The boy
Who drives me along believes
that any moment I'll fall
on my side and drum my toes
like a typewriter or squeal
and shit like a new housewife
discovering television . . . " [*Not This Pig*]

– the poem that gives this collection its title – or in the unlikely subject matter found in *They Feed They Lion* (1972) – "To a Fish Head Found On The Beach"/"Detroit Grease Shop Poem"/ or again in the courageous figure in the accident hospital ["By Animals, By Men, and By Machines" – *Not This Pig*]

" . . . singing that he was born"

and calling his artificial eye "spooky."

Born in 1928 in Detroit, Michigan and educated at Wayne State University, Detroit, Philip Levine now lives in Fresno, California. The body of his work shows a rare capacity to integrate the philosophical and the concrete, the thought and the image. Throughout the published volumes there are so many examples of his ability to write totally without affectation and with a wholly natural tone – an ability which any writer will know comes as the product of years of attention to the tones and rhythms of speech and not as the result of mere freedom of expression, necessary as that, too, certainly is. Description wedded to thought is found in all the poems, though each volume has its special characteristics, e.g. the rather catholic and eclectic first volume *Not This Pig*, the visually appealing *Red Dust* with its interleaved prints by Marcia Mars, the idiosyncratic *They Feed They Lion* with its obscure and gnomic title poem suggestive of some Yeatsian monster slouching from Bethlehem to the Bronx:

" . . . From they sack and they belly opened
And all that was hidden burning on the oil-stained earth

They feed they Lion and he comes . . . "

the hints of war, loss and misery in *1933* (1974) and the transition from decade to decade, the sense of the passing of time, in *The Names of The Lost*. As Robert Mazzocco wrote in a review in *The New York Review of Books*, Philip Levine " . . . can create the sense of a milieu, the sound, feel, geography of a place, a people, the flavour of what's been happening among us and what continues . . . " and it is this capacity to show the underlying significance of so many surface trivia and the abiding significance of the ephemeral world which should ensure that his poetry itself lasts for generations as an interpretation of our times.

Geoff Charlton.

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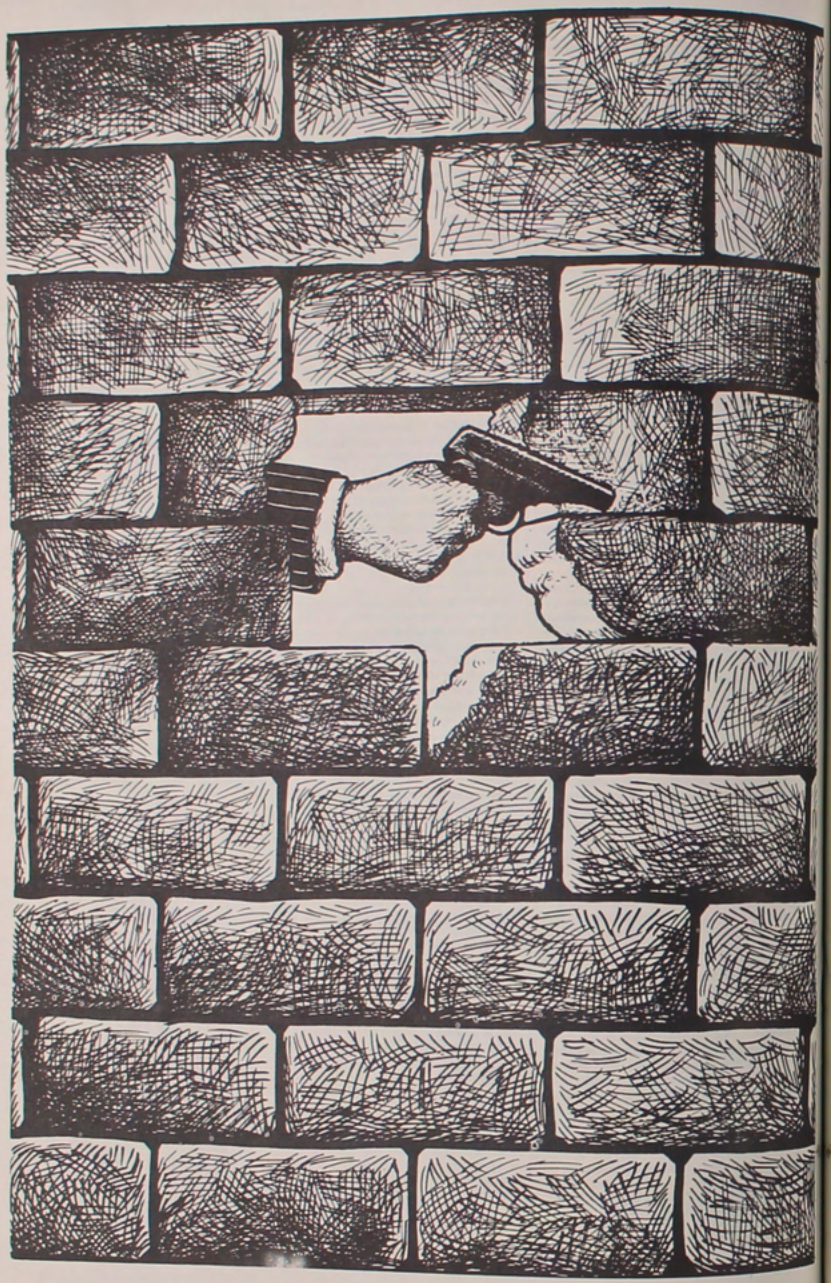

CLIFFORD HARPER

THE STAMMHEIM DEATHS

Radio broadcasts on the morning of October 18, 1977 were full of news about the reported suicide of Jan Carl Raspe, Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader and of the attempted suicide of Irmgard Moller. The evening television news brought more of the same. "Three suicides – a signal for new terror?"[1] reported the front page of *Die Welt*, one of the largest daily newspapers in Germany; "Hostages free – Suicides in Stammheim"[2] read the headlines in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*; "Three Baader-Meinhof prisoners commit suicide"[3] appeared sprawled across the front page of the *Westfalische Rundschau*; and the version in the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* was "Suicide: Baader, Raspe, Ensslin."[4]

There was not one report referring to the *deaths* of these three prisoners. The possibility that the cause of death could be one other than that of suicide was never suggested. The chances that the thought could occur to someone to question the official causes of death were largely reduced because official reports, press conferences, news reports etc., dealing with the events at Stammheim always referred to the *suicides* as if this were a proven fact, although determination of the cause of death without an autopsy is medically impossible. "In cases of hanging, suicide is often assumed too hastily. For that reason, it should be expressly pointed out, that an answer to the question, a suicidal death or non-suicidal death, isn't possible in any case by observation alone."[5] Gudrun Ensslin apparently died by hanging. Her lawyer, Otto Schily, was present at the initial inquest; as the cell door was opened, he saw only the feet of a body covered with a brown blanket hanging from the bars in the window.[6] The autopsy didn't begin until late in the afternoon of October 18 and went on until 5 o'clock the following morning.[7] An autopsy report has not appeared to this day (December, 1977).

Nevertheless, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported on October 19, 1977: "Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe took their lives on Tuesday morning in their cells in the Stuttgart-Stammheim prison. Irmgard Moller also attempted to take her life. She stabbed herself many times with a bread knife .... Baader and Raspe shot themselves in their cells with two pistols, one a 7.65mm caliber and the other a 9mm caliber ... The suicides were discovered as two prison guards entered Raspe's cell at 7.41 a.m. with his breakfast ...."[8] In the widely read *Bild* newspaper: "8.02 – in panic, the prison guards open the cell from Gudrun Ensslin – another frightful discovery: the terrorist had spread a wool blanket in front of the window and had hung herself behind it. Her bare feet dangled approx. 40 centimeters over the floor."[9] And this remark was to be found in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*: "What Gudrun Ensslin hung herself with is not yet certain, explained the minister (the minister for Jusitce – Traugott Bender), since, as of yet, nobody has entered the cells since the discovery of the suicides."[10]

Alone the single fact that directly after discovery of the deaths without any investigation of the bodies at all, all reports dealt with the term *suicide*, alone this fact should be reason enough to reflect. And reflection can lead to doubt.

Some Things To Reflect: No Fingerprints

"Fingerprints were found neither on the pistols nor on the knife. The public prosecutor's office explained that this was because the weapons were so full of blood that traces could not be determined."[11] A report stated nine days after the discovery of the deaths. Nineteen days later came a new version. "Chief of the State Criminal Department and head of the investigation team for the events in Stammheim, Mr. Testor, confirmed reports that 'contrary to the first statements, no blood was found on Raspe's pistol' Testor attempted to explain the fact that no fingerprints were found on either of the weapons or on the kitchen knife that Irmgard Moller used for her suicide, according to official statements, with the following words: 'If the weapons had been polished with a cloth before the act, then no usable traces could have remained after only being used once'."[12]

No fingerprints – weapons full of blood. No blood. Weapons polished – still no fingerprints.

The Weapons

And how did the weapons get into the prisoners' cells? The prison cells from Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe were thoroughly searched in the night of September 5, 1977. During this search, "radios, record players and diverse electrical apparatus were removed from the cells and given to the prison officials."[13] According to information in a letter from the Federal Ministry for Justice, Andreas Baader was removed from his cell and placed in a new cell on September 14, 1977[14] and according to statements made by Bender (Minister of Justice for the State of Baden-Wutemburg), the cells of the Baader-Meinhof prisoners in Stammheim were searched 'practically daily.'"[15] Nevertheless, *Spiegel* reports that as the prison guards removed the radio, TV and record player from Gudrun Ensslin's cell. "exactly that piece of cable on which the corpse hung, remained in the cell unnoticed ... In Irmgard Moller's room, the investogators discovered headphones, in which cables were hidden, in a hiding-place in the wall under the wash basin on Friday last week. Andreas Baader had a place in his record player with a holder for a pistol."[16] But Andreas Baader didn't have a record player in his cell; it was removed on September 5, 1977! And the officers who carried out the searches in the cells of the prisoners considered to be the most dangerous terrorists in the entire country are supposed to have overlooked two revolvers and one knife? How could such a slip-up have occurred to German authorities from the German administration which is otherwise world-wide reknowned for its perfectionism? All this occurred in a prison especially designed to confine five prisoners: Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe, Ulrike Meinhof (who died in her prison cell on May 8, 1976 at Stammheim – supposedly a suicide) and Holger Meins (who died in November, 1974 in a hunger

strike against the conditions of isolation imprisonment), a prison which cost 10 million German marks (approx. 5 million dollars).

Perhaps the lawyers smuggled the weapons to the prisoners. "One cannot exclude the possibility that a lawyer could have illegally given a prisoner objects during a visit"[17] explained Engler, director of the prison. "Before visiting the terrorists, the lawyers also have to be searched with a metal detector. They have to deposit their bags in front of the visitors' room and aren't allowed to take a dictaphone in with them. The prisoners receive new clothes and underwear after they have been stripped naked, both before and after the conversations with their lawyers."[18] Otto Schily, Gudrun Ensslin's lawyer, explained that the contents of his briefcase were removed by the authorities at the prison and all documents and dossiers were read. (That means, that the authorities had read all the information concerning the prisoner and the preparation for the trial). He was searched both bodily and with a metal detector; his shoes, which had metal clips on the soles, had to be removed before entering the visitors' room.[19] Officials have admitted to bugging visiting rooms for lawyers and their clients in prisons. "The Minister of Justice for the State of Baden-Wurtemberg, Traugott Bender, and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Karl Schieb, reported to the press in Stuttgart, that conversations between the accused in the Stammheim RAF-trial and their lawyers were overheard in two cases over a short period of time."[20] That was in March, 1977. If conversations were overheard in March, why not in October? If the visits between lawyer and prisoner were overheard, why not watched on television cameras, too?

Since September 6, 1977, smuggling of weapons to the four prisoners through the lawyers was made impossible as the lawyers were forbidden to have any contact whatsoever with their clients. (This practice – the so-called Kontaksperre – became law on October 2m 1977). In fact, the prisoners were cut off from all contact outside of their cells – no letters, no visitors, no newspapers, no radio no TV, no common activities with other prisoners, since the "Kontaksperre" was introduced at the beginning of September.

Great excitement was caused when a second door to the Baader-Meinhof prisoners in the seventh floor at Stammheim was "suddenly discovered" on November 3, 1977 (although Otto Schily has known of this door since the death of Ulrike Meinhof at Stammheim in 1975). "It concerns a door to the fire escape with doors to each floor, which however, can only be opened with a special key from outside and not at all from the inside. If this door should be opened to the 7th floor, then an alarm is set off, which, however, as confirmed, can be switched off. The door to the fire escape that opens into the hall, which also served as a common room could not be seen from the observation room in which the security guards spent the night of October 18."[21] Perhaps someone came through this door to smuggle the weapons into the prisoners' cells. But who could have gotten hold of the special key and who could have turned off the alarm system? Perhaps a sympathiser or a lawyer or someone else more familiar with the prison . . . ?

In the meantime, the hiding-place for the weapons have supposedly been uncovered. "The criminal police photographed where the weapons were hidden: Raspe's pistol in a hole behind the skirting boards without the handle coverings in order to make it smaller; Baader's weapon, in his record player."[22] "It remained unclear, yesterday, October 18 as to how the weapons could find their way into the prison,"[23] and it has remained unclear to the present day. A special investigation committee has been formed in order to clarify this mystery.[24] An attempt, however, is being made to make the thought more plausible that the weapons must have been smuggled into the prison *somehow*, by reports at well-timed intervals of astonishing finds in the cells of these and other imprisoned "terrorists."

October20:

"According to the public prosecutor's office, a Sanyo transistor radio, the size of the palm of the hand, was found in Jan Carl Raspe's cell tuned to the first station of the Southern German radio network. The radio was hidden behind the bed rolled up in a pullover. It is now clear how the prisoners heard about the freeing of the Lufthansa hostages inspite of the Kontaksperre."[25]

October 22:

"In terrorist cell, explosives discovered!

In the prison tract where the Baader-Meinhof terrorists are imprisoned, 270 grams of explosives were found behind the skirting boards . . . The cell in the seventh floor of the prison in Stammheim was not occupied recently but had served as a storage room, for books among other things. Andreas Baader, Jan Carl Raspe and Gudrun Ensslin has access to this cell up until the 'Kontaksperre' which was last occupied by the Baader-Meinhof prisoner Helmut Pohl from July 6 until August 12."[26]

October 24:

"Also razorblades in Baader-buildings. The thorough searching of the Baader-Meinhof tract in the seventh floor of the prison in Stuttgart-Stammheim, in which the anarchists Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe took their lives on Tuesday, was continued throughout the weekend. During those seaches, once again, a hole under the wash basin was found in one cell, in which a stomach pump, razorblades and a putty-like mass were hidden."[27]

October 27:

"Radios also in Werl, Berlin and Frankfurt in terrorist cells discovered in controls on October 18. After the discovery of the pistols explosives and a transistor radio in the Baader-Meinhof prison tract in Stuttgart-Stammheim, a mini radio and headphones were found in terrorist cells in Werl, Frankfurt and Berin."[28]

November 12:

Explosives in terrorist tract in Stammheim. Explosives have again been found in the terrorist tract in the Stammheim prison. The public prosecutor's office reported that a construction team has found 400 grams of explosives in a wall in an unoccupied cell in the prison. In addition, three detonators were found."[29]

November 22:

"Tools disappeared during renovations in Stammheim. In May and June of this year, packages of cement were lying about in the common hall during the construction work being done on the cells. The Baader-Meinhof prisoners had contact with the construction workers and also inquired as to how to mix cement. One day, tools (plyers, a screwdriver, and possibly a crowbar) disappeared for a short time and re-appeared in an easily visible corner after a prison guard explained to the prisoners that all cells would be turned upside down if the tools didn't turn up again."[30]

November 23:

Pistol found in Stammheim – weapon and munition discovered in cell wall. In this cell, which was not recently occupied, Helmut Pohl had done time from July 6 to August 12."[31] (This was a Colt 38 caliber – a weapon used by the police!)[32]

November 24:

"A razorblade hung in Croissant' cell. Several razorblades have unexplainably found their way into the closely watched cell of Croissant the ex-Baader-Meinhof lawyer, now imprisoned in Stammheim . . . . On Saturday, Croissant had discovered a razorblade hanging on a nail in a cupboard in his cell and he immediately informed the prison guards of his find. A speaker for the court said, 'Croissant's cell had previously been searched by the best security specialists searched again and another three razorblades were found in the drainage pipe from the toilet."[33]

December 6:

"Again a discovery in a cell at Stammheim. A small loudspeaker without an electrical connection was found hidden in a neon light on Monday in the section of imprisoned terrorists at the Stuttgart-Stammheim prison. According to the Ministry of Justice in Stammheim, the loudspeaker might have been used to send and receive morse code."[34]

On September 14, 1977, a Minox Camera was surprisingly discovered hidden in a package of coffee filters in Andreas Baader's cell after he was moved to a new cell. This discovery was so often mentioned after the deaths at Stammheim that one could almost think that this "discovery" was part of a well-planned "suicide."

These discoveries seem to be rather astonishing for a construction worker who worked on building the prison at Stammheim: "As the discoveries in Stammheim became known through the mass media, I couldn't help thinking that I had been there as a concrete layer the whole time during the building of the prison from the foundations to the roof. What is said in the mass media, hiding places in the walls (slits and holes behind the beams) is simply a lie. The walls of the cells are built out of massive B 600 class concrete! That means: 600 kilograms of cement to one cubic meter of sand. The concrete is crystal hard. I doubt very much that one could put a hole in this concrete with cutlery of something similar. The only possibility would be to use explosives or a press hammer. That, my colleagues, must be considered, when one speaks about the suicides of the Baader-Meinhof people."[35]

At any rate, the press is trying hard to convince the public that the weapons for the "suicide" were smuggled into the cells, even if they cannot explain how. "If camera and radio could find admittance, the prisoners must have known how to procure the tools for their suicides. This knowledge must make it very difficult for the lawyers to continue to follow the theory as though one should doubt that suicide was the case. It is to be said, however, that the lawyers' agitation is not particularly extensive. They know very well, that they've got nothing to support their theory."[36] But perhaps the lawyers are somewhat reluctant to reduce their scepticism towards the suicide theory on the grounds of these discoveries in various prison cells. After all, no lawyer or any other "objective" person, for that matter, was present at any one of the seaches that lead to these spectacular finds.

Shot In The Back Of The Head

"Andreas Baader died from a shot in the neck 3 centimetres above the hairline which exited through the forehead, so that one can speak of a straight trajectory, that runs slanted from the base of the neck up."[37] Is it possible that Andreas Baader could have shot himself in the back of his own head with a 7.65 caliber pistol – one with a strong recoil – in such a way that the trajectory could run from the base of the neck through the head and out at the forehead in a straight path?

Why Three Shots?

Three shots were found in Andreas Baader's cell. One shot was lodged in the wall, another in the mattress and another, whch had gone through Baader's head, was lying on the floor.[38] Why three shots? It was first suggested that Baader wanted to signal to the others. But "during the night from Monday to Tuesday, the guards, who were posted about 15 meters from the cells, didn't notice anything particular. This shouldn't come as a surprise, since the cells were equipped with sound-proofing."[39] But if the guards didn't hear anything how could the prisoners have heard the "signal?" So why three shots?

Gunpowder Traces On Baader's Right Hand

As a rule, traces of gunpowder remain on the hand that presses the trigger of a pistol. These traces can be chemically identified. Cited from the parts of the autopsy report which have been published in *Spiegel*: "Traces of gunpowder were to be found on the right hand of the corpse Baader's as well as on the entrance wound of the shot.[40] Baader's mother, however, swears that her son was left-handed! Of course, a left-handed Baader could have shot himself in the back of his own head with his right hand, or his right hand could have been guided onto the trigger of a firing pistol aimed at the back of his head.

No Gunpowder Traces On Raspe's Right Hand – Not On His Left Hand Either

"Raspe's corpse (which was discovered at 7.41 as he was to be served breakfast – what an odd time to be serving breakfast, especially if you consider how punctually German institutions usually function) . . . shows a trajectory from a shot entering at the back and going through the front brain area. The existing traces indicate a shot aimed at close range here as well."[41] Nowhere is there mention of gunpowder traces on Raspe's hands in the parts of the autopsy reports which have been released. On whose hands should the gunpowder traces be, if not on Raspe's?

Suicide Attempt With A Bread And Butter Knife

In an interview with Mr. Heldmann, Baader's – lawyer, the following was reported about the weapon assumed to be the one which brought about the wounds to Irmgard Moller's bodv:

"Question: According to official reports, she is supposed to have stabbed herself in the area of the heart with a bread knife. What kind of knife was this?

Heldmann: This knife was lying in the cell, when I was allowed in for observation in the afternoon of October 18. It was a normal table knife, like those in canteens, in cafeterias, rounded off at the end with a little wavy cutting edge. One with which you butter bread;

Question: So it would be practically impossible to stab oneself in the chest four times with such a knife?

Heldmann: A medical report will have to decide that."[42]

And how does Irmgard Moller account for her stab wounds and for the deaths of her three friends?

"Heldmann: Irmgard Moller told her lawyer Mrs. Jutta Bahr-Jendges, the only person with whom she has been allowed to speak up until now, that she heard two explosive-like sounds in the early morning hours, at around 4.00 a.m. and 4.30. a.m. and a scrapping sound, as if someone was pushing a cupboard.

Question: Could that have been shots?

Heldmann: Miss Moller only brought these sounds in connection with the possibility of shots later, after she heard that Baader and Raspe had supposedly shot themselves."[43] But how could Irmgard Moller have heard sounds at all? Her cell was soundproof. Had the door to her cell been opened? If so, why was the door to her cell open?

Question: Shortly after that, according to press reports, she lost consciousness. Can you say, how this happened?

Heldmann: Irmgard Moller has said she felt how she became faint and this feeling was connected with a whirling feeling in her head. It can't be said at this time, what caused the unconsciousness."[44]

According to a press report on October 25, 1977 from her lawyer, Irmgard Moller has assured her lawyer that she did not attempt suicide, that she did not stab herself four times in the chest.

Medicaments? What Medicaments?

Justice Minister Bender reported in a press conference on October 18 that "three of the prisoners were last seen at approx. 11p.m. by prison personnel during distribution of medicaments."[45] (Gudrun Ensslin apparently didn't need any medicaments and consequently was last seen at approx. 4.p.m. Perhaps the answer as to the cause of Irmgard Moller's faintness, whirling head and loss of consciousness has been found!)

Wrong: "no traces of violence and also no traces of pharmaceuticals have been found that would have been traceable in the organs had the prisoners been anaesthetised."[46] Medicaments received but no traces found?

Perhaps the medicaments had already decomposed in the bodies of the recipients since the autopsy was carried out so late in the afternoon. Unavoidable or convenient? Perhaps it is possible that some newly developed drugs don't leave any traces in the body. "In Bonn, special groups in the Ministry of Interior affairs, the Ministry of Justice and the ChanceEor's Office are working on study cases. Totally new ideas, exciting inspirations, are being seriously considered: Israeli and English interrogation specialists are able to extract all the knowledge that a prisoner has through the use of psycho-pharmaceuticals. These psycho-pharmaceuticals do not cause personality changes."[47] Who can say what other "wonder drugs" have been developed and used?

And What About The Time Of Death?

"The determination of the time of death has been made much more difficult due to the fact that although he (Professor Hans-Joachim Mallach, Director of the Institute for Legal Medicine at the University of Tubingen) was picked up at 9 a.m. in Tubingen with a helicopter, he and his colleagues couldn't begin with the autopsy until 4 p.m., since they had to wait for the arrival of lawyers. . . . For that reason Mallach . . . didn't desire to make any statements concerning the time of death."[48] But in an interview Prof. Mallach explains that he hasn't received the orders to establish the time of death. The data necessary to determine the time of death has been recorded and has been sent to Stuttgart. From this data he would be able to establish the time of death to within 1-2 hours as soon as the orders are given.[49]

However, at a later date (December 6) Mallach maintained that it wasn't possible to establish the exact time of death. In this same report: "the earliest possible time of death for Miss Ensslin has been determined to be between 1.15a.m. and 1.25a.m. and for Baader between 0.15a.m. and 2.15a.m. The difference in the time intervals is due to the different ways in which the bodies stiffened. The experts answered the question if it was possible that the deaths could have occured at 6a.m. with yes."[50]

More Curiosities: A Perfect Communication System

According to press reports, the four prisoners at Stammheim "committed suicide" or "attempted to do so" directly after they heard

that the hostages, which were to be used in exchange for their release, in the Lufthansa plane in Mogadischu had been freed in a manoeuvre by the German GSG-9 special police unit. This theory assumes that the prisoners must have had contact with the world outside their cells and with each other in order to have received the news of the manoeuvre in Mogadischu. The first efforts to explain this contact, despite the "Kontaktsperre" came in the form of: "radio information from neighbours"[51] signals by knocking on the wall[52] morse contact,[53] shots fired by Baader (see above). All of these suggestions are rather absurd since the cells were soundproof and on either side of each occupied cell was at least one empty cell. It was then reported that a small transistor radio was found on Tuesday October 19, in Raspe's cell. Suddenly, it was discovered that lots of "suspected terrorists had transistor radios"[54] in prisons all over West Germany. In fact, Raspe, who had studied electronics while in prison, had "obviously been able to build a perfect communication system for his group in a short time, right under the eyes of his guards. After the radio wires to the special tract which were under the plaster, were disconnected from the rest of the network in the prison, Raspe built a radio network for the comrades out of the remains."[55]

Six weeks later, the criminal police had figured out the details as to how this network functioned and the following story was pieced together:

"On the day of the Schleyer kidnapping, on September 6 1977, the prison electrician, Franz Halouska . . . , entered Irmgard Moller's cell. In carrying out his orders, he disconnected an electric outlet next to the door from the rest of the network – a special outlet, since the wires lead from this outlet to the outlets in Gudrun Ensslin's cell and in Andreas Baader's cell, from which every prisoner can hear programmes from the prison's radio network with earphones, mostly from 5.30 a.m. to 11.30 p.m. and Wednesdays, a special concert until midnight.

After Halouska's visit, Irmgard Moller's reconnected this outlet, and so she and also Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader, were able to hear the prison's own radio network (even after the 'Kontaktsperre') and thus could hear the current news about the Schleyer kidnapping. Irmgard Moller had her earphones for this purpose hidden in a hole under the wash basin. (Where are the earphones that Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader used? Perhaps they had such good hearing that they just had to put their ears to the outlet in order to hear the radio?)

After the suicides in Stammheim, an expert from the post office in Stuttgart discovered: the prisoners Ensslin, Baader and Moller had used the radio network wires after programme hours and could speak to one another over the amplifier in their record players through the microphone which Raspe probably had built. (But their record players were removed on September 5!) As a source of power, they had used electricity either from the electric outlet or from 6 volt batteries, which every prisoner was allowed to buy in unlimited numbers for transistor radios and tape recorders . . . .

Since Raspe's cell No. 716 was separated from the radio circuit by a staircase, he couldn't take part in the conversations between Baader, Ensslin and Moller. Raspe communicated with Baader over the wires for electric razors, through which electricity ran only twice a day for one hour and in between functioned as a good signal carrier.

Besides that, Raspe was well prepared: he had a "Sanyo" transistor radio, the size of the palm of the hand, that made him independent of the prison radio network."[56]

A stretch of the imagination, certainly. But how big a stretch? Too big?

Three Mysterious Letters

On Monday October 17, Gudrun Ensslin requested to speak with two clergymen. The purpose of her request was expressed in a letter, which the clergymen later wrote to Gudrun Ensslin's parents: "The request from your daughter for us was that in her cell were three letters that were meant for the head of the Chancellor's office. These letters are in a file entitled "Lawyer." She asked us to make certain that these letters reach their destination."[57] The Head of the Chancellor's Office, however, denies ever seeing the three letters from Gudrun Ensslin. "These letters don't exist" said Bolling, speaker for the government.[58]

Little Grains Of Sand

Lawyer Heldmann, who was present at the autopsy of Baader's corpse, reports: "Heldmann: There is one fact with Baader which has remained fully unclarified up until now. Baader had hard shoes on, practically new shoes, which he never wore, (Baader was well-known for his tennis shoes). On the soles was a thick layer of light, fine-grained sand. There weren't just single grains, more whole patches with sand clinging to them.
Question: Did you see this yourself?
Heldmann: I saw that myself. This seemed especially striking for the pathologists from Vienna and Zurich, who were observing the autopsy, and the one from Vienna asked an officer while I was there, 'Where does the sand come from on his shoes?' The officer refused to answer.
Question: How do you explain this?
Heldmann: This sand can't have come from the courtyard in Stammheim, where Baader wasn't allowed anyway, nor from the covered roof where the prisoners had their exercise period, since this is covered with cement. One should investigate the question that was brought up in the Greek newspaper "Elefterotipia" on October 21, which refers to arabic sources: was Baader possibly brought to Mogadischu, in order to make the airplane hijackers think that an exchange was to take place."[59]

Strangely enough, there has been no mention of these little grains of sand in reports of the autopsy which have appeared in the daily newspapers. Perhaps they forgot to include that part, whether it be accidentally or on purpose.

Murder Or Suicide?

In the press reports of the autopsy results, it is stated that "no evidence has been found that contradicts suicide."[60] But a lack of evidence contracting suicide – even if this evidence were in fact lacking – doesn't automatically mean that it was suicide. Murder or suicide? A difficult question. But in searching for the answer to this question, one must not overlook important repressive governmental measures that have appeared with the Schleyer kidnapping and the deaths at Stammheim.

A New Form Of Terror – Against The Prisoners

Not only have Gudrun Ensslin's, Andreas Baader's and Jan Carl Raspe's deaths been presented in the mass media as suicides without a shadow of a doubt, their "suicides" have been portrayed as being a new form of terror in guerrilla tactics. "One can push insidiousness so far, that one can make one's own death look like murder"[61] said Maihofer, the Federal Minister for Internal Affairs. The explanation for the "insidiousness", as expressed by Heinz Kuhn, Minister President for the State of Nordrhein-Westfalen is: "Baader, Ensslin and Raspe didn't resort to death as a means of escape from consequences and from hopelessness; they organised their own suicide with diabolical speculation in order to escalate the terror onto a new and even bigger level."[62] And this was no isolated opinion. "The members of terrorist organisations have made use of the method of self-destruction in intensifying their fanatical and murderous fight against our state and its order"[63] stated Bolling, the official government speaker.

This theory – "suicide" as a new guerrilla tactic – is being used to justify new "precautions" being introduced in the prisons. "Klaus Croissant, ex-Baader-Meinhof lawyer, now imprisoned in Stuttgart-Stammheim after being deported from France, is under surveillance around the clock, due to danger of suicide."[64] And this applies to many prisoners who are in danger of "committing suicide." Constant surveillance. A new form of terror – terror for the prisoner.

And now the isolation for the prisoner is to be made even more complete. The prisoner is to be separated from his lawyer during visits by "a pane of Plexi-glas and a system consisting of four layers of wire netting. The wire netting is to make the acoustical understanding between lawyer and client possible."[65] One of the very few human contacts which the prisoner has is to be dehumanised. And that in the name of security – to prevent the lawyers from smuggling objects in to the prisoners.

In addition, the lawyers' dossiers are to be handed over to an officer before the visit, who will look through them to see if "objects are between the pages."[66] A practice which began after Schleyer was kidnapped as an emrgency measure is to become the rule. Of course, the officer is not allowed to examine the written content of the dossiers. Naturally.

Freedom Of Thought – But Not Expression

"Every person has claim to freedom of thought . . . " – Article 9 of the European Convention of Human Rights. But in West Germany, it is no longer possible to express these thoughts. The following two incidents connected with the deaths at Stammheim verify this.

Funeral Services

On Thursday, October 27 Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader were buried at the Dornhalder Cemetery in Stuttgart. Over 1000 people came to take part in the funeral services. "Some of the guests appeared disguised and had pulled scarves, big kerchiefs and hats over their faces."[67] Disguised? This wasn't a masquerade party but a funeral! Why disguised? "All those who took part in the funeral services, had to undergo exact identity and automobile controls. Approx. 1000 policemen were on duty for this manoeuvre."[68] A ratio of 1 policeman for each guest! "A total of 1200, mostly young guests at the funeral passed the control stations near the cemetery. Most of them were controlled over radio with the help of the police data bank. The police identified the names of 1200 guests. 630 automobiles with German number plates and 20 with foreign number plates were also registered. According to the police, through these controls, against which 200 to 300 had unsuccessfully resisted, 'valuable information' had been won."[69] Cameras were everywhere, including a video camera, which the police used to photograph all the guests as they left the cemetery.[70] No, not a masquerade party but a funeral in West Germany where it is necessary to come disguised – if you dare to come at all.

As the long parade of people were leaving the cemetery, a police car drove into the back of the parade, injuring some of the guests. As others tried to defend themselves, policemen rode into the crowd with horses and began beating with their clubs. Twenty people were arrested and taken in police wagons to the police station. A spontaneous demonstration was formed to march to the police station. The police constantly attempted to provoke the marchers with comments like, "Do something, we're waiting for you." Suddenly, a bus full of armed policemen appeared and began beating the marchers with their metre long clubs. Another 40 - 45 people were arrested.[71]

It is no longer possible to attend a funeral for three dead prisoners in West Germany; it is no longer possible to express sentiment for three dead prisoners in West Germany. In the eyes of the authorities, those who do so are automatically sympathisers and consequently identify with the guerrilla. Sympathisers are considered criminals, and are treated as such.

Prohibition of expression continues. Just as this brochure was to be printed, the following news item appeared in *Welt am Sonntag*, December 11, 1977: "The police in Bremen confiscated 800 leaflets yesterday, in which doubts about the suicides of the terrorists Andreas Baader, Jan Carl Raspe, Gudrun Ensslin and Ingrid Schubert were expressed." (Ingrid Schubert was found dead in her cell on November 12, 1977, one day after explosives had apparently been discovered in a cell in Stammheim which she had previously occupied. Another so-called 'suicide.')

Pastor Ensslin

"The public prosecutors office in Stuttgart has begun prosecution against the retired pastor, Helmut Ensslin, father of Gudrun Ensslin, on the grounds of 'defaming the state' and 'injurous slander.' This was stated on Tuesday by a representative from the prosecutor's office in Stuttgart. Ensslin is supposed to have reported to an Italian newspaper, Lotta Continua, that he if of the opinion that his daughter didn't commit suicide but that she was murdered. The Church administration in Stuttgart has also begun prosecution against Pastor Ensslin and has demanded that he refrain from uttering such insinuations and suppositions."[72]

Here is what Pastor Ensslin told the Italian newspaper:

"Gudrun had always shocked us, for many years. Through every step which she took. But she had never broken off the contact with us, even when we were of totally different opinions about some problems. I myself was once very naive. But now I believe that I must fight: I am convinced that she was murdered. She was always afraid that she would be murdered, even in the case of being liberated and going out of the country.

After the death of Ulrike (Meinhof), she told me that it might end that way. And, for her, a suicide was absolutely out of the question. Gudrun had never lied, just as the others from the RAF have never lied; they always took responsibility for their deeds. The others who are making short work of her, they tell lies, big ones, in fact. That's why I think, that the three letters which Gudrun told the prison pastors about on Monday and whose existence is now questioned, really do exist.

I think the government really doesn't know anything and we will probably never learn the truth. At the present moment, it is impossible to remember what Irmgard Moller says, and she is also no liar. Perhaps the killer had done a bad job on her. But they all say nothing about that. And they advise us to give up and to keep silent. Everything is so perfect, that it really reminds me of National Socialism in some parts. Many don't know anything about it. Others don't want to hear about it; they don't want to be disturbed in their comfort, they have their 'Bild' newspaper; the sport of hunting the special offers in the department stores, their holidays and the lottery. Springer (publisher of the 'Bild' newspaper) has actually won, after ten years. And the fronts have hardened on both sides.

Many parents of RAF members are as isolated today as their children, but only a few – mostly high public figures – have totally disowned their children. I receive letters and telephone calls from people who want to show their solidarity with me and that, not only out of pity. But an acquaintance of ours, who worked at a tailors, lost her job, after she contradicted the suicide version on Tuesday as the others mentioned the deaths of Baader and the others. Within a few days, the atmosphere in the shop became unbearable and then she was fired.

In this difficult situation, which we are presently in, the parents and relatives of the RAF members are trying to support one another. Many of us will go to the funeral tomorrow.

She (Gudrun) didn't think I meant bad, but she thought I was unaware. We often wrote to each other. After ten years, I have begun to study, to learn again. If one really wants to find out the cause of terrorism, as the government claims, then one has to go back a long way in the history of Germany. I have tried to grasp this, to open my eyes to this fact and I think I have been at least partly successful."[73]

Need more be said?

Speculations

In the reports about the events at Stammheim so many contradictions have come to the surface that, aside from the suicide theory widely spread and supported by the mass media, the possibility of murder could be considered. We will likely never be able to solve the mysteries that occured inn the night of October 17th and the morning of October 18th, nor will we be able to say with certainty what happened during the six weeks before this night while the prisoners were, due to the "Kontaktsperre," alone at the mercy of the state, but we can speculate about the following questions, should it have been murder and not suicide:

1. What could have been the political motivation for such a murder?
2. Why should this time have been chosen?
3. Who could have been responsible for and who could have carried out the murders?

Why?

Since illegal, armed groups in West Germany have come into existence, one of their main activities has been the liberation of their imprisoned members. The first political action of the RAF was the liberation of Baader in 1970 Then came the kidnapping of Berlin's Christian Democratic Party leader, Peter Lorenz in 1975 with the resulting release of five political prisoners, the occupation of the German embassy in Stockholm in 1975; the hijacking of an Air France plane from a German-Palestinian commando in 1976, the escape of four women prisoners from "Bewegung 2. Juni" in 1976, the kidnapping of Schleyer in 1977. The shooting of Drenkman, a judge in West Berlin in 1974, one day after Holger Meins died and that of the baker Ponto in the summer of 1977 were likely unsuccessful kidnappings planned in order to free political prisoners. In spite of the increasing numbers of imprisoned members of these groups (at present, approx. 120), liberation attempts, aimed at the highest figures in parliamentary politics and business, are still being made.

During the last hunger strikes in the Stammheim and other prisons which the political prisoners carried out in their struggle for better conditions of imprisonment in the summer of 1977, such a climate was produced in the mass media that 71% of the population asked in a questionnaire supported the government's hardline policy of not giving in

to the demands of the prisoners and preferred to let the prisoners starve to death. The Federal Solicitor General Kurt Rebmann, said "I know that the population is not at all interested if these people go on hunger and thirst strikes. The population wants these people to be hit hard just as hard as they have earned with their brutal deeds." And in answer to the question 'And what if a prisoner dies?' Rebmann said "that is always a bad thing, but it would be the consequence which has been made clear to them and their lawyers and which is clear to them. The conditions of imprisonment don't justify such a strike; they are doing very well considering the circumstances."[74]

Shortly before Schleyer's kidnapping, the CDU/CSU wanted to bring in a proposal to legally regulate this matter, a law to prohibit force feeding of prisoners on a hunger strike. This would turn the only instrument that the prisoners have to fight against their isolation imprisonment into extermination as the "final solution" to the problem.

If there are no more political prisoners there can be no more attempts at liberating them. This was clearly expressed by the well-known and influential German historian, Golo Mann, in a news programme on television the evening before the deaths at Stammheim were discovered: "The moment can come in which one must turn those terrorists sentenced on grounds of murder, which one has in his control into hostages by depriving them of the laws of peace time and placing them under martial law." (October 17, 1977, in "Panorama.")

Why Now?

The deaths of the prisoners at Stammheim badly damaged the image of West Germany. Thus, it seems illogical that murder with these negative political consequences just when West Germany could be bathing in the glory of the greatest political, military and propaganda triumph over "terrorism" the triumph of Mogadischu. But it must not be forgotten, that if prisoners are to be murdered, it must be made to look like suicide or an accident. An accident with these prisoners would have been totally unbelievable, especially under the conditions in the Stammheim prison. If a "suicide" is to solve teh problem, then there has to be a plausible motive. A motive in this case exists, of course – the failure of the liberation attempt. However, one must not forget that these prisoners never before attempted to commit suicide inspite of several such liberation attempts in the past five years.

Not only must there be a motive for "suicide," the "suicide" must cause as little political reaction as possible – both at home and abroad. What better time could have been picked for such "suicides" than one where West Germany was glorified all over the world for the "Blitz" action in Mogadischu? What could have served better to overshadow these "suicides" at Stammheim?

The reaction at home was minimal not only due to the "triumph" of Mogadischu, but also to the months of constant propaganda in the mass media against "terrorism". In fact the deaths at Stammheim have led to more, rather than less, support of governmental policies. The reaction abroad was somewhat negative, at least in some countries, but this would have been the case no matter what time had been chosen.

And further, if the prisoners had actually been taken to Mogadischu in order to trick the hijackers, then it would have been necessary to kill them.

Who?

While the speculations as to the political background for such a possible murder remain rather abstract, the question as to "who" and "how" can be discussed more explicitly.

It is known through the recent exposures about the CIA (and this certainly applies to other secret service agencies in the western world as well) that murder is a regular part of the work of this agency. The head of the CIA department, Special Operations, Bissell, explained in his hearing to the Church Commission, that actions involving murder and the establishing of a "murder potential" is nothing unusual. "Bissell explained, that the potential of the 'executive action' 'without a doubt' or 'most likely' was a decision made by the agency itself. In the first hearing he had already stated, that it was nothing unusual. It was a usual practice in the agency and an important part of its mission was to establish different sorts of potential before it was known if they could be used at all and if so, to what end and how. 'The daily work . . . of a secret service agency, which enlists agents, is so'."[75]

However, even inside the CIA, one must "never mention" the word "murder".[76] Many reports about the work of the CIA such as those in Philip Agee's book, *Inside the Company, CIA Diary* show that the actions of the CIA and of other secret service agencies too, concerning murders are made to look like accidents, suicides, fights between rival organisations etc.

The targets for such murders by the CIA are not always important government figures such as Diem, Trujille, Castro or Lumumba. They are often leaders of revolutionary groups or guerrilla movements in countries all over the world.

This was the case with Che Guevara:

"More agency 'advisors' including Cuban veterans of the Bay of Pigs adventure, were soon despatched to Bolivia to assist in the tracking down of Guevara. A team of experts from the Army's Special Forces was sent to La Paz from the Canal Zone to train Bolivian 'rangers' in the art of counter-insurgency operations.

The Clandestine Services were obsessed with Guevara, and even somewhat fearful of him. He was in part a constant and irritating reminder of their failure in the Cuban operation. Unable to vent their frustrations and anger against those U.S. officials who had undercut that desperate effort, and incapable of gaining direct retribution by destroying Fidel himself or his Soviet and Chinese allies, the CIA's Clandestine Services were left to brood over their failure – until Guevara exposed himself. In so doing he presented himself to the CIA as an inviting target; his capture or death would provide some measure of revenge for past failures.

During the summer of 1967, while the agency's special opp experts were assisting the Bolivian army in hunting down Guevara . . . . It was only a matter of time until Che would be run to ground."[77]

. . . And this was also the case with Carlos Marighella:

In early October, 1969, the CIA learned through a secret agent that a group of radicals was about to hijack a plane in Brazil and escape to Cuba. The intelligence was forwarded to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia and from there sent on an 'eyes only' basis to Henry Kissinger at the White House and top officials of the State Department, the Defence Department and the National Security Agency. Within a few days, on October 8th, the same radical identified in the CIA report commandeered at gunpoint a Brazilian commercial airliner with 49 people aboard, and after a refueling stop in Guyana, forced the pilot to fly to Havana. Neither the CIA nor the other agencies of the U.S. Government which had advance warning of the radicals' plans moved to stop the crime from being committed, although at that time the official policy of the United States – as enunciated by the President – was to take all possible measures to stamp out aerial piracy.

Afterwards, when officials of the State Department questioned their colleagues in the CIA on why preventive measures had not been taken to abort the hijacking, the agency's clandestine operators delayed more than a month before responding. During the interim, security forces in Brazil succeeded in breaking up that country's principal revolutionary group and killing its leader, Carlos Marighella. Shortly after the revolutionary leader's death on November 4, the CIA informally passed word back to the State Department noting that if any action had been taken to stop the October skyjacking, the agency's penetration of the radical movement might have been exposed and Marighella's organisation could not have been destroyed. While it was never quite clear whether the agent who alerted the clandestine operators to the hijacking had also fingered Marighella, that was the impression the CIA tried to convey to the State Department."[78]

These are just two of many such cases. But from these two examples, it is clear that the CIA works together with the secret services and the governments of other countries in order to destroy revolutionary movements. The CIA has stations in almost all countries; "the German station was (and is) the CIA's largest in the world."[79]

Is not a co-operative effort between the CIA and the German government and/or the German secret services to destroy a part of the German revolutionary movement – namely the guerrilla – within the realm of the possible?

Co-operation between the German, British and Somalian governments and secret services in the manoeuvre in Mogadischu was officially stated. "Two members of the British Special Air Service, who were, among other things, engaged in fighting terror in Northern Ireland, were also active in freeing the hostages in Mogadischu."[80] Perhaps the co-operation went further than officially stated.

It would be just as difficult to prove that the CIA or any other secret service took part in the musrders at Stammheim as it would be to prove that a murder took place at all at Stammheim. But if the deaths at Stammheim weren't suicides, then the involvement of the CIA is very likely since there is no doubt that the RAF actions were directed against U.S. imperialism, that the prisoners who died at Stammheim were responsible for the attacks on U.S. military buildings in 1972 and that secret service agencies in Germany controlled by, built up by and dependent on the CIA, would never have been able to carry out such an action without the knowledge of the CIA at least. The decision for such a specific action would not be made at a government level but in the secret service agency itself. It is clear, however, that such a decision, should it have been made, could not have taken place without the general consent of the government, a consent which might have been given long before, even if only in the form of passive consent.

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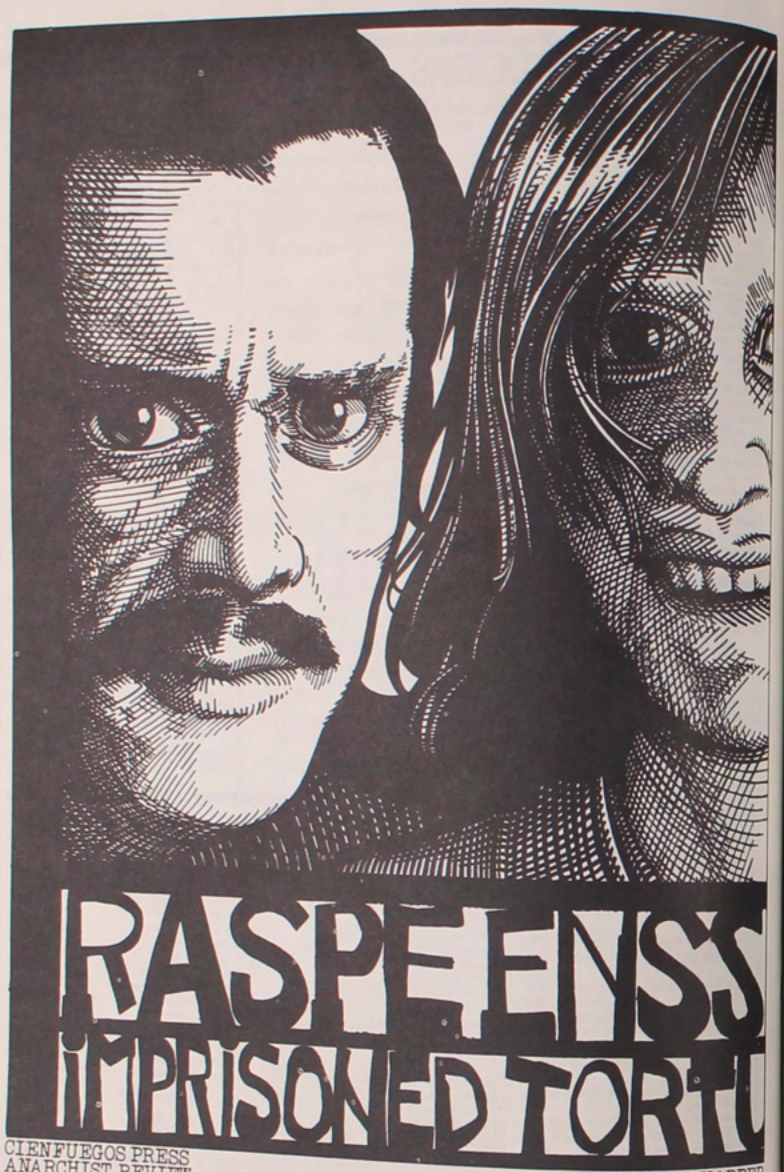
POETRY

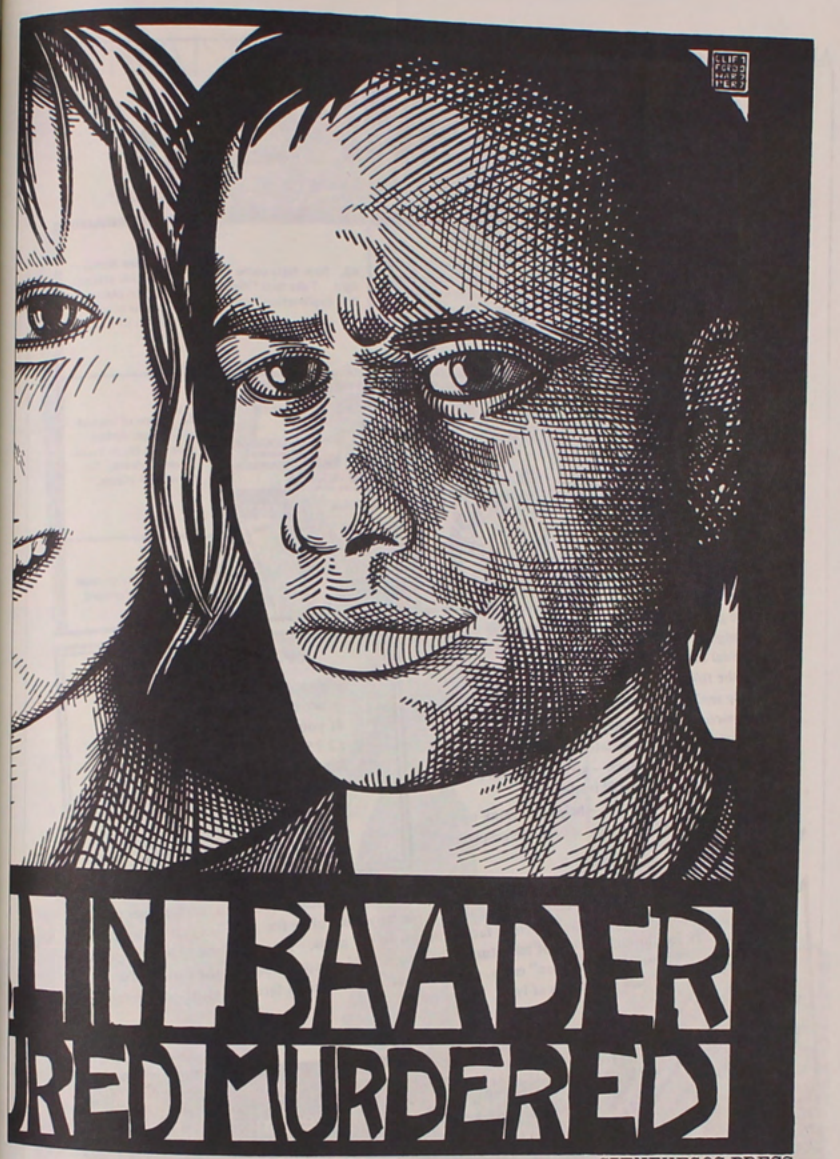
At Fascist Hands
(In Memory of Andreas Baader)

At fascist hands
not your own,
in those chill hours
before another dawn
broke your spirit more,
you faced death
grim with knowledge
grown futile
through harrowing years
of lost freedom
that none but mystics,
mad saints
and your martyred comrades
could ever know
what evil forebodings
your murder signifies.
If my heart
now swollen
with terrorist tears
could lay its sorrow
at yours and Ulrike's
hallowed graves,
truths undefiled
with papal hypocrisy
would hijack even heaven,
holding God hostage
to release your soul.
Let karma wait,
a world
of imprisoned minds
needs anarchy now.

Edward Woods.



CLIFFORD HARPER



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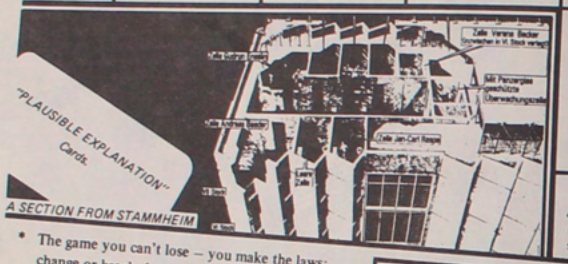
38. Meinhof autopsy report indicates rape & murder – go to jail do not pass Go. Do not collect £200.

39. Gunpowder traces on Baader's right hand. Baader left handed. Take three "Plausible Explanation" cards.

40. New facts come to light. Take two "Plausible Explanation" cards.

41. Irmgard Moller denies suicide attempt. Go back ten places or arrange new suicide within two throws.



42. Pope offers self as hostage. Urban guerrillas laugh themselves to death. Go forward 4 places.

43. Control of mass media. Go forward six places.

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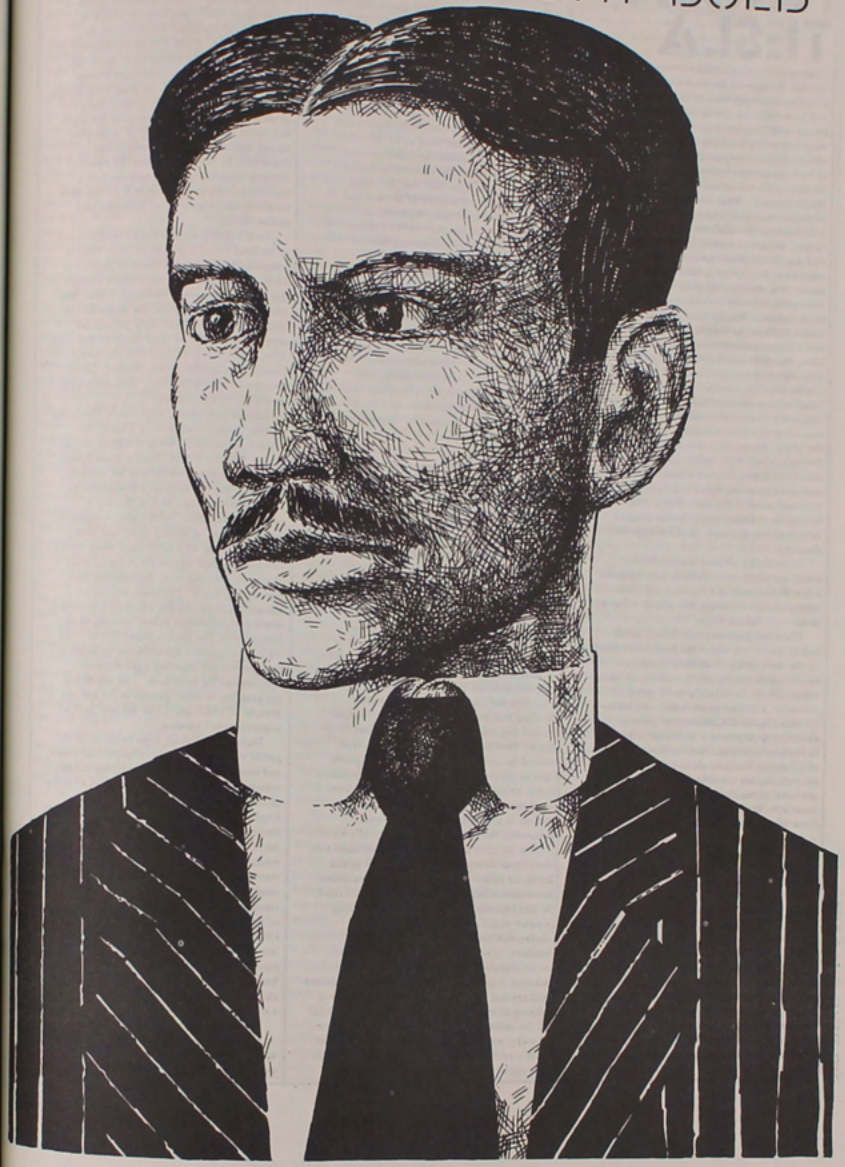


NIKOLA TESLA

CLIFFORD HARPER

Early in 1977, after a year or more of abnormal weather throughout the northern hemisphere, it was revealed that Canada since July 1976 had been receiving almost daily a series of strange and immensely powerful signals which were emanating from the USSR. These abnormal transmissions, it was suggested, were of such gargantuan intensity that they were disrupting the whole weather pattern of North America. What could be the purpose of such extravagant transmissions? They interfered considerably with marine communications to such an extent that both the British and the United States governments sent protests to the Soviet authorities. Using three monitoring stations, the government of Canada attempted to locate the source of the transmissions. Finally they tracked down the source to Riga, the former capital of Latvia, and a formal protest was made. Some time later, the USSR admitted that experiments with high-frequency radio bands had been conducted. Shortly afterwards, the massive 'blanket' transmissions ceased, and they were replaced by short bursts lasting only 20 to 30 seconds a day. But that was not the end of the affair. At ten o'clock in the morning of December 24th Montreal time, the receiving station on Prince Edward Island suddenly received a powerful signal originating several thousand miles to the east. Then, about an hour later, the same signal, but at a higher intensity, was detected, from the opposite direction.

These highly unusual transmissions, which are yet to be explained, have triggered a renewed interest in a scientist and innovator who promised the world free power – but was thwarted – Nikola Tesla.

There is a popularly-held belief, albeit totally erroneous, which has been engendered by the mass media, that fame is totally equated with worth. On this false scale of values, Nikola Tesla has been relegated to obscurity, a strange name found on Czechoslovakian lightbulbs, an obscure piece of electrical apparatus or a technical unit used in electronics jargon. Not for him the fame of Edison or Marconi, those names of great renown, but his contribution and the potential of his discoveries, even today, 35 years after his death, is recognised only by those who take more than a passing interest in such matters.

Nikola Tesla was born on 9th July 1856 in the village of Smiljan in what is now Jugoslavia. Although pressured by his clergyman father to follow him into the church, the young Tesla insisted on a career in engineering, encouraged by his mother, who, despite her illiteracy was well known in her local community as an inventor of domestic labour-saving devices.

After attending the Polytechnic school at Graz, Tesla went to university at Prague, where he studied and mastered several foreign languages in order that he could read the foreign technical literature. In that way he became proficient in English, French and Italian in addition to his native Serbian and German, which was the official language of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Finishing at Prague in 1880, he did a post graduate course in Budapest, where he studied alternating current. On leaving Budapest, he went to work for a telephone company in Paris, where he worked with direct current dynamos and motors, which he improved with new regulating and control devices.

The early 1880s were the infant years of electric power and supply. Siemens had demonstrated the first electrically powered tram at the Berlin Exhibition of 1879, and Magnus Volk had opened his experimental electric railway along the seafront in Brighton in 1883. Electric light, too, was just being demonstrated as the wonder of the age, and experimentors like Edison, Reckenzaun, Holroyd Smith, Binko and scores of others were pursuing finance and recognition for their projects in the field of electricity. However, at that period direct current was almost universally believed to be the only practical medium for generating, transmitting and applying electricity for heating, lighting and power. Unfortunately, with direct current, losses in transmission by resistance in the cables were so great that a power plant was needed for every square mile served, and losses at the end of the line meant that light bulbs near the power station were several times brighter than comparable ones at the other end of the section.

Technically, the use of direct current, derived from the early experiments of Faraday and others using battery rather than generated power, was a costly and illogical system in that all electricity produced by generation must by its nature be alternating current. To transform this to direct current requires a considerable loss of power. Furthermore, when it is applied to produce mechanical energy, it must be transformed by the commutator of the electric motor, thus effectively returning it to alternating current. To Resla's mind, this was nonsense, the logical application being the elimination of the commutators of both motor and generator, and the transmission of alternating current. However, nobody had ever built an ac motor, so Tesla thought it out. One day, in February 1882, whilst strolling in a Budapest park with a classmate named Szigetti, he suddenly blurted out "I've got it! Now watch me reverse it!" At that second he had visualised a rotating magnetic field as the answer to the commutator problem. Later, he refined and detailed a whole system of ac generation and transmission, with ac motors to produce power, and dreamed of harnessing the free energy of the world's water.

The incident in a park in Budapest highlights the extraordinary talent of Tesla. His genius lay in his ability to visualise in complete detail inventions which had no precedent. As a child, he had experienced strange visions, reaching a point where it was difficult for him to distinguish between the inner and outer realities. If someone said to him the name of an object, he would actually see it before his eyes, a capability which had to be suppressed and applied until he could produce scenes and objects at will. Those readers with a knowledge of the practices of ritual magicians like Aleister Crowley and Austin Spare will see the parallel with a system of mind-training not yet dead in the occult traditions of the West. This is not to suggest in any way that Tesla was originally a practitioner of the occult arts, merely that he spontaneously evolved a parallel system of visualisation which gave him the ability to transcend the mundane knowledge of his contemporaries. These mental powers have, of course, attracted the attention of those who believe everything is directed from another planet, preferably Venus. In their world picture, Tesla, if not actually an alien being, was a tool of their incomprehensible plans for the world. But this is merely the fantasy of those who, having rejected religion because of the discoveries of Science, transfer the source of creation from God, who is now dead, to a super-controller at his console, a mortal, alien, authoritarian in place of an immortal alien authoritarian.

Tesla's ability to produce an invention out of his head stood him in good stead when he emigrated to the United States of America in 1884. Although it was not without setbacks that Tesla progressed. He visited Edison, who was at the time engaged in the promotion of his electric incandescent lamp through his pioneer installation at Pearl Street in New York. After expounding his theory of alternating current transmission and utilisation, Edison dismissed Tesla, telling him "You are wasting your time on that theory."

Like all immigrants' experience, Tesla's was initially harsh. Dismissed by Edison, the 'expert', he made his living at digging ditches for the Western Union. During lunch breaks, Tesla related to his workmates his visionary schemes, and, fortunately, a foreman of his team introduced him to A.K. Brown, a company executive. Brown and an associate decided to put up money to try out Tesla's theories, setting up a laboratory where Tesla's complete system was set up as a pilot study – generator, transformers, transmission lines, motors and lights. However, when Tesla attempted to patent the whole system under a single comprehensive patent covering all its components, the United States Patent Office refused to approve the all-in-one application, bureaucratically insisting upon separate applications for each item. This resulted in the granting of seven patents in the last two months of 1887, and 22 in the next year, an unprecedented number.

During this period, Tesla began to hit the public consciousness with a spectacular lecture and demonstration of his alternating current system, both single and polyphase, at a meeting of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. The limitations on transmission of electric power by means of the conventional wires had been removed at a stroke. One would imagine that Tesla's inventions, revolutionary as they were, would have been received with open arms by the industrial magnates. Not a bit of it. The massive cartel of the electrical industry, the Edison-General Electric organisation were committed to the less efficient systems using wires. Instantaneously, their total investment would have become obsolete. Tesla, genius, the talk of electrical engineering circles, was stuck without a customer for his breakthrough.

But in the capitalist 'marketplace' beloved of businessmen, there are always opportunists willing to back ideas which might bring down their rivals. George Westinghouse, inventor of the train airbrake, offered to take up Tesla's system of alternating current generation, giving him a million dollars plus a royalty of a dollar a horsepower. Tesla immediately signed over half of the fee to his backer who had originally financed his research. Westinghouse's financiers later wormed their way out of the dollar-per-horsepower agreement, and Tesla relinquished the royalties which would have given him a comfortable life. The Westinghouse system applied across the US soon showed its superiority, forcing the Edison concern to come cap in hand for a license to use Tesla's system, which Edison had dismissed as without a future.

All that has gone before is part of the mainstream history of electrical engineering. More relevant to the modern age and the powers which control or hope to control it are the inventions and applications which Tesla pioneered but which, for various reasons, are suppressed or ignored.

As early as 1890, the year the first electrically-powered underground railway was opened in London, Tesla was experimenting with radio, and by the time of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago he had demonstrated a vacuum-tube radio for voice and music. But, in the usual manner of history Marconi is credited with the invention, still . . . In 1898, Tesla demonstrated at the original Madison Sqare Gardens, New York, the first radio controlled boat ever made. It was a show-stopper, but, perhaps owing to its theatrical presentation, it remained an oddity until weapons systems became a multi-million dollar industry during the 1940s. Indeed, the military, then far less aware technologically than in the post-Peenemunde age, seem to have ignored its potential, which is surprising considering that the USA was about to involve itself in a war against Spain. True, the Sperry Gyroscope Company did use Tesla's radio control mechanism in an experiment with an Army Air Corps aircraft twenty years after Tesla demonstrated it, but the idea was soon scrapped among the debris of defence contracts.

Radio control is with us. It is used every second of the day on the ground, in the air, in space. In this, Tesla was a precursor of the modern era. Why have his other inventions, then, gone ignored?

Conventional schooling being what it is, the later experiments of Tesla will not have been taught to the majority of readers, who may even find them incredible.

Tesla, in addition to being the pioneer of ac current generation and transmission, and the first person to demonstrate radio control of a vehicle, was uniquely placed to investigate the untapped realms of high voltage and high frequency. Once, when studying slow mechanical or physical vibrations, he caused a virtual earthquake in the vicinity of his laboratory. His mechanical oscillator, approaching the natural vibrational resonance of the building itself, threatened to shake the building to pieces. Furniture in a Police Station over a block away began to shake and dance about, to the consternation of the occupants. Their spiritual successors now use the principle in the 'skwawk box' anti-riot weapon.

His investigations of high voltage, high frequency transmission led Tesla to construct the world's most powerful radio transmitter on a mountain near Colorado Springs. Around the base of a 200 foot high mast be built a 75 foot diameter air-core transformer. Using power from a generating station a few miles away, Tesla created the first artificial lighting. Bolts a hundred feet in length leapt from the yard wide copper bulb at the top of the mast, producing voltages of 100 000 000, unequalled until the 1940s. The power plant was burnt out by the first experiment, but, undaunted by this minor setback, Tesla had it rebuilt. Finally, he was able to transmit power without wires for a distance of 26 miles, at which distance he sucessfully lit a bank of 200 incandescent lamps – totalling 10 kilowatts.

By 1899, Tesla's patent monies had been consumed by this visionary project. As nothing further was forthcoming, Tesla packed up and returned to New York. In June 1900, after months of rewriting at the behest of the editor, Robert Underwood Johnson wrote an article entitled 'The Problem of Increasing Human Energy' which appeared in the *Century Magazine*. It created a sensation when it was published. It would create a sensation now, but the themes of depletion of fossil fuel, solar and wind power's potential, remote sensing of objects etc., would now be considered nothing special. His transmission of power, and its generation, if applied today, would transform the world. However, the article's main impact was to elevate Tesla to the status of a tame speaker who could grace the salons of the wealthy in New York and Newport. Prominent matrons tried to palm off their daughters on him, but he rejected all offers – his work came first.

One of the readers of Tesla's article was John Pierpont Morgan, who had financed the General Electric Company in its dc days. Considering it a good business venture, he decided to underwrite Tesla's experiments on wireless electrical transmission. From this finance arose the 'world-wide wireless tower' on Long Island. A massive latticework structure 200 feet in height was topped by a 100 foot diameter hemisphere. The architect Stanford White helped design the structure free of charge. Tesla himself commuted daily to the construction site from his rooms in the old Waldorf-Astoria hotel in 34th Street, first by tram to the East 34th Street ferry, thence by paddlesteamer to Long Island City and by train on the Long Island Railroad to Shoreham. The railway's dining car service prepared special meals for him so that his work would proceed smoothly.

When the base structure of brick was completed, Tesla moved his laboratories there. Whilst construction proceeded, he issued a prophetic brochure of the future. In 1904, he predicted that radio would provide the following services (at a period when telegraphy was restricted to Marconian dot-dash morse signals): Telegraph communication; News broadcasting; Stock market quotations; Aids to navigation; Entertainment; Music broadcasting; Accurate time service; Facsimile transmission; Telephoto and Teleprinter services.

Although all these services were to materialise in the next forty years, Tesla suffered a severe setback when Morgan suddenly decided to withdraw his financial support. This was made all the more inexplicable by the nearness of completion of Tesla's tower. During the lunacy which has become known as the First World War, the tower was destroyed on orders from the government, as it was claimed that it jeopardised the safety of the USA. Considering that aviation was then scarcely capable of a one-way flight across the Atlantic, it is hardly credible that it could have been demolished on so flimsy a pretext, but demolished it was. After vain attempts to pull it down by means of cables, the base was dynamited, and it fell, intact, onto its side. Like the Colossus of Rhodes, it was gradually dismantled over a protracted period.

His later years are shrouded in a measure of obscurity, his greatest inventions having been devised before the turn of the century. In 1912, he was awarded, jointly with Edison, a Nobel Prize. He refused it, owing some believe, to his dislike of Edison, others to his dislike of honours. In 1917, he accepted the Edison medal, after initially refusing it. Having no family, he continued to inhabit hotels, and to work on various projects, including radar (1917) and a revolutionary design of turbine. Like that other famous denizen of hotels, Howard Hughes, Tesla became a virtual recluse, giving occasional prophetic (and occult) statements to those pressmen actually having the good fortune to penetrate his sanctum. He was granted, in recognition of his services to science, a pension of 7200 dollars per annum by the government of Yugoslavia in 1936. He received this until his death in 1943, at the age of 87.

Tesla had a great affection for pigeons, and his passing is marked by an anecdote concerning them. Every day, Tesla went to feed the pigeons outside the Library. Those which were sick or injured he would take back to his hotel with him and look after them until they were well again. The gold-plated telephone beside his bed, over which he was granted a universal right to talk to anyone in the world without charge, was the roost of his favourite pigeon. "When she dies, I die," he prophesied. In January 1943, his favourite pigeon paid him her last visit. He claimed he knew that she was dying from a message transmitted to him by a brilliant beam of light from her eyes. On January 15th 1943, over a thousand of New York's elite gathered at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine to attend his funeral. Even there, the unworldly nature of Tesla again manifested itself. Numerous pressmen photographed the flag-draped coffin in its ecclesiastical setting. The coffin and its attendant Yugoslav guards were blurred on every negative exposed, even though the rest of the building was in perfect focus. The phenomenon had never been explained. No photographs of Tesla's funeral were ever released.

The life of Tesla can be seen as the progress of a genius who took the wrong turning at some point and degenerated into a harmless pigeon-loving crank, obsessed by cleanliness and the occult. His funeral can be dismissed as a formal tribute to a near-forgotten has-been, where the photographers forgot to focus their cameras properly. Doubtless this interpretation has some validity. However, it cannot be without reason that the government of the United States impounded the entire contents

of his safe. Today, thirty-five years later, nothing is known of the documents which may have been found there.

Since his death, little publicly-announced work has been carried out on his principles. About fifteen years ago, the transport authorities in Moscow attempted to transmit power to a 'wireless' trolleybus, but the experiments were stopped after a while. Fusion power atomic physicists are now experimenting with the possibilities of ball lightning, which Tesla produced at Colorado Springs as early as 1899. Whilst the claim of fusion power is for safe energy (unlike the hideous and irreversible consequences of the Plutonium economy), there is doubtless a military application to ball lightning which is the real attraction for the funds. Let us recall that in 1934, Tesla announced to the world that he had perfected a death-ray. Whilst this may seem a fantasy in the tradition of Flash Gordon's trip to Mars, Tesla was serious about it, and offered it to Britain's military machine. It was rejected. Nowadays, such offers are rarely refused, as evidenced by the absurdly large budgets allocated to maniacal projects to kill others.

Until they are tired out in a fair manner, many of Tesla's inventions cannot be evaluated. What is disturbing about Tesla is the way many of his inventions, which promise unlimited free power to all (whether they can pay for it or not!), have been deliberately ignored by the powers that be. In the United States, for instance, there was an organised movement across the nation to delete all Tesla data from libraries which commenced shortly after his death in 1943. The impact of free power upon the hierarchical organisation of society whether capitalist or 'communist' would be revolutionary. Tesla postualted that the electro static condition of the whole planet could be disturbed, setting up standing waves on its whole surface by exciting it with high frequency power and then taking off power anywhere that the wave amplitude was present. This system would enable anyone to obtain energy directly from the ground, to power anything electric.

This is too much like freedom for those who would be our masters. Imagine power anywhere without recourse to meters, inspectors, bills and licenses. Why, it would enable people to get the free energy of the planet without having to pay someone for the 'privilege'. Once this principle was established, then, by logical extention, people would want to apply it to other manifestations of the wealth of the world – property. Such a facility would certainly have massive repercussions far beyond that of putting the oil companies and electricity supply utilities in financial straits. It would demonstrate the fundamental tyranny which is exercised every time the wealth of this planet of which we are all inhabitants is appropriated for the exclusive use or administration of an elite. Just as Edison's backers would not countenance the use of Tesla's superior ac system because they were committed to another, inferior, system, so the fundamental changes which would be brought about by free power are avoided by the suppression of the ideas of Nikola Tesla today.

Nigel Pennick

INSIDE THE BELLY OF THE AMERIKAN DREAM

EMILY HARRIS

There's a question that pops up a lot in relation to Bill and me and other white revolutionaries who come from middle class backgrounds: Why do the kids who had "everything" denounce the social order that gave them the opportunity of a fine life and become revolutionaries? Obviously the non-white middle class isn't considered a part of the Amerikan mainstream, so resistance from the midst of its ranks does not pose the shock or surprise and therefore does not require the explanation, that discontent from the midst of the white mainstream seems to fear, yes, but shock, no.

Most of us have questions about the specifics of a person's past – their experiences, changes, turning points, growth. People's lives are fascinating because of all the patterns and common threads of development that are there to share and learn from. But the persistent asking of this question worded the way it often is, represents a lot more than the desire to exchange experiences; the question implies several things:

1. That people like Bill and me must be giving up a lot to become revolutionaries and, given the opportunities offered by our race and class privilege, we have more to lose than we have to gain.

2. That revolution cannot possibly be in the self-interests of white people from the middle class.

3. Therefore, we are a strange phenomenon and must only be acting in the interests of someone else besides ourselves, or else we must have made some horrible mistake and will recognise the error of our ways eventually.

Since I would strongly disagree with all three of these implications, I must have a real difference in perspective of what constitutes a life with "everything" – I contend that the vast majority of us don't have any such thing now whether we're middle class or poor, white or non-white, male or female, and attaining that kind of life for all of us is in fact a revolutionary aspiration and is definitely in our self-interests.

What could be further from the truth than the assumption that the white middle class should have no real complaints with society the way it stands – that we get "everything" we need out of life and more. Assumptions like this are the mainstay of the Amerikan dream, but certainly not the reality. The white middle class isn't made up of the folks who populate advertisements on TV – the slick, well-scrubbed forever smiling, and comfortable all-Amerikan. The middle class is that amorphous grouping mostly made up of people who struggle and work hard to maintain a lifestyle which secures basic material needs (like food, housing, clothing) and includes the hope if not always the reality of those things which have been defined by our culture as opportunities, pleasurable extras, symbols of status, comfort and security. If the Amerikan dream held water, the middle class should be satisfied.

But scrape away the surface and you see that their situation is not characterised by real contentment but rather passivity, escapism, cynicism and real discontent at the emptiness of our lives which attempt to substitute form for substance and lack any real quality or meaning. The material benefits that certain individuals and groups enjoy because of their race, class or sex exist for sure, but they are plastic crumbs, camouflage, to divert us from the actual needs of human beings – needs which are considered to be revolutionary in a society such as ours. Even more significant, these paltry and superficial benefits can be realised only at the expense of other people – through domination and manipulation of one form or another. The life of folks who consider themselves to be middle class hangs in tenuous balance between two conflicting elements:

1. The real deprivation of their lives, and

2. Their assigned role as the mainstay of the Amerikan dream, the buffer zone between rich and poor and the main pillar of support for ruling class interests.

It is this lack of quality in our lives – the meaninglessness, the alienation, the enslavement to the consumer flea market, the education that leads nowhere but the treadmill – that breeds the revolutionary potential among members of the white middle class; that allows them to see through the bits and pieces of privilege that have been carefully parcelled out to them and gain a sense of their own oppression buried as it is under the cultural and social junkpile. Whether we're poor and/or middle class, we're not living no matter how hard we try to hide behind the facade of the mainstream – we're just existing, and our failure to be satisfied is not some individual failing within ourselves but rather an indication that something is intrinsically wrong with society. And the poverty of each of our lives is intimately related to the poverty in every other person's life – the roots are the same.

Are we, as revolutionaries, struggling only to create a social order that will allow us to feed, house, and clothe ourselves? Are we fighting just so everyone can be assured work as a cog in a machine in order to put food in their mouths instead of being unemployed and starving? We've got to insure our basic survival needs for sure but I hope we don't intend to hold that up as the entire scope of our aspirations. We're revolutionaries because we see the need to struggle for a quality of life that takes into account psychological needs as well as material ones – a full, complete existence that involves change and development of the whole cultural, social and economic framework. Our oppression will have only taken on a new colour if we limit our goals to the material needs of survival – we will still be slaves. To regonise the real levels of oppression experienced by so many of us is to also drive home once again the reality that we constitute a vast majority and those who reap real benefits from the present situation are only the smallest minority of people in this country. Yet the logic of all this gets lost in the predominant feeling that revolutionaries whose growth had its original roots in the white middle class are really abnormalities, and all kinds of theories are offered as explanations: parents too permissive, just out for thrills, youthful idealism, rebellion against their parents, drug indiced craziness, a misplaced do-gooder/missionary mentality. All this is used to reinforce the idea that folk like Bill and me are very strange fruit for the middle class tree to produce and some individual reason, unique to each of us, must be found to explain it as a phenomenon and to rob it of its very volatile social significance. The only cause-effect relationships that make any sense – the analysis of the realities of everyday life – are too dangerous because these explanations undermine and agitate against attempts to keep the middle class pacified. When society sees discontent, resistance, opposition from those it has put significant efforts into buying off cheap, then it can negate this revolutionary spark only by turning the revolutionaries themselves into fiendish monsters in the public eye. Revolution cannot be destroyed – it can only be discouraged by wiping out people's sense of any future alternatives and by trying to undermine the solidarity people experience by identifying and sharing with each other.

This transformation of revolutionaries into fearful monsters for middle Amerikan indoctrination isn't too difficult when the "rebels" are the poor, the cultural and social minorities, the non-white because the white middle class has been indoctrinated not to identify with these segments of the population anyway – has in fact been conditioned to hate them and fear them already. But resistance and discontent among those whose lives grew out of the mainstream – that is dangerous indeed. Afterall, the shell of pacification is very thin and easily cracked and who can break through it better than those who have been enclosed within its phoney myths and have now emerged from behind their blinders to begin to deal with the world as it really is.

So every explanation is offered except the one that really makes any sense – white middle class folks become revolutionaries because, far from having lived the Amerikan dream, they know just how hollow it really is. Their lives are shallow, alienated, ripped off, meaningless, robotised, plastic and dehumanised. The real differences between their oppression and that of others who may suffer on more levels is only in terms of degree and form. None of us are free; none of us are in control of our lives, and we never will be under the present social order. Revolution is in the interests of those who are oppressed on many levels and in many ways. Some folks have a little longer leash but a leash just the same. Those of us who recognise this and stand up against the forces who hold the other end of the leash are fulfilling our own natural instincts. We are a composite of several different levels of awareness. First is the awareness of ourselves as human beings who live in a wasteland that fails to give us what we need so desperately to survive materially and psychologically; second is the realisation that there's a lot of folks who are in the same boat to great or lesser degree – placing our own experiences in a social context; third is the understanding of the alternatives – growing from the present reality to that we have a potential to create; and fourth is the discovery of the means to mvoe toward and build these alternatives.

But even some segments of the left through their practice demonstrate that they also believe that certain white revolutionaries are an abnormality and they ignore our existence as if we have no right to fight back in the way we have chosen. Yet according to this racist thinking, it's okay if Third World people take a similar route because of the rationale that they're so much more oppressed and thus are jsutified in resisting their chains by any means necessary. This assumes that whites who demonstrate a similar resistance are not justified and are over-reacting, ignorant, adventurist or doing it for someone else besides themselves – that they should stand back and let those who are the most oppressed take the risks on the front lines. Of course much of this is not stated outright; otherwise common sense would expose its absurdity. But the attitudes are prevalent nonetheless in the inconsistent and opportunist way that some struggles and individuals are tokenistically supported while others are totally ignored or denounced when in fact the parallels between those which are supported and those which are denounced are far greater than their differences. The contradiction is most clear among those who offer verbal support to Third World political prisoners on trial or imprisoned for political acts against the state while withholding support completely from white political prisoners like Russ and Joe, Marilyn Buck, Karl Armstrong, Susan Saxe, Cam Bishop, Ed Mead and the two of us.

The battle of who's more oppressed than who – which race, class, sex, group or combination thereof – is counter-productive as far as I'm concerned. Our objective is to understand all the roots and current manifestations of all forms of oppression; then we use this to catalyse a response to this oppression based on a balance between self-interest and collective interest. The threat we pose to the status quo will bring some of us under attack. And if we do not offer consistent support/defence to out most progressive elements when they come under attack, then our numbers will be forever depleted and we will be giving the forces of fascism a free rein to pick our people off one at a time with little or no risk of opposition.

Emily Harris.

POETRY

What to do with your cock in Prison

well
if you're smart
you'll check it in at the front gate
when you come here
pick it up
if you leave

but if you're gonna be here for a long time man
you'd just better keep it
may wanna stick it down some punk's throat
up up somebody's ass
or you can fuck your mattress filled with raw liver
or you can fuck your hand
or the pillow
but don't stick it between the bars
'cause it'll get stuck
and you may never get back out

sound sick
maybe but i hear folks without food
eat their own kids

besides
you'll need something to piss blood with
and you'll piss plenty of blood

(excerpt) **Daniel L. Klauck.**

PIMPERNEL HOWARD AND THE ANARCHIST

"Pimpernel Smith," which is even today occasionally seen on television, was hardly one of the best films made by the late Leslie Howard, partly because the scriptwriters could offer only such masterpieces of dialogue, English in their understatement rather than German, as "Were the eggs fresh for breakfast?" uttered by a (I am not inventing this) *S.S. Commandant to the inmates of a concentration camp, in order to impress an overseas visitor.* A supernumerary actor, not a professional as it happened, was instructed to answer 'Yes, Herr Kommandant!' with so went the instructions, *all courtesy but a sardonic gleam in his eye.*

At the same time, Mr. Howard, who was director and principal actor, almost engaged with that supernumerary in an even more melodramatic plot to end the war suddenly by the assassination of the German Chancellor.

In 1940 the Germans were apparently winning the war and the real life plot into which Mr. Howard accidentally strayed was somewhat more melodramatic than the scenario of the film he was making. There was no audience, no applause, and the wrong player took the curtain call.

Leslie Howard was identified in the public eye with what is perhaps best described as the Romantic Theory of Opposites: a kinepolitical theory that whatever is utterly opposed to a country's social and economic tradition must be romantic. This enables a nostalgic quality

of sweet defeat in all historical struggles, despite the difficulty of supplying an unanachronistic Happy Ending, except possibly to those characters most immediately concerned, with whom alone the audience is supposed to be interested.

Thus a film dealing with the English Civil War would naturally glamourise the Cavaliers, whom one might imagine to be the underdogs of the day; for the romantic novelist, indeed King Rupert II, actually of Bavaria, might well be ruling England, and this would equally go for American writers though drawing the line at High Toryism where their own revolution was concerned. Nevertheless, that is why there could not be a romantic film about Washington, and one about Lincoln must be cut short by the civil war. "Gone With The Wind" follows a well-trod pattern, which confirmed Leslie Howard as the leader of the acting school I have designated as the Romantic Theory of Opposites; the same line of country as he explored in the film version of Baroness Orczy's "Scarlet Pimpernel."

Few people outside the French insane asylums or the French Royalist Party could wish to see the Bourbons back in France (an even narrower circle wanted them back in Spain). But as it is plain they are utterly defeated in France, audiences will accept the fact of the noble martyrs going to the tumbrils and one wonders how the good Baroness managed to spend almost her whole life in Paris a bare life-span after the events she purported to describe.

The theory collapsed under the weight of the Nazi regime – nothing could make the Nazis look romantic – at least so far, though some have come near trying and in the future, no doubt, this will be achieved. But Howard wanted to make a film opposing Nazism when it wasn't defeated. It was difficult enough, as the British film industry of the time was notoriously right-wing, and even those who had come from Germany had no intention of opposing Nazism where it was not actively opposing them, indeed, they had mostly left for that reason. Howard didn't get his way until the war broke out, and in a way "Pimpernel Smith" was his excuse for the "Scarlet Pimpernel" much as Mr. Riah was Dicken's apology for Fagin. The Scarlet Pimpernel snatched noblemen from the tumbrils of the avenging revolutionaries; Mr. Pimpernel Smith snatched political prisoners from the Nazis (but it might as well have been from the avenging noblemen after Waterloo, or the Versaillese years of terror after the Commune).

The only problem was who *were* the revolutionaries imprisoned by the Naxis supposed to be? It did not ring true to say they were Democracts, because while the Democrats might be, and sometimes were, political prisoners, none of them had done very much in the way of opposing Nazism; and as the film had been held up until the war, so far as the Communists were concerned they were by then allied to Germany through the Nazi-Comintern Pact. The original script had made them Liberals, as a desperate attempt even Zionists, Catholics, and Socialists – finally in the revised script they became Anarchists. It was this purely accidental introduction of Anarchists into the script that led to Mr. Howard's first glimpse of revolutionary politics.

For some reason – it is impossible at this distance of time to say why, except for the perversity of film directors who insist on a real elephant being taken to India or real Pyramids being taken to Egypt because the existing ones weren't photogenic (this happened under Gabriel Pascal) – Mr. Howard insisted on having a real Anarchist to play the super-numerary part of the Anarchist political prisoner. He was not satisfied, unlike news-paper editors, with the ham actor's idea of an anarchist. And who else, he may have felt, could be sarcastic enough when asked in a concentration camp if the eggs were fresh for breakfast?

A ––, as I suppose I had better call him because he is still living and won't thank me for mentioning him, was not an actor; at the moment of which I am writing he was a shop steward for NATKE which is as near to the dramatic heights as one was likely to get for extra roles during wartime. On the first day he and Howard had a long conversation in the canteen about Spanish Anarchism, and the latter's interest in the life of Francisco Ferrer as a silm subject. The imagination boggles as to what might have been the result; even a wholly sympathetic television play, years later, on Spanish Anarchism confused him with bandleader Jose Ferrer and suggested he had been shot by "the Fascists."

This was not to be; but from the conversa-tion came the first revelation to Howard that there had been two or three anarchist attempts to assassinate Hitler already, and one was almost on the point of success when war broke out.

It is a bit too soon to tell the full details of the plot; for one thing, I cannot be at all sure that the Statute of Limitations would protect A ––, from the consequences of being involved in what was clearly a murder attempt on the head of a friendly state; even if it later became unfriendly. However, it was well modelled on Booth's assassination of Lincoln, deliberately so, as nobody would expect an identical plan to be contemplated, particularly since the Nazi police were less likely to suspect a point of identity between Abraham Lincoln and Adolph Hitler. Hitler was to be shot from the opera stage, I think it was in the third act of Lohengrin at which point he could be assumed to be well in the grip of musical emotions.

The opera company, almost all of whom were in the plot, spent two years attracting the patronage of leading Nazis waiting the moment. Their political affinities were various, though it may well be taken there were no supporters of the Third Reich among them; but at least three were Anarchists from way back and one the daughter of one of the workers' council delegates executed after the defeat of the Munich Commune.

She was to fire the fatal shot, and to disappear through a concealed trap door, used for transformation scenes, and dash out to a waiting car. In case that failed, there was a stick of dynamite in a bouquet which she was to throw at the Fuehrer. All that remained was the time, the place and the unloved one to coincide, when Herr Hitler took preference to the "Merry Widow," not to be construed as distaste to his usually beloved Wagner, possibly because of the scene in which the girls thrust their behinds at the audience provocatively.

"It would make a better plot than this Pimpernel thing," sighed Howard.

"It was all so carefully planned . . ." sighed A ––. "But for the war breaking out . . . I was to go along in the car to take her to France . . ."

"It could still be done," said Howard. "You could get the help of the British Secret Service."

The other looked at him pityingly. The matter dropped so far as he was concerned, but Howard did contact the Secret Service.

In regard to another plot on Hitler's life, with which Anarchists were concerned, the Secret Service had come in on it; it proved disastrous. People like Howard simply could not conceive that there was an international police loyalty which overrode national considerations; A –– had experience of it. A few weeks later he got a letter from Howard saying that he had contacted "the people about whom I was speaking" and that he "could get something going" when he came back from a trip. A –– whether he should see Howard or not; he had not revealed any names and he was by no means assured he should. The problem was resolved for him, because the trip that Leslie Howard took was to Lisbon, and his plane was shot down.

The official Government story was that German agents had mistaken Leslie Howard for Winston Churchill, could hardly convince even a casting director let alone a script writer.

So far as I know, there were four attempts on Hitler's life in which German Anarchists were concerned; this was the one that might have been successful, though it lost all the chances (there was another in which Spanish Anarchists were concerned which aimed at removing Hitler and Franco in one go at their train meeting).

It has merely contributed to the unfavour-able image given to the Anarchsts in Germany as people who would commit the most unspeakable atrocities, which are understood to be ones concentrating on the Head of State.

Towards the end of the war, when Germany was obviously losing and Hitler was the one barrier against surrendering, some German generals and aristocrats – notorious for their armed attacks on the workers – had a little bomb plot of their own in which supporters of the Third Reich *were* involved. This has been the subject of innumerable books and films, and the German State today glamourises their action as an example of "anti-Nazism". The Anarchists on the other hand have for the most part preferred to say nothing at all about these actions of their which (many claim) give the movement a "bad image."

Didn't somebody say in some connection that life was a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel?

A.M.

BOOK REVIEWS

BEGINNINGS

How It All Began : the personal account of a West German Urban Guerrilla, Bommi Baumann, Pulp Press, Vancouver, 121 pp, p/b £2.35.

On November 24th, 1975 a special task force of 40 policemen armed with sub-machine guns raided the premises of Munich publishers, Trikont Verlag. Their aim was to seize the entire stock of *Wie Alles Anfing* (How It All Began), and the raid was followed by similar confiscations from other left bookshops, throughout West Germany. The prosecutions which stemmed from these seizures are still continuing today, and the book itself has probably received a much wider readership than the original publishers could have hoped for.

New editions were published in Germany, sponsored by some 380 people and groups, and translations into other languages were rapidly prepared. This English language edition was preceeded by translations in French, Danish, Greek, Swedish, Dutch and Italian.

After such a build-up, the book falls a little flat in several ways, because it doesn't (perhaps couldn't) match the preconceptions, or begin to provide answers to the many questions that surround the concept of urban guerrilla warfare. Still, Michael (Bommi) Baumann's intention wasn't to provide any kind of manual for the would-be guerrilla, but simply to tell his story, which he hopes will be "understood as one among many, as *my* contribution, how I see the thing now, from the experiences I've had and the way I've digested them," so that others can "understand why people take the road of armed struggle . . . ."

Briefly, Michael's story is one of a working class youth who grew into adulthood and political consciousness through the counter-culture, the sexual revolution, dope, rock 'n' roll and via the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations of the later 1960s. He was a founding member of the 2nd June Movement, one of the two largest urban guerrilla groups in West Germany, and although he left that organisation in 1972 he is still on the run.

There is considerable confusion among many people as to the nature of the 2nd June Movement. This has been caused partly by the fact that some 2nd June members later joined the Red Army Fraction, which has always operated separately from 2nd June, even though there has been a degree of sympathy between the two. The Red Army Fraction (RAF) has always been marxist in its orientation, and it grew out of a particular analysis of West German society, whereas the 2nd June Movement evolved in response to a series of events, and reflected a kind of instinctive gut-level anarchism. Bommi's book should help to make the difference clearer.

Armed struggle is a difficult nettle to grasp, because most people are only able to discuss it in the abstract. As a result we are all forced to rely almost solely on the mass media for information, and the guerrilla can become over-romanticised, and obtain a larger-than-life image, something the establishment is quite willing to foster because it limits the number of people who might be prepared to act. Alternatively, the guerrilla can be made into the scapegoat of the left: an excuse for doing nothing because it brings down repression.

Many of the real issues that surround the dilemma of armed actions remain un-discussed, partly because people are too busy defending principled positions, or argue that the time is not yet "right". Other people criticise many of the obvious drawbacks associated with guerrilla activity, yet pose no alternatives of any kind. Most frequent of these is the argument that armed actions and clandestine groups "substitute" themselves for the mass actions of the working class, yet those people who put forward this idea are often those who advocate the need for a revolutionary organisation to "lead" the working class.

This point is one of several considered in *How it all began*. Bommi relates this argument to his own experience, but concludes that it is important for individuals *to do what is right for them*. "That's how a thing gets followers; if there's someone who stands completely behind his thing, he's the one who'll attract people, gather them together."

One of the basic reasons for the disagreements that exist around the issue of guerrilla warfare are that people fail to understand the different types of armed struggle, confusing terrorism with guerrilla warfare, and armed struggle with insurrection. Guerrilla warfare is a strategy for revolution, but it is one that relies upon force of arms, and subjugates other revolutionary endeavours to a military strategy. Armed struggle provides an alternative to guerrilla warfare, in which armed actions complement the social struggle. The first relies to an extent on trained cadres, and must out of necessity eventually generate structures which are authoritarian to some degree. The latter differs in that individuals and groups use force as a tactic to extend his or her activities.

The 2nd June Movement attempted a transition from armed struggle to guerrilla warfare, patterning its activities on the Black Panthers, but making the crucial mistake of not realising that the Panthers had a large black community within which to operate, but 2nd June hadn't anything comparable. With the transition came illegality, and with illegality came a separation from the milieu that spawned them originally. They began to lose touch with the very people that they relied upon for support, something that was even more marked with the RAF, whose links with the "alternative society" were much more tenuous.

How it all began makes a number of criticisms directed towards both the 2nd June Movement and the RAF. Specifically noting the way in which their actions became less related to the "movement" and its struggles as time went by. In particular he believes the RAF fell into the trap of measuring its success by the reactions of the press, so much so that "their only justification comes through the media. They establish themselves only by those means." A weakness that could prove to be fatal.

Bommi's book has its lighter side as well, recalling for example, how bombs were transported through police road blocks in a brightly painted car that had written in big letters on the back "Careful, Dynamite Transporter!!", with the result that the vehicle was just waved by.

The easy-to-read, conversational style of writing is deceptive, because it isn't an easy to read book by any means – it raises too many questions to be simply a good read. Yet, if you are serious in your revolutionary aspirations, you will need to read this book, partly because it destroys the myths that have grown up around the figure of the urban guerrilla, but also because we can all learn a little from *Wie Alles Anfing*.

I had expected much more from this book, because I was (I admit) expecting something with greater clarity, less muddled in its approach, but on reflection, I'm glad that Bommi's book is exactly as it is, right down to the sexist slang he often uses, because through the flippancy, among the explanations and analysis, and the recollections, shines the humanity of the urban guerrilla, and that, after all, is what it's about.

Paul Wilson

(3rd) WORLD REVOLUTION

Cambodia Year Zero, Francois Ponchaud, Penguin, 1978, 240 pp, 95p.
The Cambodian Concentration Camp.

"Everything we have built, we have done with our own hands. With our hands we can do *anything*!"

Khieli Samphan, leader of Angkar (Khmer Rouge organisation, single party) speech to commemorate the 2nd anniversay of the birth of "Democratic Kampuchea" (formerly Cambodia).

"Come rain or come wind, whether you are in good health or bad, in daytime as in night, without fail and without complaint, you must do what Angkar orders."

Two Years of Barbarism in the name of Socialism.

After the fall of Phnomh Penh on 17 April 1975, marking the victory of the Khmer nationalists over the Lon Nol regime installed by the Americans five years earlier, a heavy silence descended upon what was going on inside Cambodia: embassies were shut down, foreign observers and journalists were turned away . . . . Only some rare items of information from refugees escaping to Thailand or Vietnam began to chip away at this silence by revealing the barbarism to which the "conquerors of American imperialism" had resorted. Francois Ponchaud's book entitled *Cambodia – The Year Zero* which was issued at the beginning of this year (Julliard 1977) brings the first comprehensive picture of this barbarism or "national reconstruction" – a particularly bloody one at the hands of the Khmer Rouge. The fact that the author of the book is a priest and French to boot, in no way lays the documents produced and their translations open to question, even if, at times, his overall critique does not go beyond the liberals' or bourgeois humanists'; thus, he identifies the action of Khmer Rouge as a revolutionary undertaking "the most radical ever carried out in so short a space of time," and *not as the installation of state capitalism* for he denounces in essence, the anti-democratic nature of Angkar's ideology and methods without appreciating it as the product of the decadence of the capitalist system as a whole. Ponchaud spent ten years in Cambodia as a member of the Foreign Missions Society of Paris, and during the last years of war, he headed a panel for translations into the Khmer language. The book is organised around four basic elements:

The author's own first hand testimony about the first three weeks of "Liberation", since after that he was expelled from Democratic Kampuchea along with all other foreigners.

The written testimony "carefully analysed and verified" of a hundred refugees, collected in Thailand, Vietnam and France.

The outcome of listening daily to Radio Phnohm Penh, the official voice of the new regime, whose statements were checked against the refugees' statements.

the analysis of the historical and social background against which the Khmer nationalist movement developed.

At the end of his fourth chapter "the calvary of a people" (p.97) the author gives an outline of two years of "national reconstruction": "Endless labour, inadequate food, deplorable sanitary conditions terror and summary executions give an idea of the dizzying human cost of the Khmer revolution! In 1970, Cambodia's population was generally estimated at 8,000,000 inhabitants, 400,000 of those Vietnamese and a little larger number of Chinese who had been living there for a number of years. In 1975, Prince Sihanouk, whose figures tallied with American estimates gave the number of those killed in the war as 600,000 with an equal number of wounded. On the first anniversary of liberation, on April 17, 1976 the authorities of Democratic Kampuchea gave the figure of 800,000 dead and 240,000 war-invalids.

When it comes to deaths in the "peace" no one can give an exact figure, but what is certain is that it exceeds one million! At the end of 1975, official diplomatic sources came up with the figure of 800,000 dead, the American embassy gave the figure as 1,200,000 and American charity services based in Bangkok came up with 1,400,000! No one will ever know the exact number of victims, but, listening to the refugees recounting deaths in their respective families, there can be little doubt that it is considerable.

Thus a large part of the deported population seems to have been sacrificed. So its historic calling in Democratic Kampuchea will have been to build with its own flesh and blood, the economic infrastructure of the country. Thus is a nation of the pure to be born. The Khmer Rouge are coldly putting into practice their formidable witticism: "One or two million young people are enough to make the new Kampuchea."

If Cambodia does indeed export 250,000 tonnes of rice this year as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ieng Sary recently asserted (see *Le Monde*, 17/18 April 1977) it will be the outcome of militarising the labour of some five to six million men and women in laagers for "the hard tasks of the battle for production" as the regime's ideology has it." Each tonne of rice has been produced or exported at the cost of the intensive over-exploitation and death of these workers in the countryside. Let us look at the various facets of this barbarism.

Deportations

On the same day they made their entrance into Phnomh Penh (17 April 1975) and on the pretext that American reprisal bombing was imminent, the Khmer Rouge, moving from house to house, forced the populace (two and a half million) to leave the town. The deportations were beginning: "People living in the northern part of the town were forced to head north, those in the southern part had no choice but to move southwards, and those living in the west moved westwards: with a single objective – to get out of the town into the countryside by the shortest route" (Chapter One: "The Glorious April 17th, page 20). The following day Phnom Penh was practically empty and the victors were looting shops, tossing all consumer items like fridges, televisions and tinned foods, into the streets . . . in the days that followed hundreds who had taken refuge in the French embassy had to leave it under pressure from the Khmer Rouge and join the rest of the population in the countryside. No means of "cleaning out" every part of the city in a systematic manner was overlooked: water was cut off, to prevent survival, and electricity also. There weren't many to take part, inside the former capital, in the three days of "popular rejoicing" (!) decreed on 24th April to celebrate "the glorious victory of 17th April and the extraordinary revolution of Kamoucnea."!!! Soon, the only ones left in Phnom Penh were the Khmer Rouge and their families – 20,000 people.

The deportations, which also affected all other towns, villages, and even isolated farmsteads, culminated in the first great slaughter of the civilian population: for the most part, the sick, the old and the children could not withstand the trials of the enforced migration especially the intense heat in that season of the year. Though they came up with various arguments (such as the existence of an imperialist plot, the need to mop up all resistance from the old regime's supporters, their inability to assure supplies to the towns) to account for these deportations, the Khmer Rouge were in fact launching the construction of an agrarian national society, with an ideological veneer of a return to a bucolic "golden age" predating Angkor Vat. The prospect of this "green paradise" to come compensates for the immense sacrifices imposed day in, day out. Behind the peculiarly Khmer verbiage, the reality of this construction is nothing new: historically, falling back on the resources of one country alone, antarchy and the methods that follow on from it, have already been put into practice by fascist regimes (Germany, Italy) and by State capitalist ones (Russia, China). One again this economic tendency is evidence of the decadence of the capitalist system, which assumes more and more barbarous forms in which to continue man's exploitation of his fellow man, the ultimate solution being to concentrate all power in the hands of the State.

Between September and December 1975, the implementation of labour planning required new deportations of the population, which were even more murderous than their predecessors.

Massacres

In an interview in the Thai newspaper *Prachachat* of June 10th 1976, a Khmer Rouge official was critical of the Vietnamese method of "re-education", saying that it was "very slow" taking "lots of time to weed out the counter-revolutionaries from the good." The reporter with the newspaper wound up the interview as follows:

"The Khmer method does not require a large personnel, there's no burden to bear because they have all been shoved out of the towns. If we may use the comparison, the Khmers have adopted the method that consists of upsetting the basket and all the apples it contains then they pick out only those which they are completely satisfied with, and put them back into the basket. But the Vietnamese did not upset the basket. And they picked out only the rotten apples. Their method is expensive in terms of time, much more so than the method followed by the Khmers." (See Chapter 3: "The Apple Cart Upset" p.63).

The physical elimination of the cadres of the Lon Nol regime proceeded along with the elimination of their wives and children. On radio, in meetings, slogans such as "it is not enough to prune a bad plant, it must be uprooted," or "their line must be wiped out down to the very least of them," keep recurring as the theme, as an incitement to "vacuum cleaning." Prince Sihanouk, who joined forces with the Khmer Rouge after his overthrow by Lon Nol in 1970 and who was the diplomatic representative of FUNK and GRUNK in Peking, has been "swept aside," along with his supporters; there has been no news of Sihanouk since April 1976 and he has been eliminated from the history of Cambodia as rewritten by the Khmer Rouge. Oddly enough, he had foretold his fate, confiding: "They will spit me out like a cherry-stone."

Aside from this sort of repression there has been countless summary executions of workers. To track down those discontent with the work in progress, as much as from outside, the Khmer Rouge have been schooling children for spying and informing. The reasons behind the executions are not always clear, but they are justified come what may. "Better to kill an innocent than leave one enemy alive." In the final analysis, all who are not won over to the Angkar Organisation's ideology without nostalgia for the old regime can be annihilated in accordance with the formula, "There is nothing to be gained in letting them live and nothing to be lost in eliminating them"!

Forced Labour

"The Revolution has won: we must work and go on working to rebuild the country."

Forest uprooted to increase the arable surface, new crops planted (maize, manioc, yams, potatoes), great road and river workings, intensive labour in the paddy fields . . . The deportee population is worked to the point of physical exhaustion and death, for to forced labour are added chronic under-nourishment and the lack of even basic sanitary facilities.

The author quotes the statement of a former student on the work done by the young people of his group between July and September 1975. "On account of rain, we could not dig the ground using hoes, so we had to break up the ground with ploughs. As we had no oxen, we formed a yoke of eight men to draw the plough. Several of my comrades, exhausted by this toil, began to cough up blood and died." (p.78).

Then he points out the length of time they were working: "Up at 5 to the sound of a gong: breakfast of rice soup before setting out for work, sometimes quite far away, at 6: short break or march back to the village about 11 for rice husks and something to eat. Back working from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m., or depending where we were, up to 5.30 or 6 p.m. Very frequently, in Koh Thom (south of Phnomh Penh) and west of Krakor, in Kauk Thlok (Kompong Thom) near Takhau, in Varin (west of Siemreap) and other places, night work was assigned, going on until 8 p.m. or 11 p.m; while the moon was full, work was done by the light of the moon, and where there was no moon, by the light of enormous braziers." (pages 78,79).

Should the workers have failed to fill the production norms set them, their already meagre food was cut even further. After that if they could not make up the difference, they are tried and condemned: execution on these grounds swelled the numbers already referred to, in connection with the widespread repression.

From the beginning of 1976 onwards, the Khmer Rouge divided work into categories: one category, co-operatives and State farms which are the lasting bases of production; the other the "yards" (Karathan) where the bulk of the deportee population is conscripted into "great works." According to F. Ponchaud the radio made an extensive report on the latter on 11 March 1976: "Democratic Kampuchea is one huge workshop; wherever one is, a beehive of activity. The People, young and old, men and women, from all the co-operatives are enthusiastically constructing dykes for the paddy fields. In Chikreng, Siemreap province, close to 20,000 people are part of the assault actively fighting to build dykes in untiring revolutionary dynamism." (see Chapter 6: "An Army At Work" p.122).

Work has been militarised. The author quotes from a man describing the organisation of the workshop to which he had been mobilised: "At district level (damban) a cadres committee was formed, which assumed responsibility for the workshop as a whole: In each ward (srok) a cadre committee was established, then, in the workshop, another cadre committee for the "teams," "groups," "sections," "companies," "battalions" and "regiments," right up to "division." There are also the group and team presidents who watch over the morale of the workers .... In the Angkor Borey workshop, Takeo province, the workforce was "allocated scientifically" : 80% building dams, 10% building canals and dykes, 10% making tools, preparing food and dispensing medical aid." (see p.124).

"Khmer Revolution' : State Capitalism Installed.

The primitive accumulation of the Khmer nation's capital is carried on, as we have just seem, amid deportations, summary executions and forced labour. The quest for "economic independence" in the imperialist age cannot but assume the form of State capitalism which, in the name of socialism, intensifies the over-exploitation of the workers. This quest leads to a re-shuffle of the system, not to a real development in productive forces, which renders any notion of independence illusory.

In the preamble to the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea (the Constitution promulgated on 5th January 1976) we find the State capitalist objectives spelled out clearly alongside on egalitarian phraseology: "In conformity with the fundamental aspirations of the people, workers, peasants, the army and the cadres the object of the revolution is to implement, within our territorial integrity, and in a society where happiness, equality, jsutice, a true democracy without rich or poor, without an exploiter class or exploited class prevail, a society in which the whole people live in harmony and grand national union and share as one being in the work of production, and build up and defend the country all together." (see pages 98/99).

The tell-tale signs that State capitalism is being introduced are several:

– The cult of the Single Party (Angkar) whose promotion and extension is the task of the Radio, using the tones of religion: "thanks to Angkar, every day is a celebration."; "thanks to Angkar, the rice is good"; "we must give thanks to Angkar which has been so good to us and delivered us from slavery ... which has breathed life once again into the soul of the nation." There are also 12 "revolutionary" (!) commandments to be learned off and put into practice. All this tends to displace the old religions of Cambodia (Buddhism, Islan, Christianity).

– Military conscription into a "people's army" leads to the militarisation of labour and ensures maximum control of all activity in the country. "The army links arms with the people to transform the country into a patchwork blanket of paddy fields to help the crop yield;" "In one hand, the soldier holds a weapon, in the other, a spade ... or a sickle."

– Ideological conditioning in which an extremely extensive bombardment of minds works on the consciousness by means of a newly formed vocabulary thoroughly suited to the objectives of the "Khmer Revolution."

Thus economic achievements are presented as so many victories with avalanches of figures, statistics and technical data: "victory over flooding;" "victory over the elements," "victory over nature" "a new victory for the building up of the country."

And so also, "... a whole new vocabulary based on "youth," meaning "the war" has come into use: "male combatants," "female combatants," "comrade-fighter," "young-man-fighter," "fighter-solidarity," "combat-activity" "strategic cultures" .... Listening to the radiom and even going by the refugee's statements one would think that only fighting-men work, or that all workers are fighting-men." (p.139).

The level of consciousness is shown by dropping one's name (everybody keeps only the last syllable of their forename with the prefix "met" meaning comrade), in the manipulation of children from their earliest years, (children between 6 and 12 years form "children's groups" with the 3-sided leadership copied from their elders), by the ban on the use of all foreign languages, by the conversion of culture into a weapon at the excusive disposal of national production ....

In this country which after years of imperialist war has become one vast concentration camp, the society which is being created is strangely reminiscent of the one George Orwell portrayed in his superb political fiction '1984.' Cambodian state capitalism has no reason to feel envious of its predecessors: it is a further stage in the deepening of the barbarism to which capitalism as a whole subjects humanity: the socialism which only the working class of the world can establish will be made through the destruction of capitalism in its "private," as well as its "state" forms!

National Liberation: Counter Revolutionary Struggles.

"The young micro-bourgeoisies who now aspire to an independent existence, do not just quiver with impatience only out of their lusting after an unfettered, uncontrolled class hegemony, for they also promise themselves the rapture which for so long has been denied them; to strangle, with their own hands, the mortal enemy, the revolutionary proletariat – a function that, up to the present, they have been forced to leave to the rigid machine of a foreign dominator "Rosa Luxemburg" Fragment on War, the national question and Revolution.

Yet again, with the Cambodian case, we can assess the consequences, the anti-proletarian consequences of natural Liberation struggles.

From 1967-1968, the many shades of "leftists" (Trotskyists, Maoists, etc) have organised large-scale backing for these struggles, in the name of their "anti-imperialist" nature. Throughout countless marches they wished victory of FUNK and GRUNK just as ardently as to the Vietnamese NLF! In leaflets handed out at these demonstrations the revolutionaries already were emphasising the fact that "the proletariat has nothing to gain and everything to lose through these national liberation struggles." In fact, in this era of capitalist decadence, not only is the establishment of a new State no longer a guarantee of real economic development, but the struggle to set it up cannot but fit into the scheme of rivalries between the large imperialist camps. In this way, the "anti-imperialist" struggle of "the peoples of Indo China" were dependent on Russian and Chinese imperialism! As for the nationalist organisations, which the leftists dub "progressive," or even "revolutionary," are the backbone today of the new class rule: the Single Party's bureaucracy blossoms with the installation of State capitalism. As Rosa Luxemburg put it in the quotation above and as is illustrated by the evolution of "Democratic Kampuchea," these young State bourgeoisies take their pleasure (and their profits!) in ferocious over exploitation of the agricultural and industrial workers. So the leftists bear their share of responsibility for the displacement of class struggle onto the terrain of "National Liberation" and the massacres of the proletariat that ensue, during and after the so-called "Liberation." As such; they must be denounced as active agents of counter-revolution.

If we are going to grasp the counter-revolutionary character of national liberation struggles since the turn of the century, we need to have a clear understanding of the capitalist system and its tendency towards State capitalism.

(Translated by Paul Sharkey)

Revolution in the Third World; Myths and Prospects, Gerard Chaliand, Harvester Press, £6.95.

European civilisation has yet to come to terms with the import of its savage onslaught against the rest of the world during the period that an Indian historian calls "the Vasco de Gama era" of world history. At one time, the liberal imperialist faith could be expressed in such words as these:

"It is clearly seen that to our beloved land Great Britain has been assigned the high mission of manufacturing for her sister nations. Our kin beyond the seas shall send to us in our ships their cotton from the Mississippi valley. India shall contribute its jute. Russia its hemp and flax, and ironstone for our factories and workshops, our skilled mechanics and artificers the necessary machinery to weave these materials into fine cloth for the nations; all shall be fashioned by us and made fit for men. Our ships, which reach us laden with raw materials, shall return to all parts of the earth laden. This exchange of raw materials for finished products under the decrees of nature makes each nation the servant of the other and proclaims the brotherhood of man. Peace and good will shall reign upon the earth, one nation after another must follow our example and free exchange of commodities shall everywhere prevail. Their ports shall open wide as ours are open for their raw materials."

Similar ideas resonate through the modern intellectual history of the West. A century later the anonymous commentator cited above, Lord Frederick Lugard, one of the architects of Britain's African empire, wrote than "the partition of Africa was, as we all recognise, due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and foods to meet the needs of the industrialised nations of Europe." In the mid-twentieth century, it is "the menace of Communism" that must be overcome so that the industrial societies can fulfill their "high mission." A prestigious study group of the American National Planning Association and Woodrow Wilson Foundation explains that the primary threat of communism is the economic transformation of the Communist powers "in ways which reduce their willingness and ability to complement the industrial economies of the West." Communism thus violates "the decrees of nature."

The "West" is the "free world," the "first world" from which the "second world" has irrevocably separated, and which now struggles to ensure that the "third world" does not pursue the same intolerable course. The "West" includes Japan, which for unique historical reasons was able to escape the tentacles of empire and develop as an industrial society. It is organised by the United States and the international corporations that are primarily based in the United States and that rely ultimately on the military power of the American state to ensure their interests and security. When the elaborate mechanism of subversion or raw military power is let loose to defeat a challenge to "the decrees of nature," imperial apologists still proclaim "the brotherhood of man," and speak, without shame, of the "defence of liberty and democracy."

The rhetoric changes of course, when oil producing states attain the capability to invest in the industrial societies which, in the natural order, are the masters of global society. Then it is suddenly discovered that it is intolerable for the nation's patrimony to be sold to foreigners. Just as the British lost their enthusiasm for liberal economic doctrine when their industry could no longer dominate world markets, so American intellectuals discover that the nation's resources and vital institutions must be protected from foreign intrusion, though its scale is miniscule as compared with the much-lauded American economic intervention elsewhere. They are re-learning what their predecessors knew, as they fashioned the protectionist doctrines that contributed to the growth of an industrial society in the United States. But the lesson cannot be generalised. The United States must maintain its independence and global authority. Revolutionary nationalism, which threatens to extricate some third world society from the US-dominated global economy, is an intolerable affront to civilised values and must be crushed, for the benefit of mankind. As in the past, liberal doctrine is to be extolled insofar as it contributed to the hegemony of the natural rulers. Under other conditions, it is to be rejected with contempt. And the mailed fist is raised, and if needed brought down with crushing force, where autonomous development threatens.

The "decrees of nature", as proclaimed by the ideologists of modern state capitalism and enforced by the military power of the industrial societies, condemn the great majority to privation and servitude. It is inevitable that such a social and economic order will be challenged in innumerable and often unpredictable ways. The United States emerged from the Second World War with prospects to be the sole authority and "stabiliser" of international society. It has been compelled to accept a "bipolar world" organised by two superpowers in the spirit of "detente." But only one of these superpowers is to be "really super." As Henry Kissinger has explained, there must be "a penalty for intransigence" if the party in detente forgets the rules, though there will be no interference as it exercises its brutal rule over its imperial domains. Within the far more extensive American-dominated system, other powers may pursue their local interests. "Regional groupings supported by the United States will have to take over major responsibility for their immediate areas, with the United States being concerned more with the over-all framework of order than with the management of every regional enterprise" in the "stable and creative world order" that Kissinger envisages. Others are scarcely less plain-spoken about the matter. But one can hardly expect such a system to endure for long, and severe conflict may erupt among the industrial societies of the "free world" as the price of American hegemony proves unacceptable.

The immediate challenge, however, is posed by movements of revolutionary nationalism in the third world, movements that struggle for a measure of independence, for development based on internal needs, for modernisation and social welfare. Internal documents reveal the fear of top American policy planners that such movements, once independence is gained, may carry out successful programmes of modernisation and development. Their "ideological successes" may cause "the rot to spread," as passive and suppressed populations elsewhere try to emulate the model they present. Such fears motivated the American aggression against South Vietnam, spilling over to the rest of Indochina. There is no doubt that they persist and will remain a driving force in the years that lie ahead.

The struggle to prevent economic transformation that will reduce the willingness or ability of underdeveloped societies "to complement the industrial economies of the West" is sure to remain a major theme of world history in the coming period, as it has been in the recent past. What is the nature of these third world movements? Why have many failed, and a few succeeded? What are their aims, their class basis, the cultural and historical features that shape their programmes and determine their destiny? What kind of social order may emerge, and what lessons do their successes and failures offer to the industrial societies themselves, in particular, to those who are committed to the social and economic transformation of the industrial societies? These are some of the questions addressed in Gerard Chaliand's fascinating study. For many years, he has investigated and reported on the revolutionary movements of Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. His achievement is remarkable and unique. Combining sympathetic concern with critical detachment, he has been able to attain an intimate familiarity with the movements that he has investigated, often at first-hand, and a sensitive appreciation of the social and cultural conditions in which they have developed. His direct accounts have been invaluable, and his commentary and analysis have been perceptive and enlightening. As a student of comparative revolutionary movements, he has no peer, to my knowledge. The present work summarises and extends these studies and places them in their general historical context. It is an important contribution to the understanding of contemporary history.

Noam Chomsky.

(The above piece was the introduction to the French edition of Chaliand's book).

Mutinies: 1917 - 1920, Dave Lamb, Illustrated, pictorial wrappers, 36pp, 12 x 8¼. Solidarity (Oxford & London) 50p.

Dave Lamb here beams a searchlight into neglected corners to reveal secrets largely unknown and certainly worth gathering and amplifying into one thesis. Exploiting locally issued recent as well as earlier memoirs, histories and contemporary reports he presents in some detail astounding tales of major

revolts in the British armed services as the Kaiser war neared its end.

Two factors sparked off mutinies in locations quite distant in time and place. The first was inefficient demob delay, combined, in some cases, with news of long postponement as Generals planned the policing of occupied territories. Later, the war of intervention against Red Russia fomented wide unrest and more mutiny from troops forced to take part in further war against former allies for whom they felt sympathy not hatred. The latter could be said to be political to some extent but the others were spontaneous rebellions of revulsion to continuing senseless killing, ghastly trenches and unspeakable conditions in transit base camps for war-weary resting, wounded and raw recruit alike.

To the ordinary man in uniform the war was over once the November 1918 Armistice had been signed and he could accept no reason to keep him from going home. The War Office had other ideas. A million men were wanted as occupying armies and to make battle against the partly established Russian revolutionaries and hit them mainly from the Artic and Black Sea. Lloyd George and others in the Government were less keen on keeping the armies up to strength since the votes of the people were important but the militarists intrigued with Winston Churchill even though his mad Dardanelles fiasco had prolonged and almost lost the war.

In the end the people won, for the pawns in uniform came to life and refused to move as their officers demanded even at the risk and indeed at the cost in some cases of their lives. By firing squad or the hand guns of officers many so-called deserters had died throughout the war but following these final large scale mutinies even though courts martial levied many death sentences these were mostly commuted afterwards. The mood of the men was too dangerous for such drastic penalty to be executed unless, as seems to have happened sometimes, it could be carried out in secret. In the end the free-feeling Canadians and Anzacs and even the normally obedient flag waving English and other home troops *en masse* were able to force conciliatory reaction from the authorities. Conditions were ameliorated, demob speeded up, ships and troops withdrawn from Russian terrain.

The RAF at Biggin Hill near London staged their own mutiny in 1919 over camp conditions and won concessions. Lamb deals with the Royal Navy and Russian campaign too briefly considering the historical importance of the latter and the wide unrest in H.M. ships about beastly conditions and tremendous differences between food and accommodation for officers and the lower deck as well as the rigid discipline and federalistic protocol existing. Certainly complaints could be made – singly. The standard question resulted: "Have you discussed this with anyone else?" On the reply "yes" the complainant was charged with mutiny! If "no" he was branded as a troublemaker since no one else had backed him up. If any did make similar complaint that was tantamount to having had discussions and so too meant mutiny! As Hitler-war seamen have testified these rules and conditions were still in force until recent times.

Lamb ends by appealing for further reminiscences. I do hope some reply. Perhaps younger relatives or friends will seek out to record the memories of their elders before its too late. The Imperial War Services Museum (and no doubt others such as the Greenwich Maritime Museum) have already gathered diaries and personal accounts of war experiences whilst official material may be consulted in the Public Record Office. It does seem that what the latter gets depends upon the whims of destroying-angel officers – but that is another question! This preliminary report is well worth its 50p but I hope the author continues his delving and eventually produces a full book on his subject.

Barry Duncan.

Outlaws, Kenneth Ulyatt, Pelican Books, 75p.

An oft-repeated cliche is the western film. Goody inevitably shoots baddy after baddy temporarily gets the upper hand. And such it was in the real west, except that goody wasn't so good and baddy wasn't much different. Everyone knows the names, so the outlaws who appear in this book are like old friends – Jesse James, Sam Bass, Billy the Kid, and the rest rise again from the grave and live once more their famed exploits. Ulyatt approaches the outlaws in a matter-of-fact manner, scarcely noting their actions as anything more than actions, unlike the hysteria which their present-day emulators receive from a rabid press.

The aftermath of a bloody civil war which ravaged the land forced some into outlawry. Guerrilla fighters, who had fought on the losing side, were hunted down after the war. Some guerrilla bands even fought each other for territory and spoils. The Missouri guerrillas were refused amnesty at the end of the war (shades of Vietnam?) and were thus automatically outlaws rather than merely ex-soldiers of a defeated army. Some stayed in the wilderness, living the best way they could by theft and extortion. Others who returned did so only to find that their families, homes and livelihoods had been annihilated by the war.

At the end of the war, Jesse James and five others of the guerrilla fighters with whom he had spent the war rode into Lexington under a white flag. They were met by a hail of bullets, and James was severely wounded. The Marshal of Lexington believed James to be mortally injured, and let him go home to die. Such are the quirks of fate. James recovered, and lived to be one of the greatest of all the outlaws of the west. When the James-Younger gang was finally captured, Jesse James was shot in the head. The rest, 27 of them, died or were imprisoned for lengthy periods, seven being killed by gunfire, three being assassinated by their own companions, three being lynched and two committing suicide. Nine served long sentences in prison. Only Frank James escaped, having surrendered soon after Jesse's death and pleaded for sympathy to the southerners on the Jury at his trial. He was freed, only to become, in his declining years, almost an exhibit in a travelling wild west show, travelling a land which had outgrown the outlaws.

The outlaws are a romantic part of a tragic and violent period of the history of the United States. During the period 1861-1890 occurred a civil was and numerous other wars waged against the native inhabitants by the victorious federal government. The frontier provided a haven of refuge from the areas which had already attained statehood and this had the full panoply of law and order enforcement agencies. The outlaws were able to continue their guerrilla war against the state, but for themselves and not for an opposing state.

Surprisingly there is never a trace of political motivation in the exploits of the outlaws. Unlike their parallel, the Ku Khux Klan, the outlaws were an ad hoc grouping of individuals whose sole aim was survival in an environment hostile both physically and politically. When the time came to suppress the outlaws, it was done with swiftness and efficiency. Those who survived were even able, like Frank James, to write memoirs and travel in a peep-show as an heroic relic of a bygone era. Had they been political, the gallows would invariably have been their destination, and, like later anarchist martyrs, their cause and name would not be so widely celebrated in myth and film. As symbols of resistance, their charisma lingers to this day. Scarcely a week passes without some tale or other of the west's outlaws being trotted out in the form of an old Hollywood movie on TV. Anarchists, despite their sometimes parallel lives and deaths, are not the stuff of which Hollywood makes myths and money.

Nigel Pennick.

Juan Gomez Casas: **Historia del anarco-sindicalismo** (XYZ, Madrid, 1968, 284pp).

At this make-or-break juncture in the CNT's work of reconstruction it is useful to recommend the reading of Gomez Casas's book (he is at present national secretary of the CNT), first published in 1968, for a better understanding of the history of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism and what its potential could be for the immediate future.

As Jose Luis Rubio says in the prologue: "For many young people, workers as well as students, it will come as a stimulating revelation . . . The Confederal labour movement in Spain could count upon the broadest support and highest revolutionary potential. But it failed. As a result, there is a need to scrutinise the steps taken by the movement, from the early days as recounted by Anselmo Lorenzo, up to the May events in 1937, to search out the roots of that failure and learn from them. . . . Many are of the opinion that the revolutionary radicalism of the Internationalists first of all, and the Confederationalists later on, ruled out a democratic Republican formula as a possibility in Spain, thereby helping to perpetuate the backward looking oligarchy. But, on the other hand, others are of the opinion that to have gone along with compromises would have led to a bourgeois republic with tame labour unions integrated into the capitalist system. The debate is not over yet."

Indeed, the debate is not over yet. But we believe that a reading of this book furnishes positive key factors in an answer to this important debate, at least at the personal level. And furthermore that it has a fresh and fundamental relevance for the future of the Spanish people.

Octavio Alberola.

WHATS LEFT ?

The Left in Britain 1956-1968, Edited by David Widgery, Penguin, £4.00.

This Penguin book, disguised as a Peregrine book to excuse the price, is a 550-page annotated anthology or documentary history of the left in this country during the twelve years from the dual crisis of Hungary and Suez to the confused echoes of the French "events"; but it is not what most readers may expect, being not so much about the usual idea of "the left" as about the extreme left or Marxist left of various kinds of "New Left."

David Widgery is one of the bright young men who joined the newest New Left during the 1960s, working both for Trotskyist papers such as *Socialist Worker* and for underground papers such as *Oz*. His view of the left excludes anything politically or culturally orthodox, anything connected with the Labour Party or the Communist Party, with either rational reform or serious scholarship, and barely includes such groups as the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, or the Workers' Revolutionary Party (ne the Socialist Labour League). His version of civilised Marxism does allow some kind of opening towards the libertarian left – accepting Solidarity on almost equal terms, acknowledging the claims of syndicalism, and admitting the existence of anarchism. He is himself the incarnation of an unlikely object – a nice Trotskyist.

But his book shows strong bias right from the start: literally – from the cover, where the Communist Hammer and Sickle consuming a Union Jack is itself being consumed by a Trotskyist Fourth International brand of Hammer and Sickle; or from the dedication, to the memory of Victor Serge, who is described as "Syndicalist, Bolshevik, Trotskyist" conveniently omitting the first stage of his political career as a leading member of the individualist wing of the French anarchist movement, for which he spent five years in jail. There is also a curious bias in the choice of period – from a date which was marked by simultaneous crises in Conservative Imperialism and Communist Imperialism, rather than by any event in what Widgery or we would think of as the left, to a date which was marked by a peak in, rather than the end of, a process, and which Widgery actually ignores when he gets there. But there is a lot more to *The Left in Britain* than bias, and it is worth considering at some length.

Widgery begins the book with a very personal foreword, which gives an unconvincing account of its origins and adds an unfortunate amount of confusion about its subject. The phrases "the Left" and "the far Left", "the revolutionary Left," "the working-class movement," "the post-war working class," "the modern revolutionary workers' movement" and "the modern socialist movement" are all used in a couple of pages with no attempt to explain how they are related to each other or to the various individuals and organisations who fill the rest of the book.

There follows a list of Acknowledgements, which is more interesting than usual, if only for the strange statements which Widgery has had to include: "E.P. Thompson wishes to state that his political position remains, in general, that of the *May Day Manifesto* (1968), and that he is in radical disagreement with the selection and interpretation of the recent history of the Left presented in this book." "Laurie Flynn, Colin Barker, and Bob Rowthorn have asked to register that they have developed their positions from those extracts republished here." Nothing from John Saville, Brian Behan, Bob Potter, Peter Fryer, Lawrence Daly, "Martin Grainger," Peggy Duff, Michael Kidron, Paul Foot, Alasdair MacIntyre, Tom Hillier, Sheila Rowbotham, and the other contributors who have also changed their views – indeed the whole book is based on people changing their views, a point which is illustrated again and again but which seems to have missed the editor.

Then there is a long Introduction by Peter Sedgwick which was first published in an abridged version in the *New Statesman* on 13 September 1974. Sedgwick comes from an older generation than Widgery, but he is similarly a supple (rather than subtle) intellectual in the *International Socialist* movement. He is always highly stimulating, but he also is highly sectarian, and his essay is so unbalanced that it upsets the book before it has properly begun. When it first appeared the *New Statesman* published a letter by Brian P. Boreham: "Peter Sedgwick has performed no mean feat in managing to avoid . . . all mention of the vital contributions made by either the Committee of 100 or the Anarchist movement. His weary catalogue of failings vindicates only too clearly the Anarchist argument against the well-intentioned authoritarians not only of the Labour Party but the whole range of sectarian power-seekers and thwarted Lenins who seem to have learned nothing. As long as these utopians persist in looking to any sect, group, party or elite for their salvation, and refuse to recognise the contradictions inherent in their basic philosophy of freedom through power, the longer we can expect to be reading superficial post mortems like Peter Sedgwick's." (20 September 1974). Sedgwick's essay is now twice as long as it was then, but it is no different in character. When he begins to approach either non-CND unilateralism or non-Marxist revolutionism he always draws back rather than endanger his Leninist position. His main preoccupation is to emphasise the IS contribution and to reinforce the IS position, and everything else is subordinated to that.

The same is true, though to a lesser degree, of Widgery's own work. He states in his Foreword that the "political ideas which underlie the socialist sub-scholarship are owed largely to Tony Cliff, Mike Kidron and Nigel Harris and their theoretical and editorial work in the IS journal, though I ought to add this book in no way represents official International Socialism policies." He adds that "I have made the best effort I am capable of to be non-sectarian," he makes friendly gestures to many tendencies both inside the Marxist tradition and outside it on the left, he is well known for his contacts with the "underground" and with several libertarian tendencies, and he includes several items from this area. Nevertheless he remains committed to a Marxist approach in general and to the IS line (or lines) in particular, and these pervade the whole book.

The main of the book consists of eight sections, each containing an essay by Widgery followed by a series of contributions by other writers, mostly reprinted from the left-wing press. "The Double Exposure: Suez and Hungary" covers two episodes which between them began the process covered by the whole book, and includes items by Edward Thompson, John Saville, Brian Behan, Bob Potter, Peter Fryer, Lawrence Daly and Tony Cliff. The flavour is entirely ex-Communist and mainly Trotskyist, and quite unrepresentative of the left at that time.

"Don't You Hear The H-Bombs Thunder?" covers the nuclear disarmament movement, and includes Alex Comfort's speech at the CND inaugural meeting in 1958, the description by "Martin Grainger" of the first Aldermaston March in 1958, the Solidarity-Committee of 100 statement, *Against All Bombs* which was distributed in Moscow in 1962 (and is wrongly attributed to Ken Weller), Edward Thompson and John Saville on the movement at its beginning, Peggy Duff on the movement at its end, and Michael Kidron giving the IS line in the middle.

"The Two-New Lefts" consists entirely of an essay by Peter Sedgwick, first published in International Socialism in 1964; giving a sectarian account of the "Old New Left" which produced *Universities and Left Review* and the *New Reasoner* from 1956 to 1959 and then *New Left* from 1960 to 1962, and of the very different group which produced *NLR* from 1962 onwards. The subject is quite interesting, but either too unimportant to spend a whole chapter on or else too important to give a twelve-year-old treatment.

"That Was The Affluence That Was" covers the industrial struggle from 1956 to the fall of the Conservative Government in 1964, and includes some Trotskyist material on strikes and also one good Solidarity item (Ken Weller on Fords). "Let's Go With Labour" covers the Labour Government from 1964 to 1970, and includes some more Tortskyist material on Labour "ebtrayals" and another good Solidarity item (on the King Hill homeless hostel struggle). "Freeze, Squeeze, Then Prod" covers the industrial struggle under the Labour Government, and includes some good material from militants involved in strikes and yet more Trotskyist material.

"Make One, Two, Three Balls-Ups" covers the student movement, and includes much Marxist and some libertarian material. "1968" covers the culmination of the process covered by the whole book, and includes an extraordinary jumble of materials which is justified by the muddle of the subject. Widgery says: "1968 was a particularly unruly year to write about. It defies all attempts to be tidied away. I have instead tried to give a sense of its messiness by using memories, reminiscences, diaries, bits from capitalist and socialist papers, accounts of events and leaflets." The resulting confusion includes a few interesting minor items and also a few major documents – from the Solidarity pamphlet *Paris: May 1968* (variously attributed to both "Martin

Grainger" and "Maurice Brinton" though it was in fact unsigned and Christopher Pallis hadn't used the former name for years), Geoff Richman's pamphlet on the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign *End of a Tactic* (1969), Sheila Rowbotham's *Black Dwarf* article on militant women (1969), and Tony Mahoney's *Indict International* obituary of the Arbour Square squat (1970). (The dates show that this section of the book goes well beyond its official period). One curious item is extracted from Jim Huggon's report of the 1969 anarchist summer camp, which is a gratuitously irrelevant insult for the only explicitly anarchist contribution in the book.

The main body of the book ends with a tedious interview I did with Tony Cliff for *Idiot International* in 1970. It wasn't worth doing, it wasn't worth printing then, and it isn't worth reprinting now.

The general level of all this material is unashamedly uneven. There are well over 100 separate items, of which many are interesting or at least revealing, but too many are boring or even pointless. The selection of items is often perverse, and the editorial commentary is often peculiar. Widgery became involved in the events he describes only towards the close of the period, and his introductions begin by being clumsily derivative and end by being intensely personal. In either phrase, he is unreliable both about hard facts (where he has always been accident-prone) and about the more flexible business of interpretation. Every knowledgeable reader will find different things to challenge – such as the description of the Trotskyist *Newsletter* in the late 1950s as "a fine piece of working class journalism with a fresh and honest voice," or the claim that "there was real evidence of the rebirth of Marxism in the events in Paris and Prague" – but I shall concentrate on the section I know most about.

The introduction to the nuclear disarmament section is particularly bad and deserves detailed criticism. Widgery opens with the silly remark, " The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was born not with a band but with a whimper," and he follows with a patronising dismissal of everything which happened before then: "People rejecting nuclear weapons on principle had been unsuccessfully pottering around for at least ten years before the campaign took off in 1958" – the peace movement may have been unsuccessful before 1958, as the nuclear disarmament movement was after 1958 (after all we still have nuclear weapons today), but it was not a matter of pottering around. Widgery should do some homework. He describes *Peace News* as "a vegetarian tabloid with a Quaker emphasis on active witness," which is funny but untrue. He refers to "the rather limp pacifist tradition of the thirties," which is just untrue. He quotes the PPU pledge wrongly, which is unimportant but unnecessary, and is typical of his whole treatment of pacifism.

Widgery improves when he gets on to the actual unilateralist movement, but he still doesn't know much about it. He mentions the interesting point that many of the audience at the CND inaugural meeting in 1958 demonstrated in Downing Street, but not the more significant point that they staged the first recorded spontaneous sit-down in Britain. He says that "within weeks of its foundation, CND had found the perfect vehicle" in the Aldermaston March; but the first Aldermaston March was organised not by CND but by an independent ad hoc direct action committee, and only after it proved successful did CND take it over and turn it back to front from 1959 onwards. He says that "the Direct Action Committee had soon parted company with CND," but DAC was formed before CND, was never part of it, and eventually merged with the Committee of 100. Widgery is generally so much interested in the relationship of the nuclear disarmament movement with the labour movement that he overlooks the true nature of the divisions within the nuclear disarmament movement itself.

The account of the Committee of 100 is very poor. Widgery says that "the nearest it came to capturing mass opinion within CND was during Peter Cadogan's 'March Must Decide' campaign on the 1963 Aldermaston," and then adds that this ended with the Metropolitan Police and the CND marshals "boxing the most suspect marchers in a complete cordon and collectively frogmarching them through central London." The crucial factor at Easter 1963 was of course the Spies for Peace rather than the Committee of 100 or Peter Cadogan's campaign, and the march ended quite differently from Widgery's description (see Freedom, 20 April 1963 – reprinted in *Forces of Law and Order*).

As for the Spies for Peace, Widgery gives the following description of the RSG-6 demonstration during the march: "When the Spies for Peace march eventually arrived at the Littlewick Green secret bomb shelter, having broken through barbed wire and fences to get to it, it immediately, despite a fine speech by Bob Rowthorn and a lot of Glaswegian cursing about middle-class liberals, proceeded to sit down, like several hundred large soft mushrooms, in clumps around the entrance, and wait until a force of police arrived." The demonstration was not at Littlewick Green, but at Warren Row; the demonstrators did not break through barbed wire and fences, because there was none of the former and gaps in the latter; they did not sit-down immediately, but went as far as they could before doing so; they did not wait for the police, because there was already a large force with dogs around and inside the shelter; Rowthorn's speech may have been fine, but like most contributions to unilateralist debate from Marxist intellectuals it was ignorant and irrelevant. (See the same issue of Freedom, also reprinted). In fact Widgery doesn't know what happened at Easter 1963, and if he couldn't bother to read contemporary accounts or consult reliable eye-witnesses he should have kept his mouth shut.

But Widgery is right in his view of the function of the Committee of 100 in the nuclear disarmament movement and of the militants in the Committee of 100, as pioneers in the theory and practice of confrontation, if only he had attempted to develop or illustrate it. Instead he dismisses the decline of the late 1960s with a series of epigrams, spoilt by yet more errors and omissions. He includes *Anarchy* among those who "had ethical objections" to the Vietnam demonstrations in 1968, which is just stupid, since *Anarchy* had no editorial line about demonstrations. He says that "the Committee's independent initiatives . . . were over by 1964," which is just nonsense, since they continued until the end of 1967. He leaves out such freelance actions outside the Committee control but still inside Committee tradition as the Red Square demonstration in 1962, Greek Week in 1963, the Brighton Church demonstration in 1966, and the Greek Embassy demonstration in 1967, and he fails to understand the painful transition from the Committee to the student movement in 1967 and 1968.

The last 100 pages of the book are taken up by a useful Chronology of events (compiled by Dave Philips, and best on industrial troubles) a Glossary of organisations and publications, a rich Bibliography, and a poor Index.

The glossary is uneven in coverage, like the whole book, but rather more reliable in treatment (it has been checked by more outsiders). There are still several mistakes and misunderstandings, including the following in entries of libertarian interest. In the entry on *Anarchy*, it is called "the anarchist pocket review brilliantly edited by Colin Ward from 1961 to 1970 which pioneered many ideas on education, architecture and art which were to become Leftist commonplaces by the late 1960s;" apart from the curious put-down of calling a standard octavo magazine a "pocket review", limiting its scope to only three of its dozens of topics, and suggesting that its arguments have become accepted – if it was so good, why not include some of it in the body of the book?

In the entry on the Angry Brigade, the name is said to have been adopted "in late sixties" though it was invented at the end of 1970. In the entry on *Black Flag*, Albert Meltzer is described as "veteran anarchist, boxer and auto-destructive artist;" the last of the three points looks like the result of confusion with Gustav Metzger, who was with Ralph Schoenman the main founder of the Committee of 100 in 1960. In the same entry Widgery mentions that members of the Anarchist Black Cross "have been singled out particularly for police attention," and describes the fates of Pinelli in Italy and Rauch in Germany – but what about the inclusion of Stuart Christie in the Angry Brigade Affair?

The entry on *Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review* is absurdly incomplete. In the entry on *Freedom* there is a reference to the "Socialist Worker's Federation" which is obviously meant to be the Syndicalist Workers Federation – hence the cross reference from the SWF to *Freedom*. The entry on *Heatwave* mentions only Chris Gray and not Charles Radcliffe. There is an entry on "Situationalism" rather than Situationism, and indeed Widgery seems to be very unsure about both the terminology and the ideology of the movement.

The entry on Solidarity calls its basic statement *What We Stand For* rather than *As We See It* (1967), and doesn't mention the interesting supplement to it, *As We Don't See It* (1972)

The bibliography is very detailed and worth careful study – something which was evidently missing from its preparation, at least in the

sections on the nuclear disarmament movement and the history of anarchism. In the former for example, Frank Parkin's thesis *Middle Class Radicalism* (1968), which is a sociological analysis of CND, is described as follows: "Frank Parkin's retrospective study of constituency Labour Parties is a . . . canny reconstruction of the battles that ebbed and flowed in Labour wards" – which bears no relation to the content of the book. L.J. McFarlane's *Political Quarterly* article "Disobedience and the Bomb" (1966) is called an "interesting academic survey" – which misses its ignorance and inaccuracy. Peggy Duff's autobiography *Left, Left, Left* (1971) is described as "lively reading, although portraying herself as more revolutionary in intention that she was in reality" – which misses the deadness and dishonesty of the book. For some reason Widgery still uses it as a reliable source – as he also does with such fantasies as Brian Behan's *With Breast Expanded* (1964) and Jeff Nuttall's *Bomb Culture* (1968).

Bertrand Russell's memorandum of Ralph Schoenman is credited only to *Black Dwarf*, where it was indeed first published in 1970, rather than the *New Statesman*, where it reached far more readers, or Ronald Clark's book *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (1975), where it is most easily read now. The special report in *Anarchy* 29 called "The Spies for Peace Story" was published separately as a pamphlet called *Resistance Shall Grow* (1963) and did not include "an insider's account of the Spies of Peace Action;" that appeared three years later as a pamphlet called *The Spies For Peace: Their Story Told At Last* (1966). My *NLR* article "Damned Fools in Utopia" (1962) did not represent "the Committee of 100 at its most melodramatic" – Widgery should read *Peace News* from 1960 to 1962. There is a ludicrous claim that "the mood of Aldermaston is best conveyed in David Mercer's TV trilogy *The Generations* . . . and Mike Horovitz's pioneering poetry magazine *New Departure's*" – Widgery should read *Peace News* and *Sanity* for Easter 1959-1967.

As for literature on anarchism, Widgery includes among "accounts by participants in the post-war anarchist movement" George Woodcock's study of Herbert Read, which is fair enough – except that he calls it *The Source and the Stream* rather than *Herbert Read: The Stream and the Source* (1972). He then includes in the same category Ethel Mannin's novel *Comrade O Comrade* (1947), which he calls "a fictional account of the 1945 split in the AFB" – when it is in fact a satirical account of the British left nearly ten years earlier, at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. And he even includes in the same category Marie Louise Berneri's *Journey Through Utopia* (1950) – when it has nothing to do with the anarchist movement but is a survey of literary utopias up to Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932)!

Jeremy Westall's article "What's Wrong With *Freedom*?" (new *Anarchy* 12) is described as "a cheerful personal reminiscence of eminent anarchists" – when it is one of the most miserable articles ever printed in the anarchist press. Marsha Rowe's article "Workin' for the (Underground) Man" is credited to *Open Secret* 2 (1970) when it actually appeared in *Inside Story*2 (1972).

There are plenty of other peculiarities in the bibliography. The survey of the literature on the French "events" of 1968 gives as the only anarchist item the Cohn-Bendit's book *Obstolete Communism: The Left Wing Alternative*. The only mention of literature on the housing movement is a reference to two issues of *Anarchy* (23 and 83 – but not 97 or 102), so the several items on the struggle of tenants, homeless people and squatters during the 1960s which are scattered through the book are never put into a proper context; quite apart from coverage in *Anarchy* and *Freedom*, there has been significant material in *Solidarity* and other libertarian papers, and the libertarian contribution is essential to any understanding of the phenomenon. So, in one way and another, *The Left In Britain* is a mess. But the good things about the book are that it exists at all and that there is so much of it. In the absence of any other reasonably comprehensive account of modern leftism in this country, Widgery's huge collection of first-hand material must be welcome, even if it arouses argument as much as agreement. It is easy to say the job should have been done better; the important thing to say is that it has been done at all – and that it managed to escape the severe cuts in Penguin's publishing programme, though only at the cost of a long delay which made the book out of date even before it appeared and of a high price which puts it out of reach of most normal readers.

Thus Widgery's commentaries may be eccentric and unreliable, but they are also interesting and entertaining. The items reprinted in the various sections may be oddly chosen and badly presented, but they are often worth re-reading and hard to get hold of. For example, it is good to have Alex Comfort's speech at the CND inaugural meeting (even if it is dated three years early), Christopher Pallis's account of the First Aldermaston March (even if he is still disguised under an old pseudonym), the Committee of 100 leaflet distributed inside Russia (even if there is nothing about what happened), the description of the King Hill demonstration during the Erith by-election (even if the King Hill struggle is not explained), Tony Mahoney's account of the Arbour Square squat (even if the beginnings of the squatting movement are not described), and so on. The final judgment must be that the book should be read if you can get hold of it, but that it should be shaken well before use.

(Freedom) **Nicolas Walter**

ANTICS

Telesforo Tajuelo: El M.I.L., Puig Antich y los G.A.R.I. (Ruedo Iberico, Paris 1977, 141pp)

What we have here is no essay in band-wagon-jumping. Far from it. This is a serious study (compiled as a university thesis and dult approved as such) written in a readable style and with a clear-cut ideological outlook.

Disheartened and disenchanted by the time spent in militancy in either trotskyist-maoist type groups, or in a trade union group under the thumb of the C.P., an assortment of militants came together on a common platform of workers' autonomy.

They came from three sources: a group abroad, another workers' group, and finally a theoretical group. After having promoted the important G.O.A. (Grupos Obreros Autonomos – Autonomous Workers' Groups) in Barcelona province, the comrades of what was to become the M.I.L. were among those who participated in the famous Harry Walker affair.

Between 17 December 1970 and 15 February 1971, the 470 employees of the Solex multinational mounted a strike – which they lost. The strike was exemplary: there was a united committee answerable to free workers' assemblies, a rejection of political manipulation, and a public denunciation of the chicanery of the C.P. and of a trotskyist group.

The members of the future M.I.L. were impressed by such a mature approach. "With wishful thinking (they) believed that the Spanish proletariat had matured enough to move on to the next stage, and organise itself in genuine workers' councils . . . "

(p.26) At the same time, working on the basis of an analysis by a Marxist of the Bordigist school, they imagined the world crisis to be on the verge of breaking out. (p.45).

The M.I.L. (sometimes as the *Movimiento Iberico de Liberacion* – Iberian Liberation Movement, and others as the *Movimiento Internacional Libertario* – International Libertarian Movement) made itself known in two ways. Expropriation of funds or robberies (the author sees overtones of Leninist tactics in this (pp.42-43), but in our opinion they are rather more in the tradition of Durruti and his comrades, or Sabate and Facerias). Simultaneously it launched the underground publishers "May 1937", taking as its symbol the events in May 1937 when the workers from the collectives, the rank and file of anarcho-syndicalism, fought back victoriously against the bourgeois-Stalinist reaction. Under their imprint appeared material like Ciliga's *Lenin y la revolucion rusa* (Lenin and the Russian Revolution), Berneri's *Entre la revolucion y las trincheras* (Twixt the Revolution and the Trenches), Balasz's What Will Follow Capitalism? and Pannekoek's Workers' Councils in Germany.

In a prologue to Berneri's book, the M.I.L. states that "if the revolution is to be guaranteed it is not enough for the workers to be armed, and the bourgeoisie expropriated. It is necessary for the capitalist State to be destroyed, root and branch, and for (the masses) to organise a system of their own. They must be able to combat the ideas put forward by Stalinist and reformist leaders every whit as steadfastly as they assail capitalist personages and the leaders of the bourgeois parties." (p.47). Responsibility for hold-ups was claimed in leaflets calling for libertarian communism and workers' councils.

What's more, in its first and only congress held in August 1973, the M.I.L. decided to dissolve itself, to renounce all ideology and devote itself to the practice of revolution. This, as is shown in an appendix on it, was also the course followed by the First of May Group.

However the climate of isolation and the

tightening-up of the repression led to the deaths of a number of activists. This was followed by a number of harsh sentences, especially the death sentence pronounced against Puig Antich, to be carried out by the *garrote vil*. (In Spain – as in the Middle Ages – execution takes two forms. Death by shooting, as a mark of "respect," like with the communist Julian Grimau in 1963 – and the garrotting or death by slow strangulation for malefactors, like the anarchists Granados and Delgado, also in 1963).

The M.I.L. itself looked for no special solidarity and sought no quarter. Intensification of the struggle to destroy the system that spawns repression is the best way of showing the solidarity of revolutionaries with prisoners." (p.90).

In any event, a solidarity committee was formed in Barcelona only after a defence committee had been set up – and with difficulty for even a number of French and Spanish anarchists refused to show any solidarity with "gangsters" – in France. When the sentence of death was made public on 1 March 1974, the best all the political groups (ranging from the Catalanists through to the C.P. and the Maoists and Trotskyists) could come up with was a proposal that a demonstration be held in the cemetery.

On 2 March 1974 when Puig Antich was executed, there were demonstrations and strikes in Barcelona's biggest factories and demos throughout Spain as a whole. But, yet again, political groups were to display their opportunism by referring to Puig Antich as an "anti-fascist" hero, when the M.I.L. and Puig Antich had always been clear that they were "anti-capitalist."

The latter part of the book describes the creation of the G.A.R.I. (*Grupo de Accion Revolucionario Internacionalista* – Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group) as active solidarity (through bombings) with revolutionary activists.

For the first time ever in France such national institutions as the catholic shrine of Lourdres and the Tour de France cycle race were denounced as "base, commercial" things and became targets for bombers.

The group's most spectacular success was the abduction of the director of the Bank of Bilbao, intended to influence another judgment of M.I.L. members, since almost all of the ransom money is still in the kidnapper's hands, even though four comrades are still being held.

This sober and illuminating book – which supplies a lot of documents and leaves the reader free to reach his or her own conclusions – closes with a brief but interesting bibliography.

Frank Mintz.

PARTISANS

Partisans of Freedom, William O. Reichert, Bowling Green Popular Press, Bowling Green, Ohio 1976. $25.00, 590pp.

Reichert's book is the first attempt at a comprehensive history of American anarchism. Unlike earlier histories, Reichert tries to cover both individualistic and communist anarchism, and both native and immigrant anarchist. Unfortunately, it is not done very well. One can understand why it does not really cover the past twenty or thirty years, but it is much more difficult to fathom the conscious decision not to explore the earliest days.

The undertaking itself is an ambitious one and Reichert devotes nearly six hundred pages to the effort. His biggest problem rests in organisation. The book virtually ignores the first two centuries of Europeanised America, arbitrarily beginning around 1830 with only token bows to a few earlier figures such as Tom Paine. Reichert is aware of Eunice Schuster's excellent *Native American Anarchism* (he mentions it on page viii) but apparently makes no use of her research and neglects to include her pioneering work in his selected bibliography. Consequently, not only are striking figures such as Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams absent from this history of American anarchism, but Reichert is sadly weak in his grasps of the crucial importance of religious motivation to American anarchism. When placed beside Schuster's work or Lewis Perry's very stimulating studies of the anti-slavery movement's religiously informed anarchism, Reichert's book pales by comparison.

This lack of grounding and depth is further complicated by the occasional absence of even a simple sense of chronology. To be sure, we move from one personality to the next in roughly chronologic sequence, although the section of Yiddish and German immigrant anarchism comes under "Anarchism in the Twentieth Century." Worse, there is no real sense of development or decline and no substantive analysis as to why such ebbs and flows might occur. Even such common and obligatory notions as the "frontier thesis" are lacking.

The focus is on personalities. Reichert does hover close to being ready to say a lot of interesting things, particularly about the similarities of both individualistic and communistic anarchism and the shared ground of both the exclusively pacifist anarchist and the one who would not rule out violence. His statement (on page 2) that "the question of the deliberate employment of violence and revolutionary force is not a meaningful categorical determinent (sic) and will not be used to choose between the various anarchist groups in this study" promises a fresh view, although the matter is never dealt with in sufficient depth. Likewise, he comes close to some insights as to the relationship between liberalism and anarchism but again he never probes deeply enough to hold and challenge the reader. He too quickly hops off to yet another character sketch. The issues are slighted for these personality sketches and then the failure to even place some in some analytic context gives the work a more scattered atmosphere that it can withstand. One gets the impression that, despite its length, the book was bundled off to an impatient publisher from a first draft.

This impression is strengthened by the horrendous proof reading (if any). There are literally scores of grammatical errors, with an apparently idiosyncratic use of the comma in at least the first portion of the book, and dozens of mis-spellings of proper names and other words. Thus, Joseph Labadie is about 60% of the time spelled as Labadee, Hannah Arendt loses the last letter of her first name, Captain Michael Schaack becomes (usual'y) Schacck, David Thoreau Wieck is sometimes Weick, Winstanley is mis-spelled somewhere (I couldn't find him in the index when I wanted to go back and remind myself of the exact way it was rendered.) We also encounter "Louie Bundenz" and "Murray Rothard," and find something, somewhere of "purient" interest.

More seriously, Reichert gratuitously repeats the odd suggestion of the unreliable Max Nomad that Alexander Berkman was killed by his companion Emmy Eckstein, a point which is not even suggested by any shred of abundant evidence and which other more serious scholars such as Richard Drinnon, whose work just barely is acknowledged, flet beneath contempt (I would guess). I'm also curious as to where Reichert got the idea that Rudolph Schnaubelt was an *agent provocateur*. And is it really true that Voltairine DeCleyre was Dyer D. Lum's neice?

All of this is not to say that the book doesn't have some merits. Reichert has a good feel for anarchism, and this shines through now and again when he adds his own comments. He tends on occasion to lack a sharp sense of discrimination, though, and seems to be trying to find traces of anarchism in practically everyone – which could be a valid argument if developed properly but which here just seems too ebullient an approach. Reichert appears to be trying to lay claim to too many famous figures as at least partical anarchists; he also has a tendency to rather gushingly describe too many of these people as "one of the greatest of all the American anarchists." That very phrase, it seems to me, cropped up about ten or eleven times. One last criticism: his style too often leaves one feeling that he is a little too tentative and uncertain in his judgments. There are at least a dozen times when he evaluates someone with what I'll can an "if . . . then" conclusion (e.g. "If Goodman filled a special niche in the hall of fame of the Resistance that sprang up in America during the Vietnam War, it was for the kind of clear libertarian thought . . . ")

If this review seems excessively critical, it is probably because I expected so much from another review I had read and then a glance at the table of contents. I read through the whole book with the feeling that something was missing: having to plod through because there was no thread holding it all together, keeping it moving. And after I finished, I felt left down and a little angry that this opportunity has been muffed by someone who had obviously done most of the necessary research and had a publisher behind him. The $25.00 price is one last reason I can't really recommend this book, it's not good history, and it lacks even entertainment or readability as redeeming features.

Bill Nowlin.

We should use computers instead of misusing them. There are (at least) two ways of operating a computer'

1) To replace the existing method of control. Allowing it to pump out the same uncoordinated rubbish that one hundred people did previously, but in half the time.

2) To use it as a monitor of variety in a control centre where we have a dynamic model of our system.

This last usage may be compared to the brain which selects only the relevant stimuli from the mass present. It looks and listens all the time, but only tells us when the clock stops or the animal moves, and doesn't flood us with other, useless, information.

The computer should attenuate the variety of input and amplify the variety of the output (the possible choices) thus meeting the law of requisite variety which is explained in the book.

A point mentioned in the book which is worthy of discussion, is whether or not economic freedom is essential for political freedom, since both are possibly interdependent or even the same thing.

"But freedom is not pure anarchy. We are not free if we are dropped in the middle of the Sahara Desert, despite the absence of walls and bars on the non-existent windows."

In such a place you would become a slave of anyone who could supply you with water, and a free man as soon as you could acquire your own.

The author tens to equate political and economic control by ignoring the 'political' side of politics. He says that government and the state, in anything like their present form, will play no part in his perfect society, but doesn't suggest how they will be changed politically. He seems to think that if people can be made to realise the faults of the system then they will be changed.

However, that last note apart, this is a very convincing and important book to anarchists, and should be in all our libraries. The threat that Science poses to freedom must be recognised and the gauntlet picked up by all those who desire freedom.

"There is only one solution that I can see. It is to remove the control of science and technology form those who alone can finance its development and to vest its control in the people."

Paul R. Buckland.

Anarchism, George Woodcock, Penguin, 492pp, £1.25.

Being in possession of the first United States edition of this book, from 1962, we can easily see just how faithful the author has been to his original text, notes, bibliography and index, adding only a post script of 11½ pages in 1973. We shall go on to comment on this great innovation shortly. But first let us have a look at the oh-so-formidable text that has required no amendment since 1962.

One possible explanation for the author's intellectual stagnation may be found in Woodcock's political transformation from the anarchist of the 40s to today's mandarin in Canada. Now, change is one thing, treachery another.

Aspirations

"In reality, the ideal of anarchism, far from democracy carried to its logical end, is much nearer to aristocracy universalised and purified" (Prologue, p.30). "I have brought the history of anarchism to an end in the year 1939. The date is chosen deliberately; it marks the real death in Spain of the anarchist movement which Bakunin founded two generations before." And: "How right they were (the reformists) – and how wrong the anarchists – in purely material terms, has been shown by the radical change in character of modern capitalism, which has led to a remarkable broadening in the standard of living and the scope of leisure in the Western world, and also to the appearance of the welfare state with its insidious dulling of the edge of resentment." (Epilogue pp.443, 447).

But on the other hand: "And, for the very fact that it is based on qualities and aspirations towards freedom and peace that are fundamental in human nature, the Utopia of anarchism is literally, realisably." (p.24). "In reality, the existence of a little liberty in this country (England) means nothing . . . The individual has not rights; 'Habeas Corpus' is dead mutton. At present it is convenient and practicable for our bureaucratic rulers to allow us to retain certain of the liberties of capitalist democracy. When events render this position inconvenient for them to maintain, they will not hesitate to make the English state in all its aspects as ruthless as the German." (Epilogue, p.119). "I do not state that such a social revolution is imminent. But I do contend that there is a general trend in social affairs towards a revolutionary situation, in the maturing of which this war is but an incident. The oppositions of the class struggle are becoming daily more clear, and there is a growing realisation among men of all kinds that the social choice before them is not one between two forms of authoritarian society, such as democracy and fascism, but between authority in any form and the completely free society of anarchy." (Epilogue, p.121).

Omission of Sources

It is time now, for us to point out that the quotations in favour of anarchism, come from *Anarchy or Chaos* (Freedom Press, 1944, 124pp) by . . . George Woodcock, at that time an anarchist. Woodcock's evolving along the lines of a growing adaptation to a society which he once believed was corrupt certainly goes a long way to explain his aggressive attitude to anarchism.

Declaring in favour of unconditional pacifism, Woodcock dubs the anarchist terrorists "criminals," which shows up the absence of a serious approach in his investigation generally; though what he owes to Max Nettlau (the anarchist historian) may be greater than his words indicate on account of the systematic omission of sources.

This blinkered pacifism leads Woodcock to ignore the Italian theoretician Galleani, the Argentine movement as a whole, the social struggles in the United States (the struggles at the turn of the century are utterly ignored) and the roles of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman appear inconsequential. Nor do the many battles in favour of Sacco and Vanzetti and their significance in the context of the United States' democratic fascism, deserve a mention.

The postscript from July 1973 is like the book, and although, after the book was first published, anarchism was, as far as Woodcock was concerned, nearly dead, it "has emerged again, rejuvenated." He says he foresaw this possibility in his 1962 book, but in fact, he is surely confusing that with his anarchist book of 1944. For Woodcock, the present situation is due to "a scholarly interest" (p.456) and to a "growing political faith among young people and especially among intellectuals and students." (p.457). So, "the new libertarianism is essentially a revolt – not of the under-privileged – but of the privileged who have seen the futility of affluence as a goal." (p.462) and Woodcock tells us that where anarchism *is* firmly rooted in the people is in India with the movements of Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. An odd way of looking at things!

Autonomous Struggles

First, scholarly interest, not only in anarchism but also in socialism and in the marxist movement, dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, and the reason is readily understandable: *it is the duty of the university to supply the State with the cultural and philosophical justification for smashing or corrupting anti-exploitation theories.* In Italy, Lombroso discovered that all anarchists have a congenial, wicked tendency towards crime; in France, Victor Basch saw them as religious persons without a god. Lenin takes more or less the same line when he – and with him, all authoritarian marxists – makes a distinction between the lumpen, scum anarchists and the wise, intelligent anarchists, who are unconscious marxists.

Second, to reduce the new libertarianism to the student or intellectual world is stupid. Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, France that same year, and China in April 1976 (see the paper *Minus 7*) are clear indications that all workers – whether their work be physical, manual or intellectual – feel fed up with hierarchy, and the permanence of the same rulers. If anarchism were only a fad, a moral posture for intellectuals, why millions of people pursuing its goals? To take a clear-cut example – I am not familiar with the situation in India, but I cannot see anarchism where Woodcock locates it – the autonomous struggles in Italy, the rebirth of the CNT in Spain, the numerous groups in many countries, and, above all, the great wave of anti-dogmatism, opposition to caste and decision-making from above, that is rising in Eastern Europe and China, and on a lesser scale in Western Europe, are proving that the Woodcock of 1944 was right.

Frank Mintz.

A VERY CROOKED ROAD

The Italian Road to Socialism (An interview by Eric Hobsbawm with Georgio Napolitano of the Italian Communist Party), Journeyman Press, London 1977. 121pp. £1.95.

We must begin by pointing out the brazen superficiality of the English publishers in their choice of title, for the Italian edition is entitled *Conversations on the C.P. of Italy* – a rather less general subject.

One would have been satisfied to read a genuine dialogue with a certain agressiveness in the questioning so as to assess the strength of the replies. Instead, here we have a discussion between militants of the same ideological faith: "We have not talked very much about Marx because, ca va sans dire, we are Marxists" (p.93). And, what is more serious, we are really witnessing a mutual masturbation session (intellectually, of course) each an admirer of the other, content with simplistic, hollow questioning: when Hobsbawm seemingly teases with a question as to whether the Italian C.P. is mutating into social-democracy (p.28), or if all it wanted was a Swedish-style regime (p.48), or if Leninism is not at issue (p.98), the responses, which add nothing to our knowledge, are very curt (29 lines on page 1 and page 3).

Doubts

Those few interesting points that do slip out bring no comment from Hobsbawm: when Napolitano concedes that he and young intellectuals of his generation regarded Togliatti with "idolatry," and that "total identification with the socialist world (. . .) drove us to some mistaken attitudes" (p.22), one is taken aback that there is no allusion to the rigged trials against the Jewish doctors in the USSR, various groups of London's "British spies" in Hungary, Kostov in Bulgaria, etc. How can one make the leap from blind, utter sectarianism to serious criticism without personal or collective traumas? How can one fail to call into question an organisational structure which still claims, as it did before, to be democratic and flexible . . . from the top down!!?

As if it were a small matter, there is no rational – or Marxist – criterion for a critique of the USSR at first sight it's just a matter of each C.P. being autonomous which the USSR would deny (p.31), but at the same time Napolitano says that "the analysis made at that time (1956) of the phenomenon of Stalinism or the Stalinist period is highly debatable" (p.86), and as we know that the average age of a member of the Russian central committee is about 65 and the present leadership were Stalinists we might have our doubts here, too, and wonder if the whole system is not rotten.

But Napolitano-Hobsbawm passes over this peripetetic nonsense. Accoridng to them it is absurd to regard "the soviet reality as a police state." "Nor can we accept that hte international role of the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism and for peace be ignored or denied." (p.87).

Disquieting

Why, with the Yugoslav communist State before their very noses, did it take the Italian communists until the 20th Congress in 1956 to recognise the obvious? Taken together with Italian communists' non-comprehension of the *Il Manifesto* group and the extraparliamentary left, one can foresee the same old sectarianism as before.

To top it all off, there is a disquieting misrepresentation of certian elements in Italian politics: no mention of Gramsci's sectarianism, nor of Togliatti's past as a gunman (he was beyond a shadow of a doubt behind the murder of the Italian anarchist C. Berneri in Barcelona in 1937), let alone the period of "the hand of friendship" between 1944 and 1947 which amounted to leaving some of the anarchist political prisoners Mussolini had already detained in their cells. Eurocommunism will be a step in the right direction, but what a lot of cant it contains!

Frank Mintz.

Miklos Haraszti: **A Worker in a Workers' State (Piece-rates in Hungary)**, Penguin, London 1977, 175pp.

The author is a Hungarian sociologist – an intellectual owing to his education to the regime – who began work in a milling shop and, for our benefit, recreates his impressions and the working atmosphere. Any worker could come up with a better summary, but I can stress a few points.

The workers are on piece-work, but the setters and the foremen do their utmost to hold up work and under-assess it. They are the bosses' accomplices (p.31). Pay is assessed according to a norm that maintains the exploitation. "They fix a norm, but take good care that I am forced to surpass it by making sure that even one hundred per cent performance is not enough to live on." (p.40).

The atmosphere is tense and nervous stress manifests itself in the destruction of a machine (p.51), but the overseers usually take on an indulgent view, no doubt because the workers are tightly controlled through meetings for discussion of the Plan and the functioning of the factory. That is the plural form "we" for the workers. "we decided," as if the workers were in control or were the bosses, and "we" want is the keynote of propaganda . . . (pp.72,73).

A demand that the salary scale be shortened is deemed wrong-headed and they fight "against vulgar egalitarianism" (p.91). There's no interest in unions, (p.94). And demands are pointless for the labour code anticipates everything and the worker is over-ruled, or else it is couched in such terms that our author, the worker-sociologist, cannot make head nor tail of it (pp.95-96). And the finishing touch: "any hope of solidarity is excluded by the simple, daily experience that white-collar workers do lighter work and accomplish less." (p.76). Sure, the cost of living does go up and wages stagnate (p.59), but the workers are resigned to it and go on devoting themselves to "football, beer, motorcycles, the house and the TV" (p.65).

The only change, the only reaction against all this is the devotion to "home s" (objects made for his own purpose or pleasure by a worker using his factory's machines and materials, p.9). "Making homers is the only work in the factory which stands apart from our incessant competition between each other. In fact it demands co-operation, voluntary co-operation – not just to smuggle them out, but also to create them." (p.143).

This book was written in Hungary for publication there – and the editor of a sociological review agreed to the publication – but the author was prosecuted for "incitement to subversion." Haraszti answered: "My aim was to produce a constructive critique. I described the situation in the shop faithfully, without making generalisations from it to the industry or the country as a whole. Certainly I criticised piece-work, but it is not a fundamental socialist institution. It is not a socialist institution at all: it is a capitalist institution." (p.161,162). That was in 1973; it seems that the author was some months in jail and had to pay a big fine. Now, at the end of 1977, he is being expelled from his homeland by the authorities.

So the title of the book is an obvious attempt to make it palatable to capitalism, irrespective of Bool's foreword (the author is "as unwelcome on our side as on theirs") and the translator's note about a legal edition of this book in the Eastern bloc. Why didn't they keep the title "Piece-work" adding "in Hungary and many other places"? But it's worth reading all the same.

Frank Mintz.

The G.P.U. in the Trotskyist Movement, Georges Vereeken, New Park, £3.00.

Most of the Trotskyite groupings are making a great fuss about the 'Healeyites' revealing that the Fourth International was riddled with Stalinist agents and that these agents killed Trotsky himself. It shows, great intellectual courage for a Trotskyist to make these revelations, for the Fourth International was Trotsky's own creation, and while it may well be inter-factional jealousy that causes one section of the Trotskyist movement to expose its antecedents, it doesn't in fact expose the whole spurious nature of Trotskyism as a political tendency.

Georges Vereeken gives an account in this book of the work of the G.P.U. inside the European Trotskyist movement, and in particular how its small Spanish section was involved in the murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. The facts as presented by Vereeken are as remorseless as the logic which he tries to evade. It suited Stalin to let Trotsky go: and he left Russia in the style of a great prince after years as part of the bureaucratic leadership under Stalin after the death of Lenin. He needed him abroad as a symbol of opposition to assist in the building of a legend of a beleaguered Soviet Union. Stalin needed the identification of the opposition Bolsheviks, in order to smash them, as they would undermine the real revolutionary opposition yet could be relied on ultimately to capitulate. When Stalin chose the Hitler alliance, Trotsky became superfluous and had to be destroyed.

The tiny Spanish group, who had tried to infiltrate the POUM and whom the notorious Felix Morrow held up as the epitome of Bolshevik Leninism, had a bitter pill to swallow when it found itslef not only entirely taken over by the G.P.U., but asked to collaborate with Franco in the liquidation of the workers' movement with its know-who as well as know-how. Little wonder that thi group, which had all been sincere (State)

communists of one variety or another, opted for the less personal treason of the assassination of their leader.

This is not brought out by Vereeken who jibs at showing the relation of the Fourth International with Nazi agents – yet G.P.U. agents, whose penetration he admits, were working together with the Nazis in 1940. But it is a painstaking account of the decadence of State Communism and the Trotskyist movement in particular.

It must have been a bitter ironic last thought of Trotsky that he was struck down by the party he created. Trotsky only thought in terms of intrigue and conspiracy for all his public utterances about working class organisation: like the cuckoo that lays eggs in other birds' nests, he could only envisage the seizure of power at its sources; that he was assassinated by his own supporters was entirely appropriate. That is not meant sarcastically. To the end the Fourth International has remained 'Trotsky's supporters' and even those like Marc Zborowski who became directly Moscow agents, never refuted Trotsky's theories or denied his theses. Few could understand this mentality but other Trotskyists; they did not cease to call Hosanna even when they were crucifying their Master.

I. Spick.

Santiago Carrillo: **Eurocommunism and the State**, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1977, 172pp., £2.75.
Fernando Claudin: **L'Eurocommunisme, Paris,** Maspero, 1977, 151pp.

Since both of these books were published at the same time neither author takes any account of the other. And, without a shadow of a doubt, the more readable and serious of the two studies is the one by Claudin. Carrillo's book is, frankly, poor.

Claudin is a veteran of the Spanish Communist Party – his association with it dates back to the civil war – and in 1964 he was expelled from the central committee and the party on account of his advocacy of a policy, part of which (only part) Carrillo advocates today.

The opening chapter, entitled "Capitalist crisis and socialist alternative" is a short one, emphasising the importance (but not the inevitability) of the current crisis, and especially the role of the C.P., whether in Italy, France or Spain in that it might provide a novel and different solution which would be a hopeful sign for the world, East as well as West.

The chapter that follows it, "Eurocommunism and Moscow" is likewise a short one. But the author is bolder in his statements: "Those who see in Eurocommunism only a new tactical exercise, a front hiding the continuing manipulation by Moscow, are mistaken." (p.31) I personally was not convinced by the arguments Claudin goes on to bolster his statement with. What is beyond dispute is that as far as Claudin is concerned, "the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat loses what democratic implications it had in Marx, to be transfigured into a formula, a mystification for the dictatorship of the new class *over* the proletariat."

In the Stalin tradition

In contrast to Claudin's position, which refuses to see socialism in the Eastern bloc, one notes that Eurocommunism – although critical – never questions the claim that in the East the workers have been liberated from capitalism and exploitation. And Claudin's historical instance is persuasive: there was not a murmur of criticism, in the Stalinist period, when Kruschev sent in the army to crush the rebellion by the Hungarian workers in 1956. The first sign of criticism came in 1961 from the Italian C.P., a criticism that was to take on a more explicit form in 1964 with Togliatti's political testament on polycentrism as opposed to leadership from Moscow alone.

What is more, not in France in 1968, nor in Italy in 1969, nor today have the Italian and French and Spanish C.P.s amended the blinkered intolerance, sectarianism and slander (in the Stalinist tradition) deployed against anarchists or the leftist opposition.

On the other hand, one notes how the three parties came to adopt stands more and more opposed to the USSR and the Eastern bloc on well-defined and specific issues: the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the expulsion of dissident intellectuals and the abuse of psychiatry. So Claudin points outs that the three parties "allege on the one hand that socialism is inseparable from freedom and democracy; and on the other, they persist in referring to the regimes of the Eastern bloc as "socialist"."

Claudin goes on to analyse the evidence for the existence of socialism in the USSR – the abolition of the relations of capitalist production, the neutrality of science and the organisation of work, having no qualitative effect on socialism – as phoney and concludes that for as long as Eurocommunism sticks to such notions it will have no real strategy.

Statements by Engels

The third and final portion of the book is more extensive and, though the author does not state it, it is a sort of programme for a Eurocommunism of the future, when the parties jettison the deadweight of regarding the East as "socialist."

Although Claudin criticises social-democracy which rests upon some statements by Engels in 1895 (introduction to *The Class Struggles in Frence* concerning the fate of violent revolutions and the need for a parliamentary struggle under capitalism, he himself takes a very similar line. Of course, as far as he is concerned, the essential difference is this: the communist party must abandon its claim to be the guiding light of the working class and the sole representative of marxism. Only then, says Claudin, will a democratic socialist road be a possibility.

The French C.P.'s recent policy of retreat from its alliance with the socialist party partly defeats Claudin's hopes: for, with the legislative elections so near at hand, with a possibility of success, who but Moscow could derive benefit from the defeat of the left and the maintenance of the "status quo" in France?

Carrillo who refers to himself as a "Marxist political worker" (p.141) sets out an analysis of advanced capitalist society and the role of the State, as well as the prospects for socialists, all of course, seen from a Marxist angle. The author's definition of himself raises a small problem, because since 1936 at least, Carrillo (who was born in 1916) has been a political leader appointed, paid, fed, housed, washed and so on, by an organisation. So, going by Carrillo's 40-plus years as a mandarin of the Spanish C.P., the reader has a right to expect a good knowledge of politics and of analysis.

Banalities

If the first part, "The State versus Society," is brief and short and contains no surprises, the second is very interesting: it is entitled "The ideological apparatuses of the State." What will Carrillo, this top militant with his experience of Moscow and the underground struggle have to say?

There follows a series of topics, generalities, and banalities on religion, education and the family, the law, and the media. Even at the level of any college or school magazine, or boyscout meeting, problems like the value of work, hierarchy, control from below, relations between the sexes, sex-pairing, are discussed and raised, but they seem to have escaped the notice of Carrillo.

"The coercive apparatuses of the State" asserts that world war is not a possibility, so "how can the State apparatuses be transformed democratically?" . . . " In this respect, May 1968 in France was an interesting experience. At the outset, the forces of public order operated with brutality; but in the course of the struggle, these forces resisted their being used by authority as a repressive instrument against the people. A series of stands was taken in the professional police unions which protested against being used by the authorities and showed a wish not to confront the people. Some moments of wavering also occurred within the army." (p.52). Not only is all this cant sheer lies, but today the situation is even worse: there are more trigger-happy policemen, and when they do protest, it is not about being involved in political acts – such as breaking up demonstrations – but rather about not getting enough money from the Ministry of the Interior.

This is proof of Carrillo's blinkered inability to respond normally to reality. But all the other chapters are every bit as silly, or more so.

On the army (pp.57-76) Carrillo avoids mentioning the fact that the arms industry is the mainstay of modern nations' exports and influence, Spain included. So even if discipline today is more sophisticated it is still discipline from above, and a sector of industry is, in the event of unrest, indirectly placed under the jurisdiction of the military. And why not mention all the laws that give the army the power to intervene against strikers?

Crude Defence

Having drawn a distinction (less clearly than Claudin) between the socialist countries and social democracy Carrillo pronounces: "The only thing which should be banished from a society which is profoundly democratic, is terrorism and physical violence as an instrument of political action, and the use of libel and slander against individuals or groups." (pp. 98-99) But the problem is that Carrillo does not apply this sentence to his own case (see what he has to say about May 1968, self-management in Spain in 1936, and May 1937

in Barcelona, pp.118-123). A Jewish woman who was in Auschwitz wrote: "If on the day Hitler went to Rome to meet with Mussolini to put the finishing touches to the Axis alliance, some terrorists had bombed Hitler's train or bombed the vehicles in which the two terrorists were parading to the applause of the Italian crowd, had some terrorists been willing to offer up their own lives that day, they would have been sparing ours . . . " (*Le Monde*, Paris 18.11.77. p.12).

The rest of the book is a crude defence of the C.P.'s policy during the civil war, and critical veneration of the USSR (pp.157, 159, 164).

Carrillo is a good leader when it is a matter of sidestepping the youth who want to throw him out of the party to avoid the lurch to the right, or appearing victimised as he did recently in Moscow. But when it comes to writing, he stands exposed as a poor polemicist and a mere Stalinist. And what an object lesson, what an ideological work from a party which aspires to socialism, from a man who cannot even control his own militants.

Frank Mintz.

The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia, Lennard D. Gerson, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1976, 332 pp.

Professor Gerson has produced the first full-length study in English of the Soviet secret police (the Cheka) in the initial decade of Bolshevik rule. It was during this period, from the October Revolution to the deaths of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky, that the Cheka, according to Gerson, developed into "one of this century's most sanguinary instruments of state-organised violence" (p.6). Between July 1918 and December 1919 its budget increased by more than 2000 per cent as a vast network of provincial, district and city Chekas took shape. By the end of the Civil War the Cheka employed more than 30,000 agents with sweeping powers in virtually every area of Soviet life.

During its first two years of operations, the Cheka made 128,000 arrests in central Russia alone, more than 40,000 of them in Moscow. Beyond tooting out sedition, its agents patrolled the borders, guarded the railroads, hunted down speculators, manned grain requisition detachments, and suppressed urban and rural revolts. They also administered an extensive system of concentration camps and forced labour institutions, which has remained a permanent feature of the Soviet regime. To carry out this broad mission, the Cheka acquired a whole range of special departments and units as well as an auxiliary force of more than 100,000 men, armed with machine guns and artillery. Often unscrupulous or unstable, Cheka agents used their authority to settle private grudges, indulge sadistic appetites, or confiscate property for personal benefit. Many did not flinch from torture and murder.

Providing ample documentation, Gerson indicates the extent to which the Cheka and its camps have underpinned the Soviet state from its inception. Like Solzhenitsyn in *The Gulag Archipelago*, he shows that the secret police was from the outset an integral and necessary element of the Bolshevik system, necessary because, at the very birth of the Revolution, the Bolshevik leaders recognised that they and their followers constituted a minority of the Russian people, and that they could maintain themselves in power only by taking the most ruthless measures against the centres of opposition throughout the country. As early as December 1917, the month in which the Cheka was formed, Lenin called for a purge of all "vermin, fleas and bugs" from the Russian land. Thereafter, he defended the Cheka at every turn against those, both inside and outside the party, who would limit its power or attempt to control its activities. After Lenin's death, writes Gerson, the secret police was transformed into an instrument of Stalin's personal dictatorship, but it was Lenin, not Stalin, who "created the institutional foundations for rule by terror." (p.xiv).

Gerson also lends support to Solzhenitsyn's contention that the most numerous victims of Cheka violence were not the landlords, capitalists and officials, bent on restoring the old order, but the workers and peasants themselves, the "toiling masses" in whose name the Bolsheviks had taken power. As opposition to the Bolsheviks increased, the epithet "class enemy" came to embrace everyone, regardless of economic origin or status, who challenged their claim to authority. Those who suffered the most included many dedicated revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists, Socialist Revolutionaries, who criticised Lenin and who demanded the restoration of industrial democracy, freely elected soviets, and freedom of speech, press, and assembly, all of which the Bolsheviks had suppressed.

Nor did the conclusion of the Civil War inaugurate a relaxation of the terror. On the contrary, arrests and persecutions mounted. The number of concentration camps rose from 132 in 1921 to 355 in 1923, in addition to the more than 300 corrective labour camps, prisons and agricultural colonies in operation. When Lenin died in 1924, the active remnant of political opposition had been eliminated or driven underground. Lenin had left behind a centralised party and a police state which in the name of the noblest ideals of humanity had launched one of the great tyrannies in history. All the elements existed for the nightmare reign of Stalin, who pushed the system of terror and methods of repression to their ultimate limits.

In addition to his account of the Cheka, Professor Gerson provides an interesting biographical study of Dzerzhinsky, its "architect and master builder" (p.8) which adds to the value of the book. *The Secret Police in Lenin's Russia* fills a conspicuous gap in the historiography of the early Soviet period. Thoroughly researched, clearly and cogently written, it is the best study of the Cheka that we are likely to have for some time.

Paul Avrich.

The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilisation, John Keep, W.W. Norton, New York 1976, 614pp.

Franz Borkenau once wrote of "the law of the two-fold development of revolutions: they begin as anarchistic movements against the bureaucratic state organisation, which they inevitably destroy; they continue by setting in its place another, which suppresses all free mass movements." John Keep, well-known for his history of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party during its formative years, has set himself the task of examining how Borkenau's law operated in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Unlike most previous historians, who have concentrated on political developments in Petrograd, Professor Keep explores the social history of the revolution and discusses events in the provinces as well as in the capital. What concerns him, above all, is the experience of the lower strata of Russian society, workingmen, artisans, peasants, who were the actual makers of the revolution if not its ultimate beneficiaries. He focuses, in particular, on the grass-roots organisations, rural as well as urban, which sprang into life during the early weeks of the revolution and constituted perhaps it most striking feature. Here, says Keep, is where the pulse of the revolution beat most strongly.

The revolution, Keep shows, began as "an elemental popular movement inspired by the most egalitarian and libertarian ideals" (p.vii). Overwhelmingly decentralist and anti-authoritarian, it was a vast social upheaval, the greatest revolt of the century, in which ordinary men and women, in town and country played the most essential part. For workers and peasants alike, the ideal society took the form of a direct democracy of councils, committees, and communes, in which they, the "toiling masses," could live in peace and contentment with full economic and political liberty organised "from below." After the October seizure of power, however, these organs of popular self-rule – trade unions, factory committees, soviets, peasant committees, workers' militia – were taken over by the Bolsheviks and recued, in accordance with Borkenau's law, to instruments of centralised authority, rubber stamps of a new bureaucratic state.

With the aid of much recently published evidence, intelligently and convincingly deployed, Professor Keep unfolds his story in rich and fascinating detail. Apart from his analysis of mass organisations, he provides a valuable survey buttressed with a wealth of statistical data, of Russia's economic condition before and during the revolution. One of the great merits of his book is that it organises a wide range of complicated material in an admirably clear and readable form. In doing so, it fills a conspicuous gap in the historiography of 1917. It is the most comprehensive treatment now available in English of the social dimension of the revolution, the work of an accomplished historian who can analyse and explain as well as gather and narrate. Our understanding of the revolution has been greatly enhanced by this book.

Paul Avrich.

In the Name of the People: Prophets and Conspirators in Prerevolutionary Russia, Adam B. Ulam, Viking Press, New York, 1977, pp. xii + 418, $15.00.

The story of the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century, the youthful men and women who forsook their aristocratic heritage to "go to the people," is the stuff of fiction. It has been told many times, often very well, in both scholarly and popular works. In English alone David Footman, Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Robert Payne, Ronald Hingley and Eugene Lampert have written on various aspects of the subject, while the whole movement has been fully dealt with in Franco Venturi's monumental *Roots of Revolution*. Yet it still retains a compulsive fascination, so that new works are to be welcomed.

In the Name of the People, while covering much the same ground as its predecessors, adds interesting details gleaned from recent Soviet scholarship as well as older Russian works. Designed for a general audience, it is a long, absorbing narrative, written in the lively and provocative style that we have come to associate with Professor Ulam, author of previous studies of Lenin and Stalin. There are, however, serious drawbacks. Most important, the author is too much out of sympathy with his subject to treat it in a judicious fashion. Running through the book is a vein of ridicule and contempt for the "prophets and conspirators" (as Ulam styles them) who found the autocracy intolerable and were bent on overthrowing it. Ulam harbours for these Russian rebels of the 1860s the same condescension, not to say revulsion, that he harbours for their American counterparts of the 1960s, to whom he sometimes compares them. His attitude, indeed, seems one of regret that the tsarist police were not more efficient, and the courts more stringent, in dealing with the revolutionaries.

The tone of heavy irony which colours Ulam's analysis will grate on those for whom the Russian Populists rank in many instances among the noblest idealists in history. From a reading of this book one would never understand why Bakunin, Lavrov, and Chernyshevsky (whom Lampert, in *Sons Against Fathers*, has called a "saint and revolutionary") won the veneration of two generations of Russian students. To Ulam, Tsar Alexander II was "a prudent and humane reformer," whereas Anton Petrov, the leader of a peasant disturbance, was "clearly insane," Peter Zaichnevsky, who wrote the manifesto *Young Russia*, was a "young lunatic," and the terrorists Ishutin and Nechaev were of "the revolutionary Svengali type" and "clearly psychopathic." As for the rest, "puerile" is the author's favourite epithet (not to mention "deranged," "deluded," "petulant," "immature"), as if the causes of their militancy were personal aberrations rather than tsarist intransigence and repression.

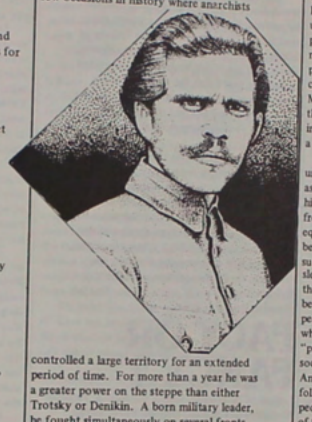
Such glib resort to psychological speculation, however, misleads more than it explains. No one would deny that the Russian revolutionary movement included a variety of human types, the sinister and base alongside the noble and humane. Yet the Populists, in the main, were not mere utopian dreamers or psychological "misfits" (another Ulam epithet) who cultivated violence for its own sake or to satisfy a lust for adventure. Ulam, however, concerned as he is with their drives and fixations, their fantasies and hallucinations, is scarcely touched by the moral tenacity and passionate humanity of these dedicated young men and women.

From historians like Footman and Venturi we get a different truer picture. In contrast to Ulam, they succeed in capturing the spirit of idealism and self-sacrifice which alienated the Populists from the established order nad in some cases drove them along the path of violence and assassination. For style and drama, Footman's *Red Prelude* remains without rival as the best study of the Populists in English; for its comprehensive scope and mastery of the sources, Venturi's *Roots of Revolution* still surpasses any other work.

Paul Avrich.

The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution, Michael Palij, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1977, xii + 428 pp. $14.50.

Nestor Makhno, the anarchist partisan leader, was among the most heroic figures of the Russian Revolution and Civil War. His movement in the Ukraine represents one of the few occasions in history where anarchists



controlled a large territory for an extended period of time. For more than a year he was a greater power on the steppe than either Trotsky or Denikin. A born military leader, he fought simultaneously on several fronts, opposing Whites as well as Reds, Austrian invaders and Ukrainian nationalists, not to speak of the countless bands of irregulars who crossed and recrossed the steppe in search of plunder and booty. According to Victor Serge, he was a "strategist of unsurpassed ability," whose peasant army possessed a "truly epic capacity for organisation and battle." Emma Goldman called him "the most picturesque and vital figure brought to the fore by the Revolution in the South."

Given his colourful personality and the rich drama of his career, Makhno would seem a likely subject for the historian. Yet Michael Palij asserts that he has been generally neglected. This, however, is misleading. In addition to David Footman's fascinating portrait in his *Civil War in Russia* (1961), the last few years have seen a growing number of studies of Makhno and his guerrilla army. These include the publication of Makhno's proclamations in the *International Review of Social History* (1968), a short biography of Makhno by Victor Peters (1970), another biography by Malcolm Menzies (1972 – not mentioned by Palij), the first English translation of Per Arshinov's *Istoriia makhnovskogo dvizhenila* (1974), and the first unabridged translation of *The Unknown Revolution* by Volin, the psuedonym of Vsevolod Mikhailovich Eikhenbaum (whom Palij confuses with his brother Boris, the literary historian).

Still lacking, however, is a comprehensive scholarly biography encompassing previous research and based on the full range of available sources. Dr. Palij has fallen short of providing such a work. By limiting himself to the Civil War period, he gives us only the barest sketch of Makhno's early years and virtually no account at all of his decade in Paris, where he died, a dejected consumptive, in 1934. An equally serious omission is the vexed question of Makhno's alleged anti-Semitism. Though charges of Jew-baiting and pogroms have come from many quarters, they are based on hearsay and intentional slander and remain undocumented and unproved. The Soviet propaganda machine was at particular pains to malign Makhno as an ordinary bandit and pogromist. Was there any truth to these charges? Had Palij examined the file on Makhno in the Tcherikover Collection of the YIVO (Jewish Scientific Institute) Library in New York, he might have provided at least a tentative answer.

The book leaves other important questions unresolved. Was Makhno a military dictator, as his detractors maintain? How critical were his military efforts in saving the Revolution from the Whites? Did his unsophisticated equipment and tactics doom him to defeat before a centralised professional army? How successful were his attempts to establish local self-management in the villages and towns of the Ukraine? Apart from this, no effort has been made to compare Makhno with earlier peasant-Cossack rebels in Russian history, whom he so closely resembles, or with similar "primitive rebels" in other pre-industrial societies, nothbly in Italy, Spain and Latin America, where anarchism won a sizeable following. The writing, it must be added, is pedestrian, and there are more than a few errors of fact and eccentricities of spelling and transliteration.

Yet, in spite of all these failings, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno* is a worthwhile contribution. The author has laboured long and hard over this book, which is based on considerable reading and contains an extensive bibliography. If it does not make a great advance over previous scholarship, it nevertheless offers a substantial and well-documented narrative, with much interesting detail. Most important, it sets the history of Makhno's movement more firmly in its Ukrainian context than any other work in English. The definitive biography of Makhno remains to be written. Meanwhile, this is a useful addition to the growing literature on his movement and on the revolution in the Ukraine.

Paul Avrich.

CLIFFORD HARPER

Poland: 1970 – 71, Capitalism and class struggle, Informations Correspondence Ouvrieres, Black and Red, Detroit, 117 pp. £1.00.

This slim paperback is one of the most important books published during 1977. It attempts to provide a detailed analysis, from a libertarian perspective, of the spontaneous insurrection in Poland during the winter of 1970-71, when following massive price increases announced by the government only a few days before Christmas, workers in most large cities went on strike. Party and government offices were fire-bombed, there was hand-to-hand fihgting in the streets, and for several days Poland hesitated on the brink of total revolution, until finally the state regained control.

Poland 1970-71 traces the development of that struggle, vividly reconstructing the events from contemporary eye-witness accounts, and examining the way in which workers attempted to establish councils on the shop floor. The strengths, weaknesses and composition of the workers councils are described, along with the power struggles that took place within the occupied factories and the councils themselves. Aspects of the councils that were strengths at the start of the strike, often became liabilities later, as the new political regime attempted to quell the movement by "integrating themselves into it and by granting it some kind of supervised authority."

Details of ambiguity in the nature of organisations thrown up in struggle, and in the demands made by the workers provide a useful note of caution. The Central Workers' Committee, for example, quickly became simultaneously "an organ of struggle set up and propelled by actions of the rank and file as well as an organism for controlling the struggle . . . ". State Socialist countries lack many of the mediating mechanisms that exist to contain dissent in the capitalist world, and as a result even small disputes have the potential to flare-up suddenly. Because they lack "suitable channels" the authorities tend to utilise the forms of organisation created by the workers, to contain revolt.

In spite of their many shortcomings the workers' councils represented such a powerful revolutionary movement that the power of the state was temporarily neutralised. Within a few days the situation was dramatically polarised. The party, and its armed police force controlled the political apparatus, its buildings and the streets. The workers controlled the productive plants: but although they were inside occupied factories they were not working, they had formed workers' committees, but these did not grow into new organs of self-management. Instead they only made demands, and sought to be recognised as representative organs, as negotiators with the rulers, and as a result they restored the very power which their existence as class organisations fundamentally opposed;

The paralysis of the state – the political power of the government and party challenged by the social power of organised workers – lasted for several weeks. The longer it lasted the more likely the authorities were to fall victim to dissension within their own ranks. Numerous concessions were made – price rises withdrawn, pay increases doled out, the establishment of token "councils" by the state – all made with the one intention of getting the workers to give up the strike and start production, so that once again the "normal" relationships that flow automatically from the productive processes would be re-established.

One important point that the book fails to take up is the non-intervention of the Russians. Certainly they were in close contact with Gomulka as he fought to retain power, and yet they failed to intervene even though the situation was in many respects more critical than in Czechoslovakia during 1968. One answer may be found in the consistent revolutionary tradition that has characterised Poland for the last 150 years – a people prepared to fight for their liberty are always handled more cautiously than those who are cowed by force.

Workers' Councils have long been deified on the libertarian left, and this book serves as a timely reminder of the dangers inherent in *all* forms of organisation. When the momentum of revolution slackens the state and capital will not shrink from using the workers own organisations as a medium for recuperation.

The lessons of Poland are clear: once the revolution is contained in any way (not just by national boundaries as the authors state) then it fails. If we learn from the failures of others, we can also learn from their achievements, and the Polish workers have provided convincing proof that the working class is capable of spontaneous self-organisation on a massive scale, and this fact clearly refutes the need for "revolutionary vanguards" and leaders.

What happened during the insurrection of seven years ago is made more relevant by the widespread rioting that occured under similar circumstances during the summer of 1976, but it is unfortunate that there has been such a large time lag between the events and the publication of this book. In spite of that, Black and Red deserve congratulating for nurturing the English edition, and Lorraine Perlman deserves equal praise for her fine job of translating. M.E.

FACT OR FANCY?

Letters of Insurgents, Sophia Nachalo & Yarostan Vochek, Black & Red, Detroit, 1976, 831pp, £3.00.

A postscript at the back of this book makes the claim that the letters which comprise this book, are in fact part of a real life correspondence between two people, but the length and content refute this. Not that it matters, because the purpose of the book is to examine the flowering of a revolution and the events that lead up to the end of that revolution, explaining mistakes through the words and actions of the participants.

The author(s) purpose results in a well-written book that makes a lot of extremely valid points, but the creation of the characters and the format of the book don't always work to best advantage, and sometimes the text seems to be almost nothing except propaganda for a libertarian viewpoint. That said, the book is well worth reading, and passing on. . .

Who Owns Scotland? John McEwan, Edinburgh University Student Publications Board, £1.50.

When the Highlands and Islands Development Board was set up to revitalise the broad and barren sweeps of Britain's most under-developed region it was invested with the power of compulsory purchase. This was an admission, if any was needed, that private capital and land ownership had failed to provide a livelihood or a future for the people of the highlands. The Board was greeted by the Lairds of the glens as an instrument of communism. Thirteen years later the board has not once used its nationalisation option, has not taken even one acre of the neglected land into public ownership.

John McEwan has been 90 years on the land, born at Fortingall in Perthshire, the son of an estate worker, growing up on highland estates before beginning work as a forester. In 1947 he started work on what was to provide a crucial spur to his life's work, the Census of Woodlands. "The census was the highest condemnation of land management by private enterprise that has ever been produced. We were able to prove that 64 per cent of what was called woodland was, in fact, producing nothing. The people who owned it were quite happy if they had a gun and a dog."

In 1971, then in his eighties, John McEwan produced a booklet, Acreocracy of Perthshire, which measured the land holdings by private individuals in that county. From that, and using boundary maps produced by Aberdeen University geographer Roger Millman, he went on to plot the areas, county by county, of Scotland's larger estates. His analysis, a shaming indictment not only of the knicker-bockered buffoons who own it but of successive governments who have failed to take control, or even to measure the size, of private land holdings, is the invaluable book which was published at the end of last year.

The total area of Scotland is 19,068,807 acres with about 12,000,000 of these acres divided up among 1739 estates. John McEwan enumerates them all, and gives ownership details for holdings of 5000 acres and above. Way out in front in accretion is the Duke of Buccleuch, who owns 277,000 acres, and who has described McEwan's book as a "joke" and people who adhere to the notion od public land ownership and development of the highlands as "cranks."

In an age when development agencies, of the capitalist and communist worlds, agree that the improvement of under-developed rural areas cannot be achieved as long as the ownership of the prime resource, land, is under the control of a minute section of the total population, Buccleuch's is the cranky view. His interest, of course, is that the acres lie empty for the enjoyment of a rich few in the pursuit of the grouse, trout and stag.

John McEwan's book is his legacy to those who come after, to those who will take over the land, wherever it is situated, from the few for the benefit of many. Now 90, he may not live to see it, but John McEwan has provided a stimulus, not in a cry of rage (although this book is fiercely passionate), but in a dissection of the avarice of the sons of the Clearances, whose neglect is still driving the people from the land.

Ron McKay.

The Counter Revolution in Ireland, Van der Straeten & Daufoy, Black & Red, Detroit, 1974, 75cents.

So here I am sitting at home in beautiful Belfast when the 'phone goes and its my little orange anarch chum ringing from the Orkneys. And straight away I know the provocative fucker is up to something. Have I got a copy of Van der Straeten & Daufoy's pamphlet, he asks, knowing full well that I've better things to do with my time than to read such garbage. Anyway, how about a review of it and if, by any remote chance, you don't like it, make the review a critical assessment of the Irish situation etc., etc. Now I am not conned so easily. I am pissed off with trying to explain to confused Brits about why, like it or not, as libertarians they should support the Provos. There's a fucking war going on here, but, you probably wouldn't know anything about that! Anyway, back to this atrocious bit of guano, viz *The Counter Revolution in Ireland* that I have, for some very obscure reason been asked to comment upon.

It's 48 pages of counter revolutionary rubbish with some ludicrous illustrations. I mean, this was first published in Les Temps Modernes in June 1972 and, for some idiotic reason Black and Red chose to reprint it in 1974. It purports to be a crypto Marxist interpretation of 'recent' Irish history, so why do we have illustrations which include a design for a fairytale, a carved head representing the river Bann, an 18th century Irish landscape and a picture of St. Patrick throwing a bell at demons? Don't ask me, ask our two looney co-authors.

And their 'theories'? Well, first of all Marx was wrong when he told Engels that "The English working class will never achieve anything until it has got rid of Ireland The lever must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the socialist movement in general." Now this is a position widely held by all kind of English socialists and revolutionary tourists who come to visit us in sunny Belfast and, by and large, it is fairly sound. Not according to Van der Straeten and Daufoy, who claim that "the Irish question lost its relevance as the epicentre of an eventual proletarian revolution which shifted from England to Germany." Consequently James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army, perhaps one of the most significant revolutionary developments in Europe in the 20th century are 'irrelevant and wrong.' Connolly, we are told, wasn't a socialist! The ICA should never have involved itself in the nationalist struggle and quickly fell back to a nationalist position, preparing themselves for a civil war against Ulster.' This last rewriting of history is so blatantly dishonest that one can almost admire the gall of these two armchair academics who, one doubts, have ever set foot in Ireland, let alone been involved in the war in the North. They go on to state categorically that "in any case the 1916 revolt cannot be included among the great struggles of the European proletariat between 1918-1923.' (Sic!) Sinn Fein, they go on to claim "since 1923 has never represented anything more than the extremist fringe of nationalist impotence. They have never recognised that nationalism as a social force died definitively one Easter day in 1916 in Dublin, drowned in the blood of the last battalions of the disintegrating proletariat."

They go on to make a series of predictions. This is a fatal error, for as prophets they are as inept as Marx himself. Try a few of these for size:– "The referendum of May 10th 1972 revealed that the IRA is nothing more than an empty facade." (It just also happens to have been by far the most effective urban guerrilla group in Europe this century. Despite massive military intervention, concentration camps, torture etc., they are as strong as ever and still based in the working class ghettos. As I write, news has just come in that the C/O of the South Armagh troops, ex SAS man Lieutenant General Ian Cordeen-Lloyd, a well known and hated figure, has just been shot out of the sky in his helicopter by the local IRA unit with an M60. He is now recovering in the morgue with the rest of his imperialist chums.)

Another ofrecast, Billy Hull of the Loyalist Association of Workers is a most dangerous extremist and a force to be reckoned with. Bill Hull was shot and wounded by fellow Loyalists several years ago and is now a beaten docket. He is not involved in politics or parliamentary affairs. He was always a paper tiger.

Mike Farrell is denounced as a reactionary. In his place they would like to see Eamonn O'Kane. This gentleman, who was thrown out of the early PD for being a "two nations once again" Stalinist wanker, is now engaged in trying to get the British Labour Party to take over and revive the moribund and reactionary N.I. Labour Party. This is understandable, for Van der Straeten and Daufoy offer this as their considered solution for 'the Irish problem.' "For the proletariat the best constitutional solution would be to simultaneously eliminate Stormont, (we already have!) the Republic, the frontier, (we call it the Border), and to replace them with a federation with English capitalism." Some revolutionaries these boys, eh!

Oh Shit! I'm bored with this. Who needs it! Give my head peace and let us get on with the revolution here without the "advice" of half baked pseudo intellectual wankers. OK?

Dhearg Doom.

The National Front, Martin Walker, Fontana, £1.00.

This book is a history of some of the origins of the leaders of this right-wing British political party written by one who still displays a typically liberal touching faith in the democratic traditions (so-called) of this country. The Front as its name suggests, is an organisation which was formed in 1967 to bolster and amalgamate a number of flagging right-wing parties, including the League of Empire Loyalists and the Greater Britain Movement. It by no means incorporated all the parties of the right, which, like those of the left, shift, split, reform, rename themselves, fade and die like flies, and has itself undergone major alterations in composition, leadership and principles. Walker approaches the Front from a democratic-liberal angle, contrasting their ideas of authoritarian statism with the 'pluralistic' society which "has agreed to permit its citizens to differ about the society's objectives, and the function of the state . . . ." Erroneously, Walker believes that the authoritarian creeds of Fascism and Communism are the "children of crisis" and that the "role of totalitarians in a plural society is a lowly one. Britain is historically accustomed to one form or another of coalition government, which is the essence of pluralism."

In the light of this happy interpretation of the powered class, Fascism as practised by Sir Oswald Mosley and his imitators is contrasted. Although the chapter dealing with this is titled 'The Fascist Tradition in Britain,' the treatment of Fascism and its spiritual predecessors (which one might suppose could be traced back to the deportation of black freed slaves *en masse* to Sierra Leone in 1787) is superficial before Sir Oswald rears his peak-capped cropped head. Apart from a desultory mention of the British Fascisti, the background of Mosley is very scanty. Briefly, Walker deals with the activities of the Mosley-ites before and after World War II, the antics of Arnold Leese (whose House published Britons books), and the genesis of Colin Jordan and John Tyndall. Such organisations as the Union Movement, British National Party, Radical Preservation Society and other smaller groups are outlined, with Jordan's role at the Notting Hill race riots put in perspective. However, Walker, presumably not having attended the 1962 Jordan Nazi meeting in Trafalgar Square, gives a distorted picture of the event.

As one who was standing quite near the front of the crowd on that day, it seems to me that the Nazis themselves stage-managed a riot. The loudspeakers Jordan and Tndall used were connected up to a tape recorded on which a general pandemonium was recorded, including periodic chants of 'raus, raus raus.' This was obvious on the several occasions that the wires were deliberately cut by anti-Nazis, and the chanting and hubbub abruptly stopped. Far from the 'crowd of Jewish people' rushing the plinth, a police officer stopped Jordan's speeches. The tiny Nazi contingent was rushed after they had climbed off the plinth, and their banners were torn up. How Walker knows that the people who rushed the platform were Jews, Communists and CND members surprises me. It is as ridiculous as the Nazis who claim that all their opponents are Jewish.

This riot and the bigger ones which in that year finally stopped Mosley from speaking (he used to be billed as 'The Voice they cannot silence') are believed by Walker to have led to a regrouping of the right into less overt political action, culminating in the formation of the NF.

The history of the NF from 1967 is recounted with some detail, though the talk of electoral percentages must seem farcical to anarchists and even the ruling parties who operate on a system of winner takes all. Such percentages are part of the propaganda which is put out by the NF and its supporters. Walker and people like him are taken in by the Goebbelsian claims that membership and votes are growing, that there is a parallel between the NF and Britain now and Hitlerism and Germany then. People who think this

way display a childlike faith in the good offices of the establishment. When Hitler rose to power, there was no Monarchy, the land-owners had lost their power and the army was small and looking for a patron to enlarge it. Today in Britain, the establishment is in the driving seat, with a strong army whose loyalty is unquestioned. To believe that should the NF become a threat to the establishment in time of civil disorder the government of the day would not immediately suppress it is naive. With the experience of eight years of civil war in Northern Ireland behind it, the army would doubtless be used against anyone, left or right, black or white, who was deemed by the government of the day to be a threat.

In the context of so-called Liberal Democracy, Walker's analysis of the NF is tolerable. From an anarchist viewpoint, it is a naive document of the belief that life is ruled by the ballot box once in a while, and the 'electoral respectability' of the NF merely proves that they have the money to propagandise and put up candidates, who promptly lose their deposits. To end on a quote from the introduction: "I fear that the NF is reasonably well equipped to take advantage of whatever political opportunities that future may yet offer them." True, but I fear Rhodes Boyson, Margaret Thatcher, James Callaghan and Wedgewood Benn all the more because they have a better chance of becoming the authoritarian rulers of a police state than either John Tyndall or Mr Kingsley-Read.

Nigel Pennick.

Hitler's War, David Irving, Hodder & Stoughton, £9.95.

At present there is a growing interest in Hitler. For many he is a figure in history as remote as Bismarck, Lloyd George or Napoleon, and as vaguely understood. For some he is the epitome of all that is evil in politics, being justifiably associated with anti-semitism, tyranny and the one party state. His political police force, the Gestapo and the abbreviated title of his party, Nazi, are both political swear words. Nazi does jar the ear of an English speaker, which is coincidental as in German it means nothing more sinister than "little Ignaz," or the equivalent of our Jimmy, which we would find it difficult to imagine inspiring the venom that the word Nazi did and does. What always seems to be lacking in an assessment of Hitler is the human aspect. After all, even if we are considering the worst and most evil human of all time, and I at least am reluctant to make such judgments, he was also a human being and thus subject to many of humanity's common failings. This is not to argue that Hitler was not evil: rather to establish that he was not simply an unadulterated kernel of high powered 22 carat evil. He was also, at least, a man with a bad stomach and a fondness for cream cakes, a life-long vegetarian, a non-smoker and total abstainer, except for a short period when he hoped to cure his insomnia by secretly drinking two bottles of beer before going to bed. He stopped doing this because he was more afraid of putting on weight than he was of not sleeping. This was but one of his health problems and during the war his health got progressively worse. Indeed by 1941 he cut a pitiful figure. He was 52 years old and living in a shed in a swamp and suffering from dysentery and stomach pains. Later he moved out of the swamp to a new bunker, this time a concrete pre-fabricated one. He slept, when his insomnia allowed, on a camp bed. He suffered a brain inflammation which led to severe headaches and a tremor in his left arm and leg of such severity that when he spoke to anybody he would brace his leg against a rigid object. His medical needs were met by a Dr. Morell, a shadowy, unscrupulous figure of doubtful competence who would only prescribe for Hitler those medicines and drugs which were manufactured by the firm in which he developed a controlling interest. These prescriptions included some tablets to ease Hitler's stomach pains which were so successful that he would take them indiscriminately, unaware that they were strychnine based and that uncontrolled consumption could endanger his life. But he survived, and his repeated survivals became the basis of his conviction that Providence would ensure that he would fulfill his mission for Germany. This wilful self-deception is another interesting and essentially human characteristic, and it was so strong that it endured to the last. Even as the allied armies approached Berlin Hitler continued to insist that preparations for a counter-offensive be made and that German scientists were just about to perfect a dramatic new weapon which would win the war for Germany. Other odd touches that point up Hitler's idiosyncratic nature are his regular breakfast of a glass of milk and a crushed apple, and his refusal after Rommel's death to sign the obituary. This was because it had been discovered that Rommel, the German military hero, had been approached by the July 20th plotters and had agreed to serve under them if their attempt to kill Hitler and establish a new regime were to prove successful. Hitler considered this to be akin to treason on Rommel's part and he was so concerned with honesty that he would not put his name to a eulogistic obituary. One can surely say that this reluctance was odd in a man willing to countenance and order the amount of destruction and the number of deaths that Hitler did. There is also much to ponder in Hitler's life regarding the use of political power and the extent to which he conformed to established patterns. He early established the Nazi party as his personal fief and developed the cult of his leadership. In the early days the growth in support for the Nazi party was based largely on Hitler as a political leader. He responded to a feeling in the German people and was able through a combination of good political organisation and a brilliant oratorical gift to establish his national credibility as a political figure and the credibility of the Nazi party as the basis of a government of Germany. This came about both because of Hitler's skills in politics and in rabble rousing and because, to a large extent, he was saying what people wanted to hear. This enabled him to establish himself as a national figure at a time when liberal democratic leaders and measures were proving themselves inadequate to the needs of the time. This achievement seems to me to be a considerable one, though it is often neglected, probably because it is difficult for liberal or marxist ideologists to explain. Clearly the glib answer that Hitler came to power without ever gaining a majority vote of the electorate is principally a way of avoiding an examination of how he did come to power.

As well as these political skills perhaps the most important other factor in Hitler's rise to power was the SA led by Ernst Rohm. The Nazi party had built up this organisation as a gang of political thugs who could intimidate any opposition and gain control of the streets of the major cities of Germany for the Nazis. Because this organisation gave the Nazi party control of the streets and enabled it to crush working class opposition it was the factor which drew in a good deal of Hitler's large scale financial support. But the SA was notoriously homosexual, not only in the sense that the boy scouts and rugby clubs are homosexual, but also in that Rohm and many of its top brass used its recruiting agencies and hierarchy to procure sexual partners. Further Rohm saw the SA as the repositary of true national socialism and he was bitterly critical of Hitler for neglecting many of his old comrades when he had achieved power. At this time Hitler was consolidating his political base and it was clear that his quest for political respectability could only be hampered by Rohm and the SA. Their homosexuality antagonised the church and much conservative opinion and their putative function antagonised the police and the army. So to secure the support of these sections Hitler destroyed Rohm and the SA in the famous night of the long knives in 1934, giving an unusually early confirmation of one of the "iron laws of history" that revolutions devour their own.

A further point that one can ponder on the nature and extent of political power can be seen in two minor incidents during the war. Hitler had been dictator of Germany for over 10 years and had exercised an extensive personal power, insisting on making a large proportion of even the less important decisions himself. He ordered that the development work on the planned Heinkel 707 plane be directed to making it into a fighter-bomber, or a plane built as a fighter with a bomb carrying capacity, but with manoeuvrability and speed as its main assets. When the prototype was ready for a test flight Hitler went to see it and found that it had been built as a high altitude bomber with a low maximum speed – a neat example of an order being turned into its opposite by the faceless bureaucracy needed to run a state and a military machine.

Towards the end of the war, as the Allied armies advanced through the low countries towards Germany Hitler decided to launch the Ardennes counter-offensive. The intention was to break through the Allied line and cut it off in an encircling movement. This was essentially a simple military operation requiring relatively little preparation and not involving inordinate numbers of personnel. But the military had become so bureaucratised by this time that the planned date of launching the attack had to be postponed twice because the preparations had not been completed.

But of course these examples of the relative powerlessness of a supreme dictator and his adherence to established patterns of political power do not represent a denial that Hitler's regime did much that was evil and barbaric in Germany in the 1930s and internationally up to 1945. In his book David Irving does not seek to justify Hitler's monstrous regime. The book has been attacked by an outraged British press on many counts. Irving was attacked for alleging that Hitler had no knowledge of the extermination of the Jews and should not therefore be blamed for it. But what he says is that as the Russian army progressed across eastern Europe Hitler advised Himmler to halt the extermination programme and evacuate the camps. He also advised that such steps as possible be taken to conceal the purpose for which the camps had been used, which one must conclude was a vain hope. This does not seem to me to be an attempt to persuade us that Hitler was guiltless regarding the programme to exterminate the Jews. A parallel consideration that Irving presents is that during the war Hitler concerned himself almost exclusively with matters relating to the war. Domestic administration of Germany and her occupied areas was left in the hands of his old party collaborators, especially Goebbels and Himmler. Hitler's lack of direct interest in the progress of the Final Solution due to pre-occupations elsewhere cannot be fairly presented as an attempt to absolve him of blame. It seems to me that one of the reasons for the hostility to Irving's book is the prevalence of Churchull worship in this country, and its epidemic level among journalists. For in his discussion of the war in the air Irving gives the comparative tonnages of bombs dropped by the RAF on Germany and by the Luftwaffe on Britain, a comparison which does nothing to boost Churchill's humanitarian image. Also in this connection is the decision of the British cabinet under Churchill's leadership to abandon the bombing attack on Germany's industrial base and to adopt a strategy of area terror bombing of the civilian population, which was pursued from March 1942 onwards.

At the height of the war on the eastern front Stalin pressed for an early invasion of Western Europe to establish Germany's long feared two front conflict, and thereby take some of the strain away from the Russian army. Irving maintains that Churchill, though at this time unable to start the invasion, offered to step up the bombing of German cities in the hope that German air strength would be withdrawn from Russia in order to undertake retaliatory bombing of Britain. The deliberate provocation of the bombing of British cities by a British Prime Minister does seem a rather cynical move even if the Prime Minister in question is Churchill, and maybe the suggestion that he could do such things upset his more sycophantic admirers. Churchill himself seemed more embarrassed at having Stalin as an ally, as well he may have been in view of his long standing and fanatical hostility to Communism. He justified the alliance somewhat plaintively with the observation "If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the devil in the House of Commons."

The inter war period was one which seemed to demand extreme measures, culminating as it did in a world war and the dropping of two atomic bombs on Japan. A liberal democratic system had proved unworkable in Germany up to 1933 and it could be argued that Hitler's regime was the only one possible for Germany at that time. During the 1930s Hitler prepared Germany for war, locked up and tortured many thousands of opponents and started the "Final Solution" of the Jews problem, and Stalin supervised the destruction of the Bolshevik old guard as well as a series of grotesque show trials. Britain and America, together with all major industrial countries, underwent mass unemployment and an economic depression that left millions hungry and without hope. Mussolini's regime in Italy continued to imprison opponents and engaged in monstrous colonial wars. But under Hitler Germany enjoyed full employment and relative prosperity. In Russia industrial development and production developed apace. In Britain and America a level of political freedom was maintained. And in Italy the trains ran on time. It's all a matter of comparison, and anyone is entitled to take a view that any one ruler was more or less evil, or even more or less beneficient than any other. The view that a study of the period and of Hitler's role in it will not sustain is that he was the sole repository of all that was evil in the politics of the 1930s.

Of course his was both an evil and vicious regime. But so were the regimes of Mussolini, Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Chamberlain, etc., etc. I take the view not that Hitler was less evil than he is generally believed to have been, but that the others were more so.

Peter Miller.

Beyond Freedom and Dignity, B.F. Skinner, Pelican, 80p.

Psychology is one of those subjects in which pseudointellectuals wallow. There are half a dozen or more 'schools' of psychological thought, all of which have different reasons of explaining why they don't know anything about people.

Much of psychology is the science of making up new words for old concepts. However, giving things names helps in discussion of the subject and psychologists can go some way to finding out how people are similar and different, by categorising and generalising.

As said above, the concepts may be old, and Skinner's book may not tell some people anything they couldn't have worked out for themselves, but wouldn't because they haven't observed people enough in the right way.

Anyway, what Skinner is saying is that assuming a person's personality is a product of nothing other than his genetic make up and his social background, then changing that person's environment will change his way of thinking.

If a man is a product of his environment and we must change the environment in order to change mans' actions, then man is nothing more than a mindless extention of the environment and nature and thus can never be free of natures constraints. Our environment is controlled!

"Behaviour can be changed by changing the conditions of which it is a function."

Psychological control is much more subtle and effective than normal political control, by violence. If you tell people there is gold over the hill, and they rush off, you are controlling them just as much as if you had held a gun to all their heads and ordered them to go over the hill. And they won't answer back.

One person can control others by aversive control such as threat of punishment, or by non-aversive controls such as rewards for certain behaviour. The former is obvious and easily fought, but the latter is quite the reverse. Most of the population are bribed into respect for authority by their so-called high standard of living.

A key word, in Skinner's view, is conditioning. For example: If a group of people deliberately ignore a certain person whenever he is at say the left side of the room, and make him the centre of conversation when he is at the right side of the room, in a short time that person will spend all the time at the right side of the room. Each time he goes to the right side he is reinforced to go there, and he will become conditioned to stay there. It works. And not only that, the person being conditioned doesn't realise what is happening. Try it!

Unfortunately politicians and such, don't limit themselves to such control over such trivialities and we are conditioned without knowing, all the time, in various ways, not least by the media.

But conditioning can work both ways. If the police manage to break up a demonstration by violence or the thrat of it, their success is reinforcing and they will tend to use the same tactics again.

Skinner constantly refers to the 'literature of freedom' (which you can decide for yourselves as to what he means by that) saying that it made mistakes in various ways and has not succeeded in freeing the people, and showing why. Assuming he's right then we need look no further than this book for the reasons why repression exists and revolutions fail.

Slight alterations could make this book either an instruction booklet for fascism or anarchism. In one case you know how to repress, in the other you know how to avoid repression and to combat it.

Perhaps if this book were called the science of repression more people would read it.

"The misuse of a technology of behaviour is a serious matter, but we can guard against it best by looking not at punitive controllers but at the contingencies under which they control."

Paul R. Buckland.

Pyramids of sacrifice: political ethics and social change, Peter L. Berger, Pelican, 1977, 272pp, 90p.

Penguin appear to be fond of publishing books which give the appearance of having something important to say, but on closer examination turn out to be superficial. "The Radical Soap Opera" is a typical example, and this is another, and the fact cannot really be hidden by either the attempt at objectivity or the sociological jargon that spatter the pages.

The author seeks to outline his argument in "twenty-five theses" at the start of the text. First of these (and the others flow from this one) is that "the world is divided into two ideological camps. The adherents of each tell us with great assurance where we're at and what we should do about it. We should not believe any of them." Fair enough, but he goes on "Underlying the major ideological models for social change (including Third World Developments) are two powerful myths – the myth of growth and the myth of revolution. *Both* myths must be debunked."

To an extent, I'm prepared to go along with those assertions: after all, the results of unrestrained pursuit for growth are immediately apparent to all of us, and I'm in favour of debunking all myths about revolution, if only to clear the decks so we can get on with the real thing. But wait, Peter L. Berger doesn't really know what he is talking about. His view of revolution, is as something taken up by "intellectuals"; socialism is something that is at odds with liberty of the individual; the notion of individual freedom is something peculiar only to the western tradition, as is the right not to starve while others live off the fat of the land.

Basically Berger makes some very good points, but they're so mixed up with a load of cods-wallop, that they get completely devalued. His attitude to revolution is a good example – he seems capable of seeing solely in terms of insurrection, and the changing of governments. While it's true that he does recognise that a change of government doesn't include the wide-spread and creative nature of self-organisation that to anarchists would be the litmus test of revolution.

If you haven't anything better to read, you might get something out of this, but you'd do far better to grab hold of a back issue of *Undercurrents* or *Resurgence*.

Vorsicht: Anarchist Ein Leben fur die Freiheit (Danger: Anarchist a life for freedom) Hermann Luchterhand GmbH & Co KG, 1977 p/b, DM 16-80.

In summer 1977 Augustin Souchy the famous German anarchist published his memoirs called Vorsicht: Anarchist Ein Leben fur die Freiheit. Souchy was born in 1892, the son of a social-democrat in Ratobor (today part of Poland) and was very nearly confronted with Socialist ideas. In his youth he worked with the Socialist Bund and made the acquaintance of Gustav Landauer, who was murdered at the end of the Munich council-republic.

He refused to serve in the German army during the First World War and fled to Scandinavia where he was imprisoned, often being deported from one country to the other.

In 1920 Souchy, as Secretary of the FAUD (Free Workers Union of Germany), was delegated to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International. He received a private audience with Lenin who tried to cure him from his infantile disease of "Anarchism."

During his stay in Russia he also had the chance to meet many Russian anarchists like Kropotkin and others who were killed in later years. He travelled through the Ukraine and from his experiences in Russia, wrote a book called "Wie lebt der Russische Bauern und Arbeiter Heute" (How the Russian Peasant and Worker Live Today). Upon returning to Germany he built up the International Workers' Association whose secretary he became together with Schapiro and Rocker. With Hitler's seizure of power he fled to France.

In 1936, two weeks before the Spanish Civil War broke out, he went to Spain to explore the prerevolutionary situation. He became a member of the CNT, was appointed head of the foreign information committee and travelled to foreign countries to report on the achievements of the Spanish Revolution. Souchy supported the power-sharing of the anarchists with the communists in the Madrid government; a view that he still holds today and for which he is strongly criticised.

Shortly before the defeat of the Spanish Republic, Souchy fled to France and was imprisoned by the French authorities. He escaped the Nazi occupation and emmigrated to Mexico where he stayed for nearly 20 years. He toured South America and many other countries like Israel, Madagascar and Ethiopia as representative of the International Labour Office (ILO) and published many books like "Entre campesinos y generales" (Between Peasants and Generals" in which he describes all his experiences, analyses them and draws his lessons. All his travels were directed by his concern for Liberty, justice and common welfare. He himself prefers the worst democracy to the most perfect dictatorship.

Souchy's book contains many names, facts and events from the past that are informative, but as a basis to act on, his experiences are not relevant to the anarchist movement today. It seems that he reports many events as a bystander and sometimes the anarchist point of view is missing.

One fault of his memoirs is that they do not deal with the present anarchist movement. For him, anarchy is something to strive for, but since the forties he's obviously been more engaged in state than in anarchist organisations.

Notwithstanding all these faults, his book is of great value and worth reading; it will be instructive for many anarchists because it reveals much unknown history.

From all his experiences Souchy draws the following conclusions: 1. Individual violence is no means for the achievement of a free society. Collective violence is unavoidable in revolutions but restricted in its effects. 2. A victorious social revolution may distribute justly all existing riches in a grandiose gesture amongst all, but does not necessarily guarantee common welath for all times. 3. Dictatorships erected in the name of communism abolished the political liberties achieved in the last century, but the prior propagated equality failed to appear.

In his outlook he pleads for peaceful confrontation – the nonviolent arrangement of conflicts between generations and different social, economic and ethnic groups are spiritually fructifying, creatively developing and brings mankind forward. In this sense his striving for freedom from domination is aimed at the erection of a nonviolent order instead of one organised around violence.

Paul Zimmerman

Ni Dieu Ni Maitre, Anthologie historique du mouvement anarchiste, 1965. **L'Anarchisme, De la doctrine a l'action, Collection "Idees," No.89.** Daniel Guerin, (1965).

After the two disappointing anthologies of anarchist writings from the United States – *The Anarchists* (1964) edited by Irving Louis Horowitz, and *Pattern of Anarchy* (1966) edited by Leonard Kninerman and Lewis Perry, it is pleasant to come to *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*, a "historical anthology of the anarchist movement." We are told that it was produced "by the staff of Editions de Delphes with the help of Daniel Guerin;" the staff are the Nataf brothers who are connected with the excellent anarchist monthly *Noir et Rouge*, and Guerin is a veteran socialist who became an anarchist.[1] Quite simply, they show how the job should be done: the book is very large (nearly 700 pages), very well produced, very expensive and very valuable.

Ni Die Ni Maitre was published to commemorate the centenary of Proudhon's death in 1865, and it covers the century from the appearance of *What Is Property?* (in which Proudhon became the first person to call himself an anarchist) in 1840 to the defeat of militant anarchism in Spain in 1939. After a short preface and a note on the Proudhon centenary by Guerin, there are more than 150 passages divided into ten sections: Proudhon and the 1848 Revolution; Bakunin and the First International; Max Stirner; the Jura Federation and the anarchist congresses; Kropotkin, Malatesta; the French movement from the 1871 Commune to the rise of syndicalism; Makhno and the Ukrainian movement during the Russian Revolution and Civil War; the Kronstadt rising; and the Spanish movement from the end of the First World War to the end of the Civil War. The passages included, says Guerin, are "either unpublished, or unobtainable, or kept in the dark by a conspiracy of silence." They are also unmistakably anarchist – there is no confusion with liberalism on one side or with nihilism on the other. The result is a faithful picture from the inside of what the anarchist movement has meant to most anarchists for most of its existence and, for anyone who can read French, by far the best single book on anarchism ever published.

It is however, possible to quarrel with the selection of passages and with the general approach to the movement. Proudhon may have been the first writer who accepted the name of anarchist, but he was hardly the first who was one. If Godwin is to be excluded because he was only a philosophical anarchist and was not involved in any kind of movement, there should still surely be room for some of those contemporaries and predecessors of Proudhon who were concerned with the practical as well as theoretical applications of

anarchism – Bellegarrigue and Coeurderoy (there is one short passage from Dejacque) or Varlet and Roux in France, for example, and Hodgskin and Winstanley or even John Ball in England. It is good to be reminded of Proudhon's importance, but it would be a pity to get the impression that he invented anarchism; he and Bakunin – also important but surely not all *that* important – together take up nearly half the book, which really does seem too much.

Similarly, the only individualist anarchist quoted is Max Stirner, but he was hardly the only one, and he too was very much a philosophical anarchist – if indeed he was strictly speaking an anarchist at all. He is described as a "solitary rebel", but there have been plenty of other individualsists who wrote things still worth reading – Godwin, Shelley and Wilde in Britain, Warren, Andrews, Spooner and Tucker in the United States, Libertad and Armand in France, Chorny in Russia, Martucci in Italy – and it would have been interesting to have something from some of them. Even "Saint Max" gets only 15 pages, which at less than 3 per cent seems a rather meagre ration for a small but still vigorous variety of anarchist thought.

There is plenty of Kropotkin, as one would expect, but it is rather oddly chosen. There are two essays and three extracts from his first collection, *Paroles d'un Revolte*, and two letters and two descriptions of him during his last years; but there are only three short extracts from the lecture, *Anarchy: Its Philosophy and Ideal* (which incidentally did not appear in *Paroles d'un Revolte* as is stated, but was given in 1896, eleven years after the collection was published), to represent the whole period between his imprisonment in France in 1883 and his return to Russia in 1917. It was after all during this time (while he was living in this country) that he produced the bulk of his most characteristic and original work: the later collections – *The Conquest of Bread; Fields, Factories and Workshops; Mutual Aid* – many important pamphlets – *The Philosophy of Anarchism; Anarchism in Socialist Evolution; The State: Its Historic Role; Organised Vengeance Called Justice* – and a constant stream of articles in English, French and Russian. It is true that these are often better known and more easily available than some of the items included, but the result is that his message is distorted; while the passages included are certainly worth reading, they give little indication why Kropotkin should be by far the most widely read of all anarchist writers. It really is time that there was a proper edition of Kropotkin's political works so that we didn't have to rely on old pamphlets, expensive second-hand books or reprints and occasional anthologies to find out what he said.

No one could object to the representation of Malatesta, but it is a pity to have no other Italian passages, unless one counts Cafiero's Swiss lecture *Anarchy and Communism* (which is incidentally dated 1889 instead of 1880). In the same way no one could object to the emphasis on the Russian and Spanish revolutions and civil wars, and the passages chosen give excellent pictures in both cases, but it would have been valuable to have something on the similar episodes in Germany and Italy just after the First World War, or on some of the more significant events in, say, the United States, Latin America, China, Japan, or even Britain.

It could be objected that there is an overwhelming preponderance of passages originally written in French, but it must be accepted that this is reasonable for a book published in France, and it must be added that most important anarchist writings have probably been in French and that anarchism was largely a French movement at least up to the First World War. Even so, it seems rather extreme to include no passages from any native-born British or American anarchists at all.

A more general objection is that the selection of passages shows a consistent bias towards activism, and the more intellectual, theoretical and philosophical approach to anarchism is almost completely ignored. This is the result partly of excluding English-speaking anarchists, who have been especially prone to argue at some distance from real life, but mainly of deciding at an early stage in the planning of the anthology to concentrate on anarchist writings which deal with practical problems; and the bias does seem reasonable when one remembers that most histories and anthologies of anarchism have one in the opposite direction, and sometimes lose sight of the actual anarchist movement altogether. There is a similar bias towards revolution, and the more moderate, pragmatic and reformist approach to anarchism is almost completely omitted as well. This is the result of similar factors, but in this case the bias seems less reasonable when it is so often forgotten that there is a wide middle ground between the extremes of philosophical inactivism and revolutionary activism.

But all these objections are overriden by the general authority of this book – "the voluminous record of a rehabilitation hearing," as Guerin puts it, "bound in black cloth like a bible." It is a unique collection in which "individual texts from the hands of the pioneers of anarchy alternate with collective documents," and in which one finds at last a genuinely serious and knowledgeable record of what the anarchist movement is about.

Every reader who is an anarchist must be impressed by the work which Guerin and the Nataf brothers have done for the cause of anarchism, and must also be fascinated by the material they have rescued from oblivion – masses of documents relating to Proudhon's part in the 1848 Revolution and to Bakunin's part in the First International and the 1870 Lyon rising, extracts from Max Stirner's writings on education (1842), the Manifesto of the Sixteen Workers of the Seine and Proudhon's letter about it (1864), some of the remarkable studies produced in the anarchist international during the 1870s and 1880s by Guillaume, de Paepe, Schwitzguebel, and Kropotkin (under the psuedonym of Levashov), the letter from the terrorist Henry to the governor of the Conciergerie prison (1894). Pelloutier's call to the anarchists to join the trade unions (1895), some of Pouget's inimitable articles, extracts from the proceedings of the 1907 International Anarchist Congress, the International Anarchist Manifesto against the First World War (1915), Kropotkin's letter from Russia to the workers of Western Europe (1920), Emma Goldman's description of Kropotkin's last days and his funeral (1921), and then more masses of documents relating to the anarchist parts in the Russian and Spanish revolutions.

And every reader who is not an anarchist must surely be astonished at the richness of anarchist thought at its best over a century, and must surely be convinced by Guerin's conclusion "that the constructive ideas of anarchism are still alive, that, provided they are re-examined and passed through a screen, they can help contemporary socialist thought to take a new step forwards." By any standards, *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre* is an extraordinary achievement, and it is particularly encouraging to see it coming from within the anarchist movement; it would be interesting to know what kind of circulation it has had in France, despite its high price, and what kind of effect it has had on its readers.

L'Anarchisme is very different in scale, being a small (less than 200 pages) and rather badly produced paperback which was also published in France in 1965. But it is very cheap and is in fact very valuable. It is a quick look at the anarchist movement "from doctrine to action," and once more it shows how the job should be done.

L'Anarchisme is divided into three parts – "The Basic Ideas of Anarchism," "In Search of the Future Society," and "Anarchism in Revolutionary Practice" – with a brief preface and conclusion. In the preface, Guerin notes the recent revival of interest in anarchism, and mentions the current books and articles about it, but he thinks "it is not certain that this literary effort will really be effective." He points out that anarchists have always been bad at publicity, and that the characteristic rejection of leaders and dogmas has led not only to wide variation among the ideas of anarchist writers but also to a vague impression of what anarchist ideas are about at all. But he insists that, "despite its contradictions, despite its doctrinal disputes which are all too often about false problems, we are dealing with a collection of sufficiently homogenous conceptions." He sees Max Stirner on one side and Proudhon and Bakunin on the other as being not all that far apart, Kropotkin and Malatesta as deviating slightly from the true mainstream of anarchist thought, and the terrorists as differing from most anarchists only in their means and not in their main assumptions.

He disclaims any intention of writing a full history of bibliography of anarchism, suggesting that most books on the subject have in fact sacrificed coherence to completeness. Nor has he paid much attention to the biographies of anarchist leaders, remarking that most of the best known were anyway anarchists only for certain parts of their careers – Proudhon not at the beginning or end of his life. Bakunin not until the last ten years of his, Kropotkin not at the beginning or end of his either and often not in his scientific work even when he was an anarchist in politics. The plan of the first two parts of the book is therefore not the usual chronological narrative of individuals or organisations, but an analytical survey of the things which Guerin thinks essential to anarchist doctrine. The third part, which takes

up about half the space, is a historical survey of the anarchist movement from the end of the First International to the end of the Spanish Civil War. The whole book is perhaps the best short introduction to anarchism in existence.

Guerin begins with "questions of vocabulary" – an introduction to the Greek word anarchy, its traditional use (or misuse), its defiant appropriation by Proudhon, the various qualifications made by those who followed Proudhon in calling themselves anarchists (federalism, mutualism, collectivism, communism), and its relationship with such words as libertarianism and socialism. He then runs through the characteristic features of anarchism – the emotional rebellion, the horror of the state, the hostility to bourgeois democracy, the criticism of authoritarian socialism, the contrasting sources of political energy (the individual and the masses) the rejection of utopianism, the insistence on organisation, self-management (the French word, *autogestion*, is really better), free exchange, free competition, planning, complete socialisation of property, workers' control, the commune, free competition, planning, complete socialisation of property, workers' control, the commune, free administration, public services, federalism, internationalism, anti-colonialism – giving in each section a clear and concise account of what the idea has meant to anarchists, with useful quotations from appropriate writers and references to appropriate events. The writers and events mentioned repeat the bias of *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre* – most of the quotations come from Proudhon and Bakunin, and most of the events concern the European labour movement – but they are always apt and illuminating. It would be easy to think of other anarchist preoccupations, but it would be difficult to get a better choice into a smaller space.

The third part of the book is in effect a historical appendix not only to *L'Anarchisme* nut also to *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*. Guerin is interested not so much in the drama of the anarchist movement itself as in the part it has played on the wider stage of the revolutionary labour movement. This gives his narrative a unity and urgency which are absent from most histories of anarchism. Thus he condemns the deviations towards adventurism and terrorism on one side and towards utopianism and scientism on the other not because they violated the pure truth of anarchist theory but because they alienated the masses from the practical importance of libertarian action, and gave the Social Democrats and the Communists a walk-over. And he praises the anarchists who went into the syndicalist movement, despite the dangers they risked for the anarchist movement, because they were trying to put libertarian ideas into practice in the harsh environment of the day-to-day struggle of ordinary people.

There is a predictable emphasis on the Russian and Spanish revolutions and civil wars, and the pictures in both cases are as excellent as in *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*. In between there is a brief chapter on the Italian workers' councils, just after the First World War, with an emphasis on Gramsci which might be expected in a Marxist account but is refreshing in an anarchist one.

In his conclusion Guerin goes beyond the time limit of the end of the Spanish Civil War, and gives the examples of recent Yugoslav and Algerian experiments in workers' control of industry to support his argument for the continuing – or rather, increasing – relevance of anarchism. They make sense in terms of the detailed organisation of factory work which is his main concern, but hardly in terms of the wider life of the community; it is surely a Marxist fallacy that the mode of production determines the nature of society as a whole. Although Guerin is well aware of the authoritarian features of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia and the "Socialist" regime in Algeria (and of the regimes in Russia and Cuba, which he also mentions), his concentration on such examples at the expense of all the others he could have chosen tends to blunten his important point that anarchism is directly related to the problems of modern society, and to strengthen the feeling that in many ways his position is still a form of libertarian Marxism rather than of syndicalist anarchism.

Guerin rightly attacks such recent historians of anarchism as Jean Maitron, George Woodcock and James Joll for saying that the anarchist movement, however excellent it may have been in the past, is now dead and belongs only to the past. He will have none of this, and repeats the message of *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*: "Constructive anarchism, which found its most accomplished expression in the writings of Bakunin, relies on organisation, self-discipline, integration, a centralisation which is not coercive but federal. It depends on large-scale modern industry, on modern technology, on the modern proletariat, on internationalism on a world scale." On this challenging note, this challenging book ends. It is a remarkable message to find in a cheap paperback produced for a mass market; again, it would be interesting to know what kind of circulation it got in France, with its low price and what kind of effect it has had on its readers.

To sum up, these two books are the expression of an original and exciting view of anarchism, and they are also exactly the sort of book we should have in English. We certainly have some lessons to learn from the French about propaganda as well as about insurrection.

Ni Dieu Ni Maitre was first published as a large hardback in 1965 by Editions de Delphes (Paris), which was reprinted in 1969 by Editions la Cite (Lausanne). In 1970 it was republished as a four-volume paperback in the "Petite Collection Maspero" by Maspero (Paris); this edition was revised to make it, in Guerin's words, "more logical than historical and anecdotal, and provided with editorial material, commentaries and notes – in a word, more didactic." This certainly makes the book more accessible to general readers, but in the process of revision much of the original material has been discarded, considerably lowering its value for interested readers. It is difficult to imagine the British (or American) anarchist movement producing, or a British (or American) commercial publisher translating, such a formidable undertaking; but anyone who can read French will get a great deal out of *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*.

L'anarchisme was first published as a small paperback in 1965 in the "Collection Idees" by NRF Gallimard (Paris). In 1970 an English translation by Mary Klopper, with an introduction by Noam Chomsky, was published as a hardback by the Monthly Review Press (New York and London); a paperback edition appeared later. During 1970 Chomsky's introduction was reprinted in the *New York Review of Books*, *Anarchy*, and the *Spokesman*, and it became known as his main statement of sympathy with anarchism.

The English-language editions are outrageously expensive, and even then not satisfactory. The translation is awkward and sometimes inept: to call Rocvachol's *marmite* a "stewpot" for example, makes little sense. Chomsky's introduction is as interesting as one would expect, but curiously unreal: to give the Marxist campaign for workers' control under trade union auspices as the only example of an anarchist revival in Britain makes no sense at all. The production is excellent, but the editing is perfunctory: Guerin's occasional mistakes – such as the belief that Bakunin translated *Das Kapital* (he typically never finished it) – have not been corrected, and the revised bibliography is unnecessarily eccentric.

Guerin's new Postscript, on the "events" of 1968, discusses the resurgence of anarchism which he did so much to bring about. The chief reservation about the book is that in the end it is not really about anarchism as most anarchists understand it, but about "council communism." Chomsky indeed suggests that "some form of council communism is the natural form of revolutionary socialism;" and Guerin emphasises that in 1968 anarchists and Marxists fought side by side. This may be the only way forward for both of them, but anarchists can never forget that deep differences still divide them – not just in doctrine, but also in the bitter experience of a century during which the state has grown stronger than ever, especially in the hands of Marxists. There is still room for an even better book than Guerin's to show that anarchism is not only alive but also alone in its insistence on liberation from both property and authority at once.

Ni Dieu Ni Maitre (Vols. I II III IV), D. Guerin, Francois Maspero, £1.75p each.

(Expanded from *Anarchy*) **Nicolas Walter**

I Guerin was born in 1904, and during the 1930s was a leader of the "Revolutionary Left" in the Socialist Party and, when it was expelled, of the "Workers and Peasants Socialist Party", a Trotskyoid group which collapsed after the fall of France. He was an important Marxist writer of a more or less Trotskyist variety – on the French Revolution, Fascism, colonialism and racialism – but for a time he attempted a synthesis between Marxism and anarchism, and he finally turned to a syndicalist form of anarchism. He is also a well-known poet and dramatist, and was one of the "121" who signed the famous manifesto against the Algerian war in 1960.

REASON AND ORDER

Cults of Unreason – a penetrating look at today's more bizarre beliefs, Dr. Christopher Evans, Panther, 75p.

The subtitle of this interesting book might lead the unwary to imagine that it deals with the church, the monarchy or government. However, a quick glance at the garish pop-art cover shows what appear to be Assyrian priests worshipping a levitated flying saucer. Don't let this put you off – it isn't all about the Aetherius society in contact with Jesus on Venus, though they get a brief section. Basically, Christopher Evans deals with four 'cults of unreason' – Scientology, UFO freaks, Black boxes and oriental magi or conmen, depending on your point of view.

To the antiauthoritarian, the section on Scientology, or 'the Science Fiction Religion' is the most rewarding. It outlines the rise to (financial) power and prominence of a cult born out of the mind of a once-celebrated author of Sci-Fi, Lafayette Ron Hubbard. Although Evans does not mention it, Hubbard's connection with what is broadly termed the Occult began with a wierd incident where he and a friend supposedly attempted to recreate the incarnation of Babalon, an occult figure of great power, in a baby by means of a process developed by none other than the late great Aleister Crowley. To Crowley's credit, he dismissed Hubbard and his friend Parsons as utterly mad.

Unfortunately, a snub by the great occult magus did not deflate the aspirations of Hubbard. He was an extremely successful author, dealing mainly in the 1940s brand of technological wizardry sci-fi, but also in the genre of the Western, where he wrote under the nom-de-plume of . . . wait for it! Winchester Remington Colt! His genesis as messiah began in the pages of *Astounding Science Fiction* (later to be renamed *Analog*). John Campbell Jr., the editor started it all in the April 1950 issue of *Astounding*. The following announcement heralded the beginning of a cult which was later to be rechristened 'church'. " . . . We are carrying a 16000 word article 'Dianetics' . . . an introduction to a new science, by L. Ron Hubbard. It is, I assure you, in full and absolute sincerity, one of the most important articles ever published . . . This is no wild theory. It is not mysticism . . . I have observed it in action, and used the techniques myself."

The May issue, about which the above was eulogising, was a complete sell-out, almost on publication day. Ron Hubbard claimed that he had made a dramatic breakthrough in psychotherapy. So effective were his methods, he claimed, that individuals could, with a few hours of "auditing" (his jargon for treatment) be rid of illnesses which orthodox medicine could not touch.

The article was rapidly written up into a book entitled: *Dianetics: the modern science of mental health*, (Shades of Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science, so-called). Thousands bought the book, and thousands flocked to the new guru to be audited. Of course, auditing was an expensive business, but the result, if attained, was enticing: a state of "clear". People who reached this condition, so Hubbard claimed, could recall anything to mind, remember previous lives, regenerate teeth etc. etc. Needless to say, any "clears" who were exhibited, although capable of these extraordinary feats, were of such spiritual development that they didn't need to show others how it could be done.

A harmless cult, preying on the fantasies of the gullible, one might say? See what you think after this extract from the pen of the master: "One sees with some sadness that more than three quarters of the world's population will become subject to the remaining quarter as a natural consequence about which we can do nothing." Shades of Crowley's dictum "The Slaves Shall Serve!" The above statement of authoritarian principles comes from a bizarre book *History of Man*, where Hubbard's sci-fi fantasies run riot to masquerade as the history of the world. It commences "This is a cold-blooded and factual account of your last sixty trillion years" . . . . 'huff said.

After a stupid business failure in which Hubbard signed away the name Dianetics for money, he started up its successor – Scientology. Evans has a frightening account of the power which Hubbard's henchmen exercised in the organisation. After various brushes with the authorities in Australia and the USA, Hubbard conceived the plan of setting up his own fleet of ships (with himself as Commodore, naturally) to sail the oceans without let or hindrance of national laws and customs.

In Scientological jargon, there are three possible sources of success or failure – ethics, admin and tech. Of these three, ethics are held to be the most important. Now, just as the Church has its dogma, the 39 articles, the creed etc., and as Maoism or Nazism have their own dogmas which must be obeyed and believed by 'true followers,' so ethics is to Scientology. Ethics Officers were established by Hubbard to be a sort of secret police within the org. (organisation – note the Sci-fi abbreviations, more suited to Dan Dare than a 'religion.') The Ethics Officers, dressed in fascist-style uniform of high boots and peaked caps strike fear into so-called 'suppressives' – those who do not or cannot conform to the maze of rules and observances which make up Scientology.

Whilst the non-Scientologist would laugh at such patent absurdity, the Scientologist, fed on promises of superhuman perfection and not wishing to admit that considerable sums of money have been wasted, knuckles under to the regimes devised by these latter-day gestapo. Evans describes in detail the ranks or states of O.K.ness which plague the would-be "clear." A sliding scale of success or failure exists: The state of Affluence is the best usually achieved. Power is above this, but it is rarely gained, and it brings with it valuable gifts from the Org. Affluence gives special pay bonuses and free gifts, such as hair-dos for the women and free razors and bath soap for the men. Most in the Org, however, are in the conditions of Normal Operation. Here, they are given normal pay and are 'permitted' to shave, wear make-up, bathe, wear decent clothes and have hair-dos.

Now comes the interesting, and tiresomely predictable part – those who are not in Normal Operation or above – the Unimpenproletariat of Scientology. Immediately below normal is Emmergency. Here, the unfortunates are deprived of their lunch hour and are forced to do overtime without pay. Below Emmergency is Danger. These people are prohibited from bathing, wearing make-up or having lunch-hours. They are also made to work at night. Below this is Non-Existence, reminiscent of Orwell's *1984*. These personnel are compelled to wear old clothes which they may not change, in addition to the prohibitions imposed on the previous grade.

Astonishingly, there are even lower grades, reminiscent of the medaeval hierarchy of hell. Liability forces the miscreant to eat only stale bread and drink water, Doubt (even lower) persons are compelled to wear a pair of handcuffs on the left wrist, and they can be locked up on the promises, or cast overboard from the Org. ships. Scientological literature claims they are fished out again. Below this are Enemy and Treason. The last category means that the person is 'fair game' and "may be tricked, sued or lied to or destroyed."

Such regulations, claim the Scientologists, were relaxed in 1970, but who can tell? Even if they were, they still demonstrate the authoritarian fanaticism which powers this strange religion of science fiction.

UFOs have been media fodder since 1947, when the first one was described as such. In the 1950s, powered by fear of the USSR and China, and taking into account the bizarre aerial inventions which number among Hitler's secret weapons (rockets, jets, helicopters, etc), the USA government sponsored research into UFOs lest they be Russian aircraft carrying atomic weapons.

Onto this bandwagon climbed Adamski, who met a Venusian, and Andy Sinatra, the Mystical Barber of Brooklyn, who communicated with Venus through a headdress attached to his barber's chair. In Britain, supposedly a country less given to such things (but in reality loving every bit of them), a strange society emerged during that period.

Called the Aetherius Society, it was founded by the still-extant George King in March 1954 when washing up the dishes in his bedsitter in Maida Vale in London. Suddenly a voice boomed

out from nowhere "Prepare yourself. You are to become the voice of Interplanetary Parliament." He dropped a plate.

Although he later claimed, in the light of its implausibility, that he never heard the voice, he set up the Aetherius Society to act as a channel for these messages from Venus (as usual!) after a man in spotless white robes (as usual!) walked through the door of his room to give him instructions eight days later. From a small start in the Caxton Hall which about 30 attended, King has built up the Society to a worldwide membership of perhaps thousands. His position is as clairvoyant medium, who carries the message from Master Aetherius or Mars Section 6.

In 1955, he claimed that the Master Jesus was alive and living on Venus. At 800 degrees centigrade in an atmosphere of sulphuric acid? Bravo! Jesus later manifested himself weekly at Caxton Hall.

Black Boxes are another 'cel of unreason' which once had vogue. Their exponents claim all manner of wonderderful healing effects, which may take place via psychosomatic effects on believers. What they have in common with the previous 'holy masters' is their expense which enables their exponents to travel the world without having to work for their living, whilst adulated by wealthy occult groupies and the mass media.

Whilst they remain in the sphere of private enterprise, anarchists need not fear these sometimes harmless capers. If they should ever become the tool of governments, as did various magical theories become the cornerstone of Nazi cosmology, then the threat is dire indeed. One can sneer at the stupidity and gullibility of a person in Liability in the Scientologist, yet if it became a method of government, then the worst excesses of Auschwitz would be just round the etheric corner. **Nigel Pennick.**

Cranmer's Godly Order: The Destruction of Catholicism through Liturgical Change, Michael Davies, Augustine Publishing Co., Devon, (Britons Publishing Co.), 1976, £1.50.

" . . . three key topics will be examined, God willing, in three separate books. The present, the first of the three, deals only with the Protestant Revolution . . . The second will deal with the Second Vatican Council, and the third with the Liturgical changes which have followed that Council . . . . "

(Author's introduction).

It is Michael Davies' belief that recent rapprochement between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England has been bought at the price of confusion, ambiguity, and suppression of unresolved differences as regards essential doctrines.

In this first volume of a study designed to defend the Catholic Church against creeping Protestantism, Michael Davies elaborates the doctrinal differences which originally separated Continental and English Reformers, especially the teachings of the Mass (Communion or Lord's Supper) and the consequent differences in the views of the priesthood, or, as Protestants would prefer, the ministry.

There can be no doubt that Davies is scrupulously fair and detached in his account of the Protestant reforms or, as he puts it, revolution. He makes the essential variances – the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Mass and the sacrificial nature of the offering of the bread and wine by the priest, plainly repudiated by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Cranmer as architect of the Book of Common Prayer, – crystal clear. Despite its Catholic origins and intentions, it is worthy of recommendation, ironically enough, as an exposition of Protestant teaching on the Eucharist.

The fundamental question is this: are the sacraments of the Church *symbolic* of God's relationship to man and of the grace He gives to mankind, or are they *special means* whereby that grace can be conveyed and which are the *only* means of grace to those who have had the opportunity to avail themselves of the means. And from this: is the Church the conscious community of Christians or is it a Noah's Ark without which, with its priests and ceremonials, salvation is impossible – at least to those who have had the opportunity to climb aboard. In each case, the predominance of Catholic teaching favours the latter of the two possibilities, with all that means in elevating the stauts and power of the Church as an institution and the moral coercion which bishops and priest can exert.

There are, of course, many on the liberal wing of the Catholic Church whose emphasis is on the Word of God as experienced in life rather than within the peculiar observances of ecclesiastical ceremony. *An example would be *Man Becoming* by F. Gregory Baum). But Davies presents the essential differences since the Reformation very clearly.

Geoff Charlton.

Catholic Terror Today, Avro Manhattan, Paravision Publications, London, 1969, o/p.

"This book has been criticised, condemned, banned, mutilated, destroyed and even burned as frequently as it has been quoted, reproduced and praised in many parts of the world . . . "

So begins the Foreword to this extraordinary work which lifts the lid off the role of the Vatican and the Catholic Church in some of the most terrifying and diabolical political events of the twentieth century. Some of the themses and arenas are familiar: Vatican, Malta and the Cold War; others, such as the rise of Fascist Catholicism in the inter-war period, readers may have not even heard of. Yet, taking documented evidence " . . . kept in the archives of the Yugoslav Government, of the Orthodox Church, of the United Nations and of the official institutions . . . " (p.iii) as well as his own questioning of witnesses, Manhattan portrays a Fascist State involved in mass crimes which horrified even the German Nazis, crimes which had the full backing and participation of the institutionalised Catholic Church at every level. Croatian fascists were often led and organised by priests of the Church and the network of facilities and intelligence provided by the Church speeded the formation of a fanatically Catholic and Nationalist Croatia. This regime persecuted non-Catholic elements – Jews and Serbs and the Orthodox Church – to the point of mass "conversion" through the gun, or mass murder, slowly in unspeakable concentration camps or quickly in mass graves dug with their own labour.

Key figures in the rise of the Croatian State were Ante Pavelic, supported in turn by Mussolini and by Hitler, and Archbishop Stepniac, head of the hierarchy of Catholic Croatia. With the help of terrorist elements, the Ustashi, they built and administered a State which forcibly "converted" or eliminated all non-Catholic and non-Croat elements in the population. A leader of the "Crusaders" wrote:

"God, who directs the destiny of nations and controls the hearts of Kings, has given us Ante Pavelic and moved the leader of a friendly and allied people, Adolf Hitler, to use his victorious troops to disperse our oppressors and enable us to create an Independent State of Croatia. Glory be to God, our gratitude to Adolf Hitler, and infinite loyalty to chief Ante Pavelic . . . " (p.21).

Pavelic, condemned to death in France because of his involvement in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia by Ustashi terrorists, was now head of the Croatian Fascist unknown duke now appointed to be King of Croatia, the Duke of Spoleto, Ante Pavelic was himself received by the Pope for a long and private audience. Thus the Pope avoided welcoming the King of a new Fascist State by one day – at a time when millions of Catholics were involved in fighting Fascism – 18 May, 1941.

During the war Nazi troops were posted in Croatia for some time and they were horrified at the Ustashi atrocities. They set up special commissions to investigate them and the Orthodox Serbian Church appealed to the German General Dunkelman to intervene and put an end to what was going on. After the Nazis withdrew, however, the Ustashi redoubled the persecutions and massacres, unhindered by the Government. Victims were hammered to death, burned and even crucified. Throughout their campaigns, Catholic Religious Orders supported the Ustashi, hiding terrorists, printing presses and weaponry. Dr. Saric, Archbishop of Sarajevo, encouraged clergy to join the Ustashi and:

" . . . employ revolutionary methods to the service of truth . . . " as it was " . . . unworthy of the disciples of Christ to think that the struggle could be conducted with gloves on . . . " (p.55).

Finally, Dr. Milosh Sekulich brought details of what was going on to London. The trip included many ports of call and was financed by the Yugoslav Government in exile in London. It was almost abortive, in that a Catholic Croat Minister, in charge of finances, withdrew expenses when Sekulich was in Lagos. Only the generosity of the Czechoslovak manager of Bata in Lagos allowed him to carry on.

The documents originally submitted to the Nazi forces in Serbia, to General Schreeder and his successor General Dunkelman, came with Dr. Sekulich to London. They began as follows:

" . . . the persecution of the Orthodox Serbs started from the very beginning of the existence of the Independent State of Croatia . . Following the departure of the German and Italian occupying troops (in 1944) persecution, plunder, torture of the Serbs, which until they had been checked, turned into a veritable pogrom, directed at **a complete extermination** of the Orthodox Serbian people . . . . As a result of such policy, thousands of Serbs were taken to concentration camps, Orthodox

priests and their families were arrested, the birth, marriage and death registers of the Orthodox Church were handed over to the Catholic diocesan authorities, Orthodox Churches were destroyed, monasteries plundered, and the Serbian people forced to abandon Orthodox religion and adopt Catholicism. We are sorry to have to relate that in all these misdeeds, the Catholic clergy also participated . . . We estimate that, so far, (August 8, 1941), the number of people killed surpasses 180,000."

There was a concerted effort among Catholic commentators for years afterwards to deny totally, or at least to play down, the accounts of the atrocities. The Yugoslav Government in exile itself was attempting to unite Serbs, Croats and Slovenes against Hitler's Germany and its fascist imperialism and so they kept the news quiet. But on 3 January, 1942, the *News Chronicle* published an account under the heading: **186,000 Die in Serb Terror**, giving examples of the detailed accounts of individual murders and massacres. There were protests on both sides of the Atlantic, but the story that Dr. Sekulich was a Gestapo agent was continually spread (despite the fact that Leopold Amery, Minister of State for India and a right-hand man of Winston Churchill's, received him immediately upon his arrival in London). Not least influential among the detractors was the American Slovene and Catholic Left-Winger, Louis Adamic, but even he had to admit that the massacres had occured, but insisted: " . . the massacres were not perpetrated by the Croatian people, but by the Ustashi" (p.76). He could not bring himself to accept the full horror of what had happened. And, throughout, the Catholic press in Croatia supported the Ustashi, carrying Ante Pavelic's portrait and describing the work of the Ustashi as the retribution of God.

Why then, did the Vatican not intervene in any way with what was occuring? Why, in fact, did Fascist Croatia receive its wholehearted support? Here we enter the realm of the whole overall strategy of the foreign policy of the Vatican during the time of Pope Pius XII. Pope Pius XII was a politically motivated man whose ambition was the destruction of Communism and the conversion of the USSR to Catholicism. After World War I, he supported Italian, Spanish and German Fascism and after World War II he supported the "hawks" in American foreign affairs. He was bitterly disappointed that Hitler did not destroy Russia and hoped that nuclear "brinkmanship" – even, perhaps, a Third World War – would eventually wipe out Communism as a world force. A man ready to declare that God worked special miracles for him – that he had been granted a repetition of the moving of the sun episode associated with the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Portuguese children in 1917, the cult of Our Lady of Fatima – and that Jesus Christ himself had paid him a visit during an illness – incidents published with full Papal authority and approval in the Vatican press – did not hesitate to carry the whole world to the brink of nuclear war for the sake of his own religious imperialism. The Cult of Fatima – originally dismissed as delusion by the Portuguese clergy but taken up and affirmed by Rome – involved a prophecy of the conversion of Russia. Several times over Pius XII reaffirmed its significance as his anti-Communist campaign wavered. In 1946, the statue of Our Lady of Fatima was solemnly crowned before half a million pilgrims. Pope Pius XII addressed the crowd by radio: "Be ready!" he warned. "There can be no neutrals. Never step back. Line up as a crusader!" (p.107). In 1947 the Cold War began. The Pope sent a statue of Our Lady of Fatima on a pilgrimage around the world. It finished up in the Church of Foreign Diplomats in Moscow, "to wait for the imminent liberation of Soviet Russia." (p.107).

Before he died, Pope Pius XI had written a special Encyclical in which he condemned Hitler and Mussolini and their preparations for war. It was due to be read on 12 February, 1939, but he died on the 10th. Cardinal Pacelli, about to become Pius XII, saw to it that its contents never became public. From this time onward an unrelenting right-wing and hard-line political programme was followed by the Vatican until Pius XII's death in October 1958. It was the work of Pope John XXIII to break the links of the Vatican with this hysterical anti-Communist policy. Cardinal Spellman, military Vicar of the Armed Forces of the USA and close contact with the Catholic lobby in Washington and the Pentagon was one of the first to fall from favour. Even after this, with John Foster Dulles as US Secretary of State and Alan Dulles, his brother, as head of the CIA, the Vatican/CIA "cold war" attitude was maintained for some time, viz the U2 Spy Plane episode that wrecked President Eisenhower's Summit Meeting with the Russians in 1960, a deliberate spanner thrown into the works of peace.

Beside genocide and nuclear warmongering the involvement of the Vatican in such matters as the elections in Malta, the censorship of books, birth control and abortion issues and irresponsible statements by individual Catholic politicians, not to mention Catholic influence in the mass media, may seem of small account, although the practice of instructing Catholics how to vote, often of peril of excommunication, must be mentioned in connection with many European countries and, in particular, with the Maltese elections of 1962. The Vatican involvement in Catholic persecution of non Catholics and non-Christians in South Vietnam under the corrupt government of President Diem, himself a fanatical Catholic, must also be mentioned. Manhattan's book documents tham all. What emerges is a terrifying record of what institutionalised authoritarianism can achieve when men of suitably fanatical character reach the top of the pyramid. The Nazification of the Catholic Church under Pius XII is only an extreme example of a danger that is with us forever, in every religious or political organisation that glorifies power. **Geoff Charlton.**

To Represent Our Saviour as "that Great Cock" (Kirkup - Gay News) Is Not Blasphemy but Eternal and Christian Orthodoxy (Furnished with Irrefutable Illustrative Proofs). Radical-Traditionalist Papers No. 4, £1.00.

Blasphemy is primarily an offence against orthodoxy. It is the statement of views which oppose the authoritarianism of the entrenched established hierarchies of religion. It is an act of disobedience.

Now disobedience is held to be the greatest of crimes. Pope Leo XIII is reported to have stated "Disobedience is a greater sin than murder, unchastity, theft and dishonesty." It undermines authority, which isolated instances of the other four offences do not. It is in this context that the now-celebrated poem in *Gay News* is seen. On the heels of the most ludicrous prosecution for decades comes a lengthily-titled pamphlet consciously in the style of eighteenth-century scurrilous lampoons and broadsheets.

John Michell, an author well known for his defences of ancient orthodoxies and divers works on geomancy and strange phenomena, presents us with a defence of Kirkup's poem in the form of a short dissertation on the phallic origin of religious emblems, Christ especially. Michell supports Kirkup's view of Christ's *Great Cock* with one reservation: that Christ was not attributed with possessing a great cock; but that he was depicted as a 'big cock.' Plate one of this lavishly-illustrated work is a reproduction of a 1786 engraving from *The Worship of Priapus* by Richard Payne Knight. It is of a 'cleebrated bronze in the Vatican, which has the male organs placed upon the head of a cock, the emblem of the sun, and which is supported by the neck and shoulders of a man.' On the pedestal of this strange chimera is the Greek inscription which translated reads 'The Saviour of the World.'

Michell demonstrates how the Christian hierarchy has transformed the generative, sexual imagery associated with Christ, into the 'gentle Jesus' cults of the modern churches. "To conceal this fact (i.e. the Great Cock), to promote the big lie in the matter of religion, Christianity has deployed every force at its command, its book-burners, heresy hunters, missionaries, witch-finders, inquisitionists, right-minded pig-heads, policemen and judges, all for the purpose of selling an image of Our Saviour which is the exact opposite of the vision of the first Christians."

The plates, of which there are twelve, are the 'irrefutable proof' of Michell's thesis. A number of them show the cross bearing the male organ being 'adored' by a woman, reproductions of drawings by the nineteenth century 'blasphemous' artist Felicien Rops and Martin van Maele. These, along with a number of other little-seen pictures demonstrate the universal application of phallicism. It is the suppression of this fundamental part of human nature which is the basis for the Christian ethic – the guilt generated by unnatural abstinence is channelled back to reinforce the worship of authority.

As a defence of Kirkup's meek poem, Michell's paper is not a success. Indeed, the connection between Gay News and the illustrations reproduced here is non-existent. Michell, indeed, himself denies the solely sexual imagery of the illustrations – he sees them as representations of the dual powers, proceeding from one source, that govern the Universe. As an alternative view of the origin of Christianity, the fountain of so many crimes against humanity, it is an amusing and valuable document. **Nigel Pennick.**

COSMIC PROFITS

Cosmic Trigger: Final Secret of the Illuminati, Robert Anton Wilson, And/Or Press, Berkeley, California, £3.50.

Paranoia is an unfortunate state of mind, and those who subscribe to the multiple ramifications of the 57 varieties of conspiracy theories tend to suffer more than most from that complaint. Robert Anton Wilson, co-author of the monumental *Illuminatus!* trilogy has put together a factual (?) account of the events leading to the illuminations revealed in *Illuminatus!* and this present volume.

The key to varying revelations is the use of the now-prohibited drug, LSD, which, during the early 1960s, until its prohibition in October 1966, was readily available to those foolhardy or courageous enough to experiment with its mind-expanding properties. Wilson, like thousands of others, was such a voyager in inner space, and, with the ancient wisdom of the occult, he pieced together and amazing web of intrigue, synchronicity and paranoia linking the assassination of John Kennedy with miracles, the number 23, UFOs, ancient secret society members and eternal life.

The early 60s were years which produced what amounts to a new consciousness – now reabsorbed into the mainstream of life and altering it ever so slightly. LSD produced the new awareness which ended with additional repression from the government after the anti-Vietnam riots of the end of the decade. However, in the period which terminated with the banning of LSD and its consequent criminalisation of its exponents, many new insights emerged. Materialism in its orthodox authoritarian guise was openly questioned from a non-religious viewpoint. 'Crank' sciences, which had largely grown up after World War 2, were discussed. Other ways of examining reality were explored.

Various threads seem to run through apparently disconnected events. The number 23, first noted by the author William Burroughs in the early 60s as connected with unfortunate incidents and people on the fringes of the Illuminati (if they exist), has been documented everywhere since, *Illuminatus* bristles with such numerological coincidences. And even in 1978, the number continues its connections in the shape of a house number where the busted LSD manufacturers had a laboratory. And, like Wilson, they were connected with the much-prosecuted LSD psychologist Timothy Leary. The principle behind these coincidences, so Wilson postulates, is the fundamental interconnectedness of all events in space and time.

Aleister Crowley is an enigmatic man. He probably cultivated this side of his personality in order to confuse people like me who write about him over thirty years after his demise. *Cosmic Trigger*, being that kind of work, links Crowley, magician extraordinary, with the star Sirius, from which various people in the ancient astronauts school of prehistory believe they came to instruct humanity with civilisation. Needless to say, I reject this authoritarian myth as atheist religion which believes that the human race is not fit to control its own affairs, needing a super-schoolmaster, once God, but now a spaceman, to accomplish the master plan for the world.

In the period in question, the dada-anarchist creed of Discordianism was formulated: Convictions cause convicts. Whatever you believe imprisons you. Kerry Thornley, later to be connected with the inconclusive investigations into the shooting of President Kennedy, was editor of an anarchist journal, the *New Libertarian*, which put forth the pacifist-anarchist viewpoint. He had served in the Marines with Lee Harvey Oswald, and got into the investigation out of that connection. Thornley and Gregory Hill invented the religion of Discordianism, which Wilson used in the *Illuminatus* books, in 1958. It is based on the worship of the Greek goddess of chaos and confusion, Eris, and has certain aspects in common with Zen Buddhism, which was the 'in' thing with the beatniks of the late 50s. Discordianism is in direct contradiction with the monotheist mono-theory of western thought, where a model true in all cases is assumed to exist which describes everything.

Wilson's interest in conspiracy theories led him to assist the invention of many such conspiracies which were disseminated via the underground press in the late 60s. This involved the placing of almost every prominent character, Nixon, themselves, Crowley etc., as members of the Illuminati. This technique is the common one of confusing the authorities by using a name which is then taken up by others who are totally unconnected with the originals who used that name. Red Brigades, 2nd July Groups, Front for the Liberation of East Anglia, etc., have been used by various probably disconnected persons in their revolutionary actions. So with the Illuminati. Whether such people exist is probably irrelevant. That people believe them to exist and act upon events is all that is required. Paranoia of such kinds exists concerning the Freemasons. I have recently come across some straight ritual magic as practised by the Church of England, with invocation rituals – connected with the freemasons to boot. Wilson relates the seemingly absurd connections of magic and freemasonry with Kennedy and scientific endeavour.

Cal Tech was founded at 33° of latitude, partially as the result of the work of the aerospace engineer and occultist Jack Parsons, a disciple of Aleister Crowley and former friend of L. Ron Hubbard, founder of Scientology.

John F. Kennedy was assassinated at 33° of latitude and Cape Kennedy, where the moon rockets were launched, is at 33°. The first man on the moon, Neil Armstrong is a 33° freemason. Coincidence? Wilson thinks perhaps, and that is the creed of discordianism speaking.

After reading this book, paranoids will find their whole experience reinforced with vibes from Sirius. Anarchists will see it as an individualist mind-expanding vision whose hopes are high that all will be all right someday, despite the present. Of course, one could dismiss it all as a conspiracy put out by the Illuminati to convince us all that they don't really exist.

Nigel Pennick.

Keeping Score on our Modern Prophets, by Kurt Saxon, Atlan Formularies, Eureka, Calif. £2.35.

Kurt Saxon is best know for his *Survivalist* publications, the epitome of United States rugged individualism and self-reliance tinged with a leavening of Vigilante homespun philosophy. In *Modern Prophets* he attacks the supposed psychics and seers who inhabit the pages and screens of the American mass-media. Their fame, he claims, rests upon nothing more than a sham recounting of the few successful and often not very clever prophecies which have come to pass. Four years of predictions of the most popular modern prophets are collated and analysed by Saxon who blasts them to pieces with the facts. In fact, very few of the key prophecies of Jeane Dixon (Saxon's main target), Joseph de Louise, 'Akashan,' Maurice Woodruff, Edward Snedeker etc., etc. materialised, despite the fact that a large proportion of them were useless trivia such as the fate of Princess Anne, Jackie Kennedy, Liz Taylor, Peter Sellers, Richard Nixon, Frank Sinatra and other showbiz personalities, which are of little importance anyway.

There are several echelons of psychic seers, and it is those who claim divine guidance that come in for Saxon's stick. To claim divine guidance is not a passport to perfection – far from it. After all, Hitler claimed that he was 'doing the Lord's Work,' and doubtless inquisitionists and witch-hunters like Matthew Hopkins, the Witchfinder General also believed in the god-given infallibility of their cause. One such is Jeane Dixon. At the age of eight, she was told by a gipsy fortune teller that she was the proud possessor of the gift of prophecy. Her good fortune in later years in marrying a Chevvy dealer who went to Washington D.C. and met a lot of politicians (who also believe they are divinely ordained) stood her in good stead to become one of the leading seers of the United States establishment. Year after year, she churned out predictions hot off the hotline from God, coming up with such world-shattering prognostications as : Johnny Cash to disappear mysteriously; or Dustin Hoffman to win more fame and success; or the economy to improve . . . thanks, Jeez, for those important messages!

Saxon writes "If the Creator actually wanted such messages delivered to us through a prophet, then that prophet would speak true 100% of the time. There would be no margin for error in the message and there would be no question of its source any more than one would question the source of a Western Union telegram."

Out of 1075 contestants allowed 5 prophecies each in a *National Enquirer* prediction competition, there were only 11½ right forecasts, about 1 correct for every 450 prognostications. Of Saxon's professionals, who were not in the contest, the success rate was about 1 in 10. At first sight this would tend to corroborate the seer's claims, but an alternative, and most prosaic solution seems more likely, that of the prophets' greater ability to make educated guesses with respect to the trends.

In the past, seers like Nostradamus made prophecies which were incomprehensible to the people of the day, further garbling occurring because the Inquisition's irons, boots and racks were never far away to toss a converted Jew into the flames along with his books. Whether Nostradamus saw the future or not is and always will be a matter of opinion. Materialists will believe that it is not possible to see that which has not occurred, whilst those with open minds will at least countenance the possibility of such a process. In modern times, writers like Jules Verne, H.G. Wells and others have foreseen the path of technical civilisation and explained it in educated terms to an educated audience. The rambling prophecies and insane outpourings of demented seers born of ignorance and trance are of a different order. They may misinterpret the facts and deliver them as something quite different from the 'messages' which they believe they are receiving from the Cosmos, UFOs, God etc. Saxon places the Jackie Onassis type 'prophecies' in the latter category. He believes that psychic power is merely a normal talent possessed by many, and that when a seer like Jeane Dixon claims paranormal divine messages, this is a delusion which should be treated with scorn.

Saxon himself recounts his own encounters with the psychic world, having been in the Rosicrucians and reconstructed his 'past lives.' When he got bored with the Rosicrucians, he entered the 'Agasha Temple of Wisdom,' which rapidly proved to be phoney. After that, the flying saucer freaks, about which the usual gullible tales emerge.

Anton La Vey is a Satanist, and to him next turned Saxon. Los Angeles Satanism, however, he found to be composed mainly of sexfreaks who weren't into real black magic, and so he moved on to the Scientologists. Elsewhere I have written a review of *Cults of Unreason* which deals with this science-fiction religion. Saxon mildly criticises this hyper-authoritarian creed whose members seem to get less out of it than would a member of the Nazi Party or the Roman Catholic Church would out of their chosen professions.

Although he has been through all these creeds, Saxon retains a healthy scepticism towards them. His expose of Bible Bandits as he so quaintly terms them, is masterly. Bible Bandits are those people who quote the bible in order to obtain divine endorsement of their chosen views (perhaps there are some quotations favourable to Anarchism – they'd confound the Jehovah's Witnesses the next time they knock on your door!) Unfortunately, some who use the Bible do not even bother to quote it correctly, and are good aunt sallies for Saxon's wide-ranging knowledge of this pernicious book.

In a like vein, he finally returns to Jeane Dixon. In the same way that folklore attributes deeds to those who had nothing to do with them, so Dixon has predictions which she never made attributed to her. Like the adulated demagogue, her failures are glossed over whilst her successes are publicised. A final lunacy, which puts most of the soothsayers' theories in a nutshell: Watergate. A water gate is a gate by water. In 1970s parlance it means a political scandal in which a president of the Untied States got caught for a change. Dixon claimed that Watergate was predicted in the Bible in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah. Unfortunately, in Nehemiah (if anyone should really care) there were also references to the sheep gate, the fish gate, the dung gate, the valley gate, the fountain gate, the horse gate as well as the water gate. But such is the power of self-delusion that Jeane Dixon 'predicted Watergate', and as an added bonus used the Bible.

Kurt Saxon's output is not restricted to put-downs of fraudulent soothsayers and mystics. He is editor of a surprisingly complex monthly paper, *The Survivor*, which is a sort of post-apocalyptic *Whole Earth Catalogue*, but with the emphasis on self-reliance. Each month *The Survivor* gives practical details, with diagrams, on self-reliance in self-defence, power manufacture, windmills, firearms, antiburglar devices, chemicals and other necessities of post-industrial civilisation life. Details of still making for your own alcohol (or tear gas!), steam cars, or survival electronics vie with reprints of nineteenth century survival in the construction of an era of American rugged individualism – the colonisation of the West. Whilst politically individualist (especially the 'how to set up your own motorcycle gang' pieces), the information gleaned from numerous disparate sources by Saxon is of the highest importance.

As companions to *The Survivor*, Atlan has also produced three *Granddad* books, on chemistry, medicines and explosives. Most revolutionary is *Fireworks and Explosives Like Granddad Used To Make*. Again, the format is new material plus reprints of earlier years. To quote from the introduction: "'Dick's Encyclopedia of Practical Recipes and Processes was first published in 1872. It details methods for making everything from deadly poisons to high explosives, narcotics, shoe polish, all the most popular patent medicines of the day and ketchup. When that book was published, most of those who would misuse its information were in prison or nuthouses. The rational, lawabiding person was trusted with no end of potentially dangerous materials . . . As more people were born into our society who were mentally defective, or just naturally stupid or irresponsible, many wonderful things were made illegal . . . "

This is the strength and weakness of Saxon's credo. While he encourages the 'responsible' to make firearms, explosives and medicines, he blames the authoritarianism of the government upon people's increasing stupidity. Stupid perhaps to accept the authoritarian edicts of the gangsters called the government, but the theory of 'minimal brain damage' to which Kurt Saxon subscribes, i.e. the increasing fall in average intelligence, smacks of elitist philosophy. Such a viewpoint tends to justify actions of the authorities as a protective shield against natural stupidity, as one might shield a toddler from a fire.

However, these criticisms aside, the actual information contained in *Granddad's Wonderful Book of Chemistry, Fireworks and Explosives Like Granddad Used To Make and Medicines Like Granddad Used To Make* is a useful tool to use against elitist restriction of information. Amazing quantities of useful information are packed between the covers of these volumes, though much of the medical information, being taken directly from the nineteenth century, is of the leeches and lancet nature.

The Survivor is the spiritual successor, if not politically, then structurally, of the old 1960s underground press. The survival in the forthcoming wilderness aspect exactly echoes the intention of the Underground Press's manifesto of 1967 to prepare the people for the wilderness. The tone of *The Survivor* is not whether, but when the collapse comes, an increasingly-held opinion found not only in ecological and anarchist periodicals, but even now in the Nazi publications, of *White Power*, the Chicago-based paper of the National Socialist White People's Party, successors to George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. If the collapse comes, anarchists would be better placed if they have read and understood such survivalist publications. As people who do not rely upon leaders, or the random instructions of others, they are better placed than most.

Nigel Pennick.

Fireworks & Explosives Like Granddad Used To Make is now published as part of the new edition of *The Poor Man's James Bond* (£6.50 + 50p p+p) and bound editions of Vol.1 & Vol. 2 of *The Survivor* (£5.00 each plus 50p p+p) can be obtained through Cienfuegos Press Bookservice.

State Secrets and **Freemasonry & the Vatican**, Vicomte Leon de Poncin; **Grand Orient Freemasonry Unmasked: as the secret power behind Communism**, Monsignor George F. Dillon, D.D., **Christian by Degrees**, Walton Hannah. All published by Britons Publishing Co.

Authoritarian views of the world, indeed of the whole universe, are tempered by underlying beliefs in a guiding principle of order. Whether this order be classified as the Will of God, Destiny or Historical Necessity, it is seen as a progressive ordering of events towards a final goal – world domination, the Kingdom of Heaven or whatever. Authoritarian creeds throughout history have viewed the world in their own terms and this has usually involved the belief that their opponents were part of a cosmic conspiracy against them. Christian fanatics believed that their opponents were agents of the Devil, carrying out his master plan to thwart the Will of God. An estimated nine million unfortunate women and men were done to death in the most hideous fashions over the centuries as a result of this myth.

From these theories, in which the world is conceived as a struggle between two opposing principles of order, have been born the twin modern authoritarian creeds. Call them what you will, 'Marxist' or 'fascist,' left and right – no epithets truly express the nature of the systems – what they have in common is the ingrained belief in their correctness and an equally ingrained belief that a world conspiracy exists solely to destroy them. Their very faith in their own infallibility renders impossible the admission that they are themselves to blame for the systems' failures. They know that fascism or Marxism or Christianity are perfect in themselves, and it follows that any failures or setbacks must originate outside.

Perhaps one of the most notorious hoaxes of all time (if one excludes the resurrection) was perpetrated, it is believed, by the Russian Czarist secret police – *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. This book may be counted as the definitive exposition of the

idea of world Jewish domination, and as such has a lot to answer for. In 1918, the Britons Publishing Company was set up in London to publish the book and others in the same vein. Common to the *Elders of Zion*, many such works posit the assumption that all powers and forces which act against the Christian World Order, the Monarchy, Britishness, etc., are part and parcel of a coherent and organised plot, often involving the Freemasons, always the Jews, to overthrow the *status quo* in order to set up a quite different order in the world.

Although fascism as such was only in embryo when the *Elders of Zion* was published, soon the ideas contained in it enabled authors with an occult view of world events to amalgamate the theory with political and economic ideas, with results only too well known to us all. The final result is National Socialism, which encapsulates the whole mystico-political syndrome in a sometimes coherent framework. The whole gamut of 'conspirators' is attacked – Jews, Freemasons, Anarchists, Communists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jesuits, Gipsies – are all seen as agents of subversion under the control of a sinister master plan.

The whole theory is manifested in several books from Britons Publishing, which purport to deal with the relationships between the Freemasons, Jewish interests, revolution and power politics. The earliest of the books dealt with here is *Grand Orient Freemasonry Unmasked*, which was originally published in 1884 as *The War of Antichrist with the Church and Christian Civilization*. A favourite book of the hyperauthoritarian Pope Leo XIII, *Grand Orient Freemasonry* is an archetypal example of the conspiracy theory in action. Its author, Mgr. Dillon, traces the supposed history of Freemasonry through its alleged members and their influence on history, producing atheist revolution against Christian stability. The foreword of the current edition, by Dennis Fahey C.S.Sp., is more extreme than the book which follows it, having had another 60 years of development beyond it. Fahey's essay is in some ways more illuminating than the book itself, being a classical Christian anti-semitic tract. Of the Jewish people he writes "On account of their racial pride they refused to accept that there could be any higher life than their national life and they would not hear of the non-Jewish nations entering into the Kingdom of the Mystical Body on the same level as themselves. The Crucifixion of our Lord on Calvary was . . . the public rejection by the Jewish nation of the Divine programme for order in the world . . . " and "The Jewish nation is a *non secret* organised naturalistic force, that is to say, its naturalistic opposition to the Mystical Body of Christ is openly proclaimed. Freemasonry, the organised naturalistic force acting in subordination to and in conjunction with the Jewish nation, is a *secret* society . . ." There is no hiding here what the intentions of Britons Publishing is. The book itself is somewhat less explicit, though it carries the same intention.

The theory is that the Jews, having spurned God's gift of Jesus, and hence having rejected the Kingdom of Heaven, decided to set up their own temporal kingdom over the peoples of the world. With this in mind, they worked secretly through the medium of the Freemasons. Dillon writes "A Portuguese Jew, named Martinez Pasqualis, was the first to ontroduce Illuminism into the Lodge of Lyons, and his system was afterwards perfected in wickedness by Saint Martin, from whom French Illuminism took its name. Illuminism meant the extreme extent of immorality, Atheism, anarchy, levelling and bloodshed, to which the principles of Masonry could be carried. It meant a universal conspiracy against the Church and established order." Here, in a nutshell, is the theory. As any movement viewed in authoritarian eyes must have a leader or architect, so here, Adam Weishaupt is that kingpin. Professor of Canon Law at Munich university, Weishaupt, we would be led to believe, shaped the modern world more than Isaac Newton or Charles Darwin. Dillon: "Had Weishaupt not lived, Masonry may have ceased to be a power after the reaction consequent on the first French Revolution. He gave it a form and a character which caused it to outlive that reaction, to energise it to the present day, and which will cause it to advance until its final conflict with Christianity must determine whether Christ or Satan shall reign on this earth to the end." Fanatical ravings, one might assume. And so they are, with one proviso: their impact. Whilst not wishing to set up my own conspiracy theory with regard to this book, it may be pointed out that much ill has come of such ideas. After treating with Voltaire, the French Revolution (caused, of course by the Freemasons), Napoleon and Bismarck, all under the control of, if not actually, Freemasons, Dillon comes to an area of interest especially to ourselves: The Internationalists, the Nihilists, the Blackhand &c. Naturally, these are all the offspring of . . . you've guessed it! The Freemasons. "These new anarchical societies are not mere haphazard associations. They are most ably organised. . . . They know no country but the Revolution; no other enemy but 'reaction' " "These terrible societies are unquestionably connected with, and governed by, the dark directory, which now, as at all times since the days of Weishaupt, rules the secret societies of the world."

Christian by Degrees, from the same publishing house, is of much more recent origin, representing the Christian orthodox antimasonic stance. It is interesting in that it exposes much of the mumbo-jumbo which passes for masonic ritual, but as its main thesis is that Freemasonry is essentially non-Christian and as such is a threat to the Church, it is of little interest to anarchists.

It is surprising to consider that the almost totally separate systems of orthodox Catholic Christianity and Naziism both have so much in common when it comes to choosing scapegoats and conspirators. The Christians blame the Jews for having rejected the saviour, whilst the Nazis blame the Jews for a religion which preaches their world domination. Both fear the Jews, and their supposed dupes, for threatening their 'rightful' domination of the globe. Certain aspects of Nazism, as exemplified by the writings of Rosenberg, transfer this to the church in the same manner that the Jewish 'plot' is transferred to the Freemasons by other writers. In *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Rosenberg writes that the Church of Rome wants "one form, one compulsory belief, one language and one rite for Nordic men, Levantines, Niggers, Chinese and Eskimoes." Other writers of the right take a less forthright view of the Catholic Church and its relations with world conspiracies.

Vicomte Leon de Poncins is yet another author in this vein published by Britons. Author of such seminal works as *Judaism and the Vatican* and *The Secret Powers behind Revolution*, de Poncin's thesis is a more political one than the Christian approaches of the previous two authors mentioned. Poncin's method is to use numerous quotations from varied sources throughout his works, thus lending them an air of authenticity. Unfortunately, and quite deliberately, we neither know the context of the quotations nor their primary sources, as many are bald statements which most likely are just opinion, for example: "Freemasonry is the permanent personification of the Revolution; it constitutes a sort of society in reverse whose aim is to exercise an occult overlordship upon society as we know it, and whose sole raison d'etre consists in waging war against God and His Church" (Pope Leo XIII, 19/3/1902), or "The masonic coat-of-arms still used by the Grand Lodge of England is undoubtedly of Jewish design" (Nesta Webster, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements)*.

In common with right-wing anti-masonic tradition, de Poncis believes that the Freemasons were responsible for the French Revolution and the ideas which led to the development of Communism, whilst he has the shrewdness not to fall into the trap that Communism is a deliberate creation of masonry, as some authors have done. One of his myriad quotes expresses admirably the whole ethos behind the conspiracy myth: "No one can read English or European history from the period of that memorandum onward (Henry VI) without realising that to that history there has been an inner side not cognised or treated of by academic historians . . . . but to that current one must look for the secret Masonic science, and to its projection . . . modern speculative Masonry." (W.Wilmshurst, *Masonic Initiation)*. Poncin sees this occult world in action even now: " . . . the whole of Africa is the prize; Communism and Freemasonry are playing a satanic gamble for it . . . " (quoting a Monseigneur Perraudin, himself quoted in the Catholic review *Verbe*, July-August 1961). "Freemasons as a whole are not Communists; nevertheless, everywhere, Freemasonry has prepared the ground for the coming and triumph of Communism . . . " (Poncin himself, for a change). According to him; and of interest to Anarchists, the Spanish Revolution was caused by the Freemasons. In another long quote, this time from *Le Figaro* of March 2nd 1931, the Masonic theory enters an even more grotesque phase. After attacking the fascist Primo de Rivera for being too lax with the suppression of Freemasonry, we get the following gem: "In 1928, knowing that he (Rivera) was being secretly combated by the sect, which on the other side of the Pyrenees has a particularly uncompromising revolutionary spirit (we have but to recall the Masonic Anarchist [sic. N.P.] Ferrer, who was truly typical of the Spanish Mason) he ordered

investigations to be made at the headquarters of the Grand Orient of Madrid . . . " This, the writer went on to explain, led to the downfall of that odious regime and the formation of the Republic which was to be crushed by the heel of Franco, who, on his deathbed raved that the Freemasons and the Jews were to blame.

That such a libel of Ferrer is published without comment, indeed, as corroboration of the 'evidence' presented by de Poncin is a gross indictment of the rest of the book. Towards the end of *Freemasonry and the Vatican*, de Poncin brings out the latest claims against the Masons, strangely enough, virtually the same claims which are levelled against Jewish interest in the last Britons book reviewed here. It is that the occult forces of Masonry are in action today, after the 'triumph for Freemasonry' of the First World War. "Freemasonry inspired and dominated most of the democratic Governments of the new Europe . . . . ", "Freemasonry was the reigning power in France from 1918 to 1939" and finally "Freemasonry as a system is fundamentally hostile to the whole civilisation, culture and way of life of Western Europe, which was created and founded on Christianity. . . its methods of insidious penetration have enabled it to infiltrate the church, where it finds powerful support in progressive circles. . . . The subversive movements today consider that burrowing inwardly is more efficaceous than open, bloody revolution."

De Poncin's other book, *State Secrets*, purports to show that the Jews are to blame for wars in this century. Chapter I commences "Is it possible, is it even conceivable that the Jews, by sheer weight of their influence alone, could unleash a world war? It is probably unbelievable, and yet this is exactly what has happened three times in the course of the last half century . . . " Whilst most people think there have only been two world wars so far, in World Conspiracy circles the Boer War was a world war. While governments are usually infinitely corrupt and influenced from many diverse sources, de Poncin would have us believe that all acts performed by them are at the direct instigation of 'the Jews,' and the outcome of all events are therefore favourable to those Jews. Tell that to the inmates of Treblinka, Auschwitz etc., who were mainly Jewish.

Such books as these four from Britons, which incidentally used to be based at Arnold Leese House, Princedale Road, London, later the headquarters of Colin Jordan and John Tyndall's National Socialist Movement in the early 1950s, are all formula books which are produced for a certain market in the same way that the works of Lenin or Mao-Tse-Tung are churned out by presses in Peking or Moscow. What they have in common is a party line and an uncritical acceptance of all information presented in them. The theory is stated, and then evidence is found to support it. World conspiracy is an attractive theory. Unfortunately it stems from a simplistic world picture, more in keeping with the mechanistic cosmologies of the ancients than those of the modern age. But whilst such ideas circulate and find in gullible or self-deluded minds fertile ground, then the effects which they may have cancel a millionfold the patent absurdities which otherwise could be taken almost as a joke in bad taste.

Nigel Pennick.

LAND, LIBERTY & LETTERS

Land & Liberty! Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution: Ricardo Flores Magon, edited by Dave Poole, jacket illustration by Flavio Costantini, Cienfuegos Press, 1977, £2.35 p/b, £5.00 h/b (156pp).

This book is the only study of the subject available in any language other than Spanish, and even in Spanish there are not a lot of books available outside Mexico. As Albert Meltzer points out in his introduction, almost nothing is known about the Mexican Revolution which was every bit as important as the Soviet Revolution. How come?

In my view, the Mexican Revolution is of fundamental importance in that it broke out and developed according to a pattern different from the European one – socialist, marxist and anarchist (what influence they did yield was only among tiny sectors of society) and, of course, it is a reflection of the reactions of the people itself. What a formidable paradox we find in the dictatorial regime against which the revolution was set: a government dominated by technocrats immersed in the progressive "Order and progress" philosophy of Comte, industry flourishing, with cosmopolitan influences from international capitalism, while the appearances of democracy are maintained. After the outbreak of the Paris Commune, the propertied classes tightened up their control so as to avert outbursts of that sort. And yet, in spite of all this, revolution raises its head in both the impoverished areas – in the north with the small farmers and a leader who was to become a famous name, Francisco "Pancho" Villa – as well as in those provinces most favoured by the government, such as Morelos with its large peasant Indian population and a leader in Emiliano Zapata, in the south.

The Mexican anarchists were able to seize upon a breach in the bourgeois system – the struggle between Porfirio Diaz and Madero – to launch the "Land and Liberty" movement for direct revolution, defiance of the capitalist order and the launching of an appeal for popular action, which were increasingly adopted by Villa and Zapata. And just as in the Soviet Union Trotsky made use of the Ukrainian anarchists only to decimate their numbers later by treachery and just as the soviets ended up as a mere name with no real content, in Mexico the bourgeoisie murdered Villa and Zapata even though their demands were incorporated into the 1917 constitution: separation of Church and State, and agrarian reform with property being held by the ejido, or Indian or peasant village or community. It was the first agrarian reform to give land to collectives of poor peasants (during the French Revolution land passed from the hands of the clergy and aristocracy to the hands of the bourgeoisie or rich peasants, just as in the U.S.S.R. Lenin allowed the economic grandeur of the rich peasants – or kulaks – at the expense of the poorer ones), but in this instance also, the bourgeoisie continued its exploitation with the law being forgotten many a long year until such time as it was carried into effect with Cardenas after 1936 as a gambit in the elections.

Knowing this, one can understand the importance of this book and Dave Poole's forthcoming studies of which the manifestoes given here from Flores Magon, and the sample given through his life of the activities of the Mexican anarchist movement, are a foretaste. Starting from clandestine activities (that is to say, terrorist activity whilst at the same time operating under a phoney political label, while being open about his ideas) and leading folk with no political education and a Catholic educational background, Flores Magon constantly linked his critique of the political situation with religious assertions such as: "happiness is on earth, not in heaven", and "the land belongs to everyone" (p.44, from 1910), "revolution comes through struggle against the State, the Church and the *cientificos*". (p.98, from 1911). (*Cientificos*: the various tendencies of the Mexican bourgeoisie (like Madero's, and then Huerta's, Carranza's and Obregon's) opposed to the international bourgeoisie, all of them seeking to enlist the people as cannon fodder.

There are a number of what seem to me very important points, and I should like Dave Poole to deal with them or comment upon them. The first is the claim that the people owing to their ignorance and thus their lack of capitalist education, but thanks to their respect for the tradition of collective ownership, could assimilate the ideas of anarchism directly (p.25). One can find the same idea in Bakunin a propos of the Russian *mir* (in *Statism & Anarchy – Etatisme et Anarchie* – p.369, Editions Champ Libre) and even in Marx who had to concede the same notion nine years later on, in 1882, in the preface to the second Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto. Another point is the manipulation of the anarcho - syndicalist workers by the bourgeoisie to turn them into a military unit and send them against the armed peasants of Zapata. And then later, when these same workers went on strike, the government repressed them. With this fact in mind, and the failure of French anarcho-syndicalism in 1914 to prevent the chauvinism of labour and participation in the war, and the contrast with the sincerity of the Spanish C.N.T., I wonder if, in Mexico, like in France, the anarcho-syndicalists did not guage their strength by the fact that they held some important positions rather than real influence among the workers.

One may note the influence here, as in the Spanish Revolution, of *The Conquest of Bread* by Kropotkin (pp. 8, 117, 127, 138), who remains the most relevant thinker, whatever the unfounded criticisms levelled against him by Malatesta and Berneri.

Another thing – it does not appear in Poole's book – is the odd racist demand for "a ban on Chinese immigration" . . . "The Chinese, generally prepared to work for the lowest of wages, docile, with little ambition, is a great obstacle to the prosperity of other workers", which is to be found in the programme of the Liberal Party of 1906, quoted by Silva Herzog in *Breve historia de la revolucion mexicana* ("Short History of the Mexican Revolution") Vol. I, p.82. Incidental reformism or a deeply held position?

But Flores Magon's lucid style is brought out in the tale of the soldier of the scientific (i.e. bourgeois) army who returns to the village only to find the same old misery and constant corruption. It has as its refrain " Para que hemos hecho la revolucion?" (For what did we make the Revolution?) which had tremendous echo in the killing of the students in 1968 and the current endemic poverty and banditry. The sinister levity of the class that holds power in Mexico is described, sometimes in the spirit of Magon, by the famous contemporary novelist, Carlos Fuentes, "So we get a bit carried away on the roads? The ejido commissars embezzle a half of what is set aside for the budget? So what? Would you prefer that nothing had been done, just to avoid those abuses?" (*La region mas transparente*, Fondo de Cultura Economica, p.110).

But there is none on Fuentes' irony in Frederick Engels's opinion of the war between Mexico and the United States (1846–1848) which ended with the U.S. annexing over half the country (2.3 million square kilometres): "Will Bakunin take the North American people to task for a war which, true, was not in keeping with his theories based on 'Justice and Humanity', but was manifestly waged in the interests of civilisation? Or is it perhaps a shame that the superb land of California has been snatched from the indolent Mexicans who had no idea what to do with it? A shame that, thanks to prompt exploitation of its gold mines the energetic Yankees have increased the currency in circulation, and in a few years attracted a large population and great trade to the part nearest the Pacific?" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1849). A view held by many today who fail to distinguish between industrial development and the absence of exploitation of the workers – by the U.S.S.R. and China – a view that Flores Magon was denouncing as far back as 1911: "All the ills that afflict humanity spring from the existing system, which compels the majority to toil and sacrifice itself that a privileged minority may satisfy its wants and even its caprices while living in ease and vice." (p.101).

Frank Mintz

Prison Letters of Ricardo Flores Magon to Lilly Sarnoff, compiled and introduced by Paul Avrich, reprinted from the International Review of Social History, Vol. XXII (1977) Part 3 pp.379-422, no price given.

Although first written in English, this is the first time that any sizeable selection of Ricardo Flores Magon's prison letters have appeared in their original language, apart from the publication of a few individual ones and a poorly reproduced facsimile edition to complement a Spanish translation by *Tierra y Libertad* of Mexico City; and all thanks must go to our comrade Rodolf de Jong of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, where the letters are now held, on whose initiative they were reproduced in the Institute's Journal. Despite this though, a complete collection of Ricardo's prison letters have appeared in several Spanish translations including Vol VIII of his selected works *Vida y Obra* 1925 under the title *Epistolario Revolucionario e Intimo*. This has recently been reprinted by Ediciones Antorcha of Mexico City. (This for some reason or another is not mentioned in the introduction to this edition though). The vast majority of the letters were translated from English, but unfortunately the originals are untraceable.

Due though to the foresight of Lilly Sarnoff, now Lilly Raymond, Ricardo's letters to her have been preserved, and these make up the present little collection.

Lilly Sarnoff herself, who today, with Nicolas T. Bernal is, as far as is known, the only person still alive who knew Ricardo Flores Magon, began to correspond with him while she was working on the defence committee for his release, under the pseudonym Ellen White, and their correspondence spans the years 1920-1922 when Ricardo was in Leavenworth Prison, Kansas serving a savage 20 year sentence for the alleged violation of the Espionage Laws introduced by the US on their entrance to the World War in 1916.

These letters of Ricardo Flores Magon are of great interest and importance on several levels. First they give us a wonderful idea of Ricardo the man, his great warm heartedness and his never dying hope for the future that remained with him until the last, despite continual persecution, imprisonment, torture and eventual murder by the US authorities, and during his final years almost continual ill health and gradual blindness (of which he constantly refers in his letters), which was aggravated by lack of adequate medical attention. " . . . The human heart needs hope" he wrote, "and it is for this that as soon as one hope fails, up springs the next. I have had so many hopes . . . Many of them are now dead, and my heart is heavy with the weight of their corpses, but new ones always replace them, fair and rosy hopes are always fair, – hopes are always rosy – and I continue hoping, hoping, hoping . . . "

And replying to Lilly Sarnoff's impatience at the slowness of events:

" . . . For where is the dignity of which we boast so much? A man or a group of men can keep under his sway millions and millions of so-called human beings; he can subject them to all imaginable and unimaginable indignities; he can dictate to them what to do, and what not to do; he can intermeddle in the private and most intimate affairs of the individuals; he can prescribe what to say and what to think . . . and everybody submits, everyone gladly surrenders his dignity, his honour, his pride, his freedom, if he only is allowed to get his alloted portion of crusts . . . is this not simply animal? But the tyrant must be careful so as not to cause the dwindling of the amount of crusts. Crusts and moving-picture shows keep nowadays the masses in submission, an effectively as bread and circus placated the sporadic furies of the Roman plebs. Thus we have to be patient dear Ellen, and wait for the scene to be changed. We have not to wait very long as the crusts are dwindling and dwindling and dwindling and in an inverse ratio the number of those afflicted with our thrist and tormented with our hunger and our yearnings, in growing, growing, and in the presence of this fact, from the depth of my being issues forth a sigh of relief: there is hope! . . . "

His attitude to his own imprisonment was somewhat stoic, but this did not hide a certain bitterness. " . . . I do not see any reason why we class war prisoners should be kept in bondage further on. To keep us pent up, I believe, an unnecessary and fruitless cruelty. We are kept apart from the rest of the mortals in the hope that our discontent should not infect others. But are we really a source of discontent? For my part I can say that I am not. I have not raised the price of bread; I have not deprived any child of its milk. I have not thrown any family out into the gutter for lack of payment of the rent, because I have not a dwelling place for myself; I have not deprived anyone of the right of thinking with his own head, and of acting accordingly; I have not compelled anybody to sweat and work even give his life for me; no one can point at me as the occasioner of his tatters, and his tears, and his despair. How then, might I cause discontent? And if I am not a source of discontent why is it that they do not unfetter my wings, and let me fly to that spot on earth where tender hearts pine away for my absence?

All this makes me suspect that they do not keep me in captivity because I am a source of discontent, but because I want to suppress it, I strive to extirpate from our earth all the sorrow, and degradation and misery which springs forth from every situation wherein there is no one who commands and another who obeys. This is my fault I think, this is my crime, and if it is so, I bless it, and cherish it and I am ready to commit it again with my whole heart, with my whole brain, with my whole body . . . "

and again:

" . . . Thus for ferocity's sake I must remain a prisoner. I do not complain – it is only natural for the hyena to believe it is his privilege to feast on decaying flesh; those who strive at being wolves have a right to, but for decency's sake, do not cover such appalling regression of barbarism if we have ever emerged from it – which I very much doubt – with the cloak of justice . . . "

The second level on which these letters are important is Ricardo Flores Magon's contribution to anarchist attitudes towards the Russian Revolution, Marxism and Syndicalism.

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution which Ricardo had greeted with great enthusiasm, until 1921 he saw it degenerate from a true social revolution to a mere political revolution, following the same path as the Mexican revolution followed 11 years before; " . . . a dictatorship is tyranny and cannot lead but to tyranny, and I am against tyranny whether exercised by the workers or the bourgeoisie. This Russian question preoccupies me much, I am afraid that the Russian masses, after waiting in vain for the freedom and well being which has been promised them by the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky should revert to capitalism again. The actual starvation of the Russian masses after two years of management of the industry by the state, may drive these masses to the conclusion that the old system of production is good, and so, instead of putting the industries under the direct management of the workers they may hand them back to the private owners."

" . . . Those who could not believe our assertion now think how it is that tyranny cannot evolve itself into Freedom . . . tyranny breeds tyranny. The socalled necessary transition between tyranny and Freedom has really proven to be a transition between a revolutionary abortion and normalcy that is czarism, though with a new garment to satisfy the shallowness of the masses . . . "

His attitude towards Marxism, although hostile, never went to the extent of declaring war on them, and for this reason he criticised a pamphlet written by Marcus Graham, "Anarchism and the World Revolution."

" . . . but I do not agree in declaring war against the Marxists that in all countries are endeavouring to overthrow capitalism. This would be to ensure a victory to the common enemy. I am for presenting a solid front against it, and then, when the monster is dead, to fight against any imposition the Marxists would pretend to carry on . . . "

This attitude was adopted by many Russian workers and anarchists as Voline notes, with disasterous results. As the Marxists presence in the Mexican Revolution was non-existent Ricardo never saw their handywork at first hand. Yet for anarchists now, in the light of events in Spain and Cuba, there can be no collaboration with the Marxists.

As for syndicalism his attitude varied little from Malatesta's:

" . . . You want my opinion as to what attitude we libertarians should adopt before the syndicalist movement. One thing I firmly believe we must not do – to be against it. Of all forms of labour organisation, syndicalism stands on the most advanced ground, and it is our duty to help it, and if we cannot bring the movement as a whole to the high plain of our aspirations and ideas, we at least must endeavour to prevent its receding to more conservative aims and tactics. I do not believe, however, that syndicalism will ever succeed in breaking up the chains of the capitalist system by itself; that will be the work of a chaotic conglomeration of tendencies: that will be the blind work of the masses moved to action by despair and suffering, but then syndicalism can be the nucleus of the new system of production and distribution, and in this role it will be of great importance, for its action will not only prevent the prolongation of chaotic conditions favourable to the environment of a new despotism, but will keep the masses from want and privation, rendering this difficult, if not impossible, their reversing to the dead state of things . . . "

This incidentally refutes the idea held by many including some anarchists, who have claimed that Ricardo was an anarcho-syndicalist.

Ricardo Flores Magon's prison letters are excellently introduced by Paul Avrich who has also provided some interesting footnotes on the personalities and events mentioned in the letter.

The appearance of this little book could not have come at a more opportune time, now that interest in Ricardo Flores Magon, the indomitable fighter for Land and Liberty, and without doubt, the most important Mexican anarchist of our century, is growing. Unfortunately though, in its present form at least, it will not reach the people it should. Let us hope that in the not too distant future a complete English edition of his prison letters will be available.

D.P.

Anarchism in France: The case of Octave Mirbeau, Reg Carr, Manchester University Press, 190pp, £7.95.

Many graduates in this country, and more so in the United States, devote their PhD thesis to some particular aspect or personality of the anarchist movement both past and present. Although very often interesting to read they do tend to reduce anarchist themes to a mere academic formula. The vast majority of these remain unread and unpublished, sacrifices to the university industry. A hand-full though do get published, the publisher usually trying to get a market on the upsurge of recent renewed interest in anarchism, and some of these do, in their own way, contribute to a greater understanding of our own history. Others unfortunately teach us next to nothing, and it is in this category that Carr's study of Octave Mirbeau, based on his thesis "Octave Mirbeau and Anarchism," falls.

Although Mirbeau was, without doubt, the most important literary anarchist sympathiser in France during the 1880s and 90s he always remained on the extreme periphery, to say the least, of the anarchist movement, his only real contact centering around his friendship with Jean Grave, the editor of *La Revolte* and later *Les Temps Nouveaux*, and for a short while only Sebastien Faure, the editor of *Libertaire*. Mirbeau's contribution to anarchist propaganda was also somewhat odd as it was, with a few rare exceptions, always indirect, the articles appearing in the anarchist press being reprints from his articles written for the bourgeois liberal/radical press.

Mirbeau came from an extremely well off family, he was born in Normandy in 1848, and after an education by the Jesuits, law studies and service in the army during the Franco Prussian war, he became in 1879 a freelance journalist of pronounced right-wing views contributing to Bonapartist and monarchist newspapers. In the mid 1880s though he abandoned his former ideas and moved to the extreme left, adopting anarchism as his social ideal. This 'volte face' coincided with the publication of his first serious literary achievement, a collection of short stories, *Letters from my Cottage (1885)*. These stories were followed by a series of full length novels with a strong social message; *Calvary*, (1886), *Abbe Jules*, (1888), and *Sebastien Roche*, (1890).

At the same time Mirbeau's journalism took on a more radical tone, and in 1888 he wrote a powerful article attacking the general elections of that year called *The electors strike*, for *Le Figaro*. This article was immediately reprinted by Jean Grave in *Le Revolte*. This was to begin Mirbeau's close collaboration with Grave. Mirbeau's article incidentally was later printed as a pamphlet which became very popular, being used as propaganda well into the 1930s. Over the next 15 years or so Grave was to reprint not only articles, but long selections from Mirbeau's novels in the literary supplement of both his journals. In 1891 Grace was taken to court by the Societe des Gens de Lettres for using copyright material without formal permission, although he always had the authors' permission, and it was Mirbeau who came to his defence as he did again in 1894 when Grave was arrested for publishing a cheap edition of his book *Dying Society and Anarchy*, for which Mirbeau had written the introduction.

During the bomb wave of 1892-94 following the Clichy affair Mirbeau, like many of the leading anarchist personalities of the time, condemned the bombings but not the bombers, and he wrote a very good article in defence of Ravachol. In the mounting repression against the anarchist movement his home was raided by the police in 1894, and at this juncture he thought it prudent to take refuge in England for a short while (as Zola was to do during the Dreyfus affair some years later).

From 1896 he collaborated with Sebastien Faure and a few other anarchists in the growing public defence of Alfred Dreyfus the Jewish army officer wrongly accused of being a German spy.

During this time Mirbeau began to write for the theatre and produced very successful full length plays, *The Bad Shepherd*, (1807), *Business is Business*, (1903) and *The Hone* (1908), as well as a series of one act plays grouped under the title *Moralities and Farces* (these included *The Epidemic* 1898, *The Lovers* 1904 and *Scruples* 1904). Mirbeau's plays were hailed by the anarchists of the day especially *The Bad Shepherd* while in Italy Victor Meric translated the short plays in *Moralities and Farces* as propaganda pieces.

While concentrating on the theatre he still continued to write novels including the pornographic *The Garden of Tortures* (1899), and his best known work *The Diary of a Chambermaid* (1900) (later made famous as a film by Luis Bunnel). Later in 1907 he wrote *628E8*, the story of a motor trip through France, Belgium, Holland and Germany in which he puts forward the necessity for internationalism (Mirbeau incidentally was one of the first public figures in France to patronise the motor car).

In 1908 he gave up journalism and retired to the country where he lived as a recluse. His last novel *Dingo* (1913) tells the somewhat allegorical story of a dog that rebels against society. With the outbreak of war in 1914 which came as a great shock to him, Mirbeau retreated into himself fully apart from issuing a few statements condemning militarism, but when he died in 1917 his wife, together with Gustave Harve, a former anti-militarist who Mirbeau had helped to defend in 1910, forged a pro-war statement alleged to have been made some days before his death. This statement was rejected by many of his old friends including Sebastien Faure.

Mirbeau's anarchism, it has always seemed to hide his personal revolt against his own to hide his personal revolt against his own background and general discontentment and Carr's study does nothing to dispel this view. The book, for a start is badly titled, as it has very little to do with French anarchism as such. On this score it should have been given the title of Carr's thesis which was in fact well chosen. The treatment of Mirbeau's literary and political work is to say the least wooden and tells only half a story, details of Mirbeau's early and private life being omitted together with any explanation for his adoption of anarchism. This lack of information and analysis is aggravated by the book's practical defect, this being that *all* the quotations from Mirbeau's works are left, untranslated in their original French. An appendix reproduces five of Mirbeau's most important (according to Carr) anarchist texts, including *The electors strike* and there again are left untranslated. This I find unforgiveable and unnecessary. Because of this the book is useless for those who do not understand French and therefore its readership is greatly reduced. Apart from this drawback the book teaches us very little about Mirbeau. After reading it he still remains a mystery. All in all this is a very disappointing book.

D.P.

Le mouvement ouvrier aux Etats-Unis de 1866 a nos jours, Daniel Guerin, Maspero, Paris, 1977, 218pp.

Daniel Guerin is a prolific author, with an agile mind, who has written one of the best books on anarchism and a very important work on fascism. Here he turns his attention to a pocket sized history of the workers' movement in the USA. He traces the history of class warfare in the US from the time of the Knights of Labour, through the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the American Federation of Labour, to the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organisation (CIO), in an attempt to radicalise the latter. The inter-war period is examined in some detail, and the hysterical anti-communism that swept America is related closely to changes in the law and practice of the Unions. Lastly he scrutinises the new militancy that has characterised certain industries. This is a book which ought to be available in English, but unfortunately isn't.

Bakunin: Oeuvres completes. Relations avec Sergei Necaev, ed. A. Lehning, Editions Champ Libre, Paris.

This edition of Arthur Lehning is very important as it makes us consider the problem of revolutionary violence, its implications, and the positions that Bakunin took on the subject.

Serge Netchaiev (I don't know why this French version was not adopted in Lehning's edition) was a very determined revolutionary who, shortly after his arrival in the west, was accused of criminal activity by the Russian government. A demand was made for his extradition from Switzerland. The request was accepted, and Netchaiev was extradited, on the condition that he was not condemned for his political activity. It seemed in fact that this was respected at first. Netchaiev was condemned to forced labour – 20 years – and to remain in Siberia in perpetuity. But then the Tsar decreed that he was a dangerous politician and had him secretly locked up in a fortress for life. The Croissant affair is thus only a repetition of the past: the same systems engender the same attitudes.

Netchaiev was accused of the murder of a member of his group. However, Engels (in "The Alliance of the Social Democracy and the A.I.T.", 1873), the bourgeoisie and, most recently, Henry Arvon (a marxist who makes his bread and butter by defaming anarchist ideas, which is why they are happy to publish him) all pretend the "Revolutionary Catechism" which expects the utmost severity and implacable toughness in revolutionary activity, is without doubt by Bakunin.

In fact, the ambiguity came from the sympathy which Bakunin at first felt for Netchaiev, and the vitality which he displayed. But Bakunin soon separated from him, although not before he had allowed himself to become involved in his devious dealings among the exiled Russians. In his long letter of June 2, 1870, Bakunin explains: "Yes, my dear friend, you are not a materialist like we poor sinners, but an idealist, a prophet, a priest of the revolution. Your hero cannot be Babeuf, nor even Marat, but some sort of Savonarola." "You will ban from your organisation the systematic use of police and jesuit methods, limiting yourself to adopting them only to the extent that they would be effectively and absolutely necessary, and above all reasonable, and only against the Government and enemy parties; you will reject the absurd idea that one can make the revolution outside the people and without their participation, and as the fundamental base of your organisation you will accept the idea of popular spontaneous revolution, where the people will be armed and the organisation nothing more than the general staff.

Even soviet historians like Piroumova consider that Bakunin did not collaborate in the "Revolutionary Catechism"; which is important in its implications.

Let us say straightaway that Lehning's edition contains very little material. For this commentary (and above all for the text of the "catechism") we have had to use "Bakounine et Netchaiev, ed. Jean Barrue, Spartacus, 1971) and "Violence in the Violence: The Bakunin-Netchaiev Debate" by Confino (Maspero, 1973). It is quite curious, considering the price and its specialisation, that Lehning doesn't even give the catechism in a note!

Netchaiev defined the revolutionary's view of himself (all the extracts come from Confino's translations from the Russian) thus: "The revolutionary is a man lost in advance. He has no particular interests, private business, feelings, private attachment to property, he does not even have a name. His whole being is absorbed by one interest alone, to the exclusion of all others, by one thought alone, by one passion – the revolution." "He defies public opinion. He defies and detests society's contemporary morality in all its motifs and manifestations. For him, everything that contributes to the triumph of the revolution is moral, while everything that hinders it is immoral and criminal." He also defines the attitude of the revolutionary towards his revolutionary comrades thus: "Every comrade must have under his control some revolutionaries of the second and third categories, that is to say those who are not completely initiated. He must consider them as a fraction of the total revolutionary capital at his disposal. His part of the capital he must spend with care, always trying to extract the maximum amount of profit. He considers himself as capital destined to be lost for the triumph of the revolutionary cause, but a capital of which he can dispose alone and as he likes, without the agreement of the entire number of completely initiated comrades." "When a comrade falls into trouble, the revolutionary – deciding whether to save him or not – must take into account not personal feelings, but only the good of the revolutionary cause. Consequently he must evaluate on the one hand this comrade's contribution, and on the other the expenditure of revolutionary forces necessary to save him; his decision depends on which way the balance tilts."

He describes the revolutionary's attitude towards society as a matter of dividing the enemy into those to be beaten down and those to be corrupted; women are divided into three groups: "the futile, stupid and soulless", those who are capable but not ripe, and the initiated.

This mentality is the result of the quest for power for power's sake – with revolution as the pretext – and it is therefore logical that it re-appears throughout history, even if never so sincerely with Netchaiev.

From anarchist writings, and then from Solzhenitzyn's "Gulag", we know that Lenin loved to use Terror. The magazine "Libre" (No.2) publishes some extracts of a soviet book of 1975 "Lenin & the Cheka". An idea of

Lenin's mentality is shown by the following examples: Concerning the abolition of the death sentence, 25/10/17. "What a stupidity! But what a stupidity!. . . So do they think that we can make a revolution without shooting people?" June 1918: "We must encourage an energetic and massive development of the Terror, to beat down the counter-revolutionaries."12/12/18: "Use all your forces to seize the speculators and profiteers of Astrakhan and have them shot. These dregs must be liquidated in such a way that everyone will remember it *for years.*"

It's not worth wasting time on the disciple of Lenin known as J. Stalin, but it is interesting to see the use of Terror by the RAF, and more exactly by the Black June group who, in 1974, executed Ulrich Schmucker as a traitor because he had talked during an interrogation conducted with the customary sweetness of the democratic police of the West. Let us remember that Netchaiev had murdered a member of his group who was likely to leave the organisation and thus weaken it.

A German anarchist group commented thus on the action: "You call yourselves delegates of the popular tribunal, but who gave you this delegation? How many were you at this tribunal?" "We think that you are sincere when you say that you are defending anti-imperialist solidarity, but we are very doubtful about your benefitting from any solidarity if you continue to specialise in the technique of aggression."

There was the following reply from Black June: "Do the people take part in your committees, in your parties? Are they with you in your university and in your offices? If they really were, you would know that every conscious proletarian says a traitor and a spy must be executed. Your whole document is nothing but a psychological excrement which has nothing to do with the class-struggle." (*Black Flag*, London, 1974).

An extreme case, you will say! But I remember that 15 years ago some militants excluded from *Lutte Ouvriere* said that someone had told them: "In a revolutionary period I would have you shot." And Antonió Sala and Eduardo Duran in "Critica de la izquierda autoritaria en Catalunia" report similar acts by the P.C.I. (a militant liquidated). And in October 1975 there was a death threat issued to that tendency of FRAP, some of whose militants had just been shot by Franco, because they wanted to continue the attentats; and those who issued the threats *were the partisan group of a pacifist tendency!!!*

Do anarchists escape this deformation? Is it not inherent in every clandestine group, like Power?

An interesting example is furnished by the Argentinian and Spanish movements, who have been extensively involved in armed secrecy over the years. There have been violent discussions between those who are partisans solely of mass-struggles and groups which want to give an impulse to this struggle by secret actions; i.e. between advocates of robbery to finance the purchase of arms and those who say that every group which carries out hold-ups ends by forgetting the Cause. Still, we have never heard of a cult of organisation for organisation's sake via the liquidation of "soft" members.

On the contrary, Sabate and Facerias always avoided using passers-by as a screen in a shoot out. The famous Wenceslaos Gimenez Orive, knowing he was being followed by the police, pushed a passer-by aside before defending himself; this gesture delayed him, he was wounded and committed suicide with a prepared cyanide capsule. In this case the root of the problem was not the passer-by but a betrayal. And, after verification, the informer(s) was (were) executed. But there again, there were no hysterical decisions. (See "La guerrilla urbana: Facerias" by Antonio Tellez soon to be published in English by Cienfuegos Press.)

Frank Mintz

Dans la carnaval de l'histoire ("In the Carnival of History"), Leonid Pliouchtch, Seuil, Paris 1977, 441pp.

Pliouchtch's book tries to depict two aspects: first, the subjective evolution of the author – "the itinerary of a man freeing himself from stalinist prejudices"; second, the reasons that make his friends in the USSR struggle and the persecutions they undergo. About the West the author says nothing because of lack of information, while he struggles "against all the actions of all the governments, East and West, against mankind."

To be sure, one must ask at once whether "stalinist" also means "leninist" and what "actions" of governments are to be struggled against. (The xenophobia, undoubtedly, but is he also against a population being uprooted in the search for work – either within the same country or abroad – the use of nuclear energy, computerised police and military files?)

This impression of fuzziness probably comes from the fact that Plioushtch is still unacquainted with the questions faced by western militants. One finds this problem again in the factual account; he several times discusses the working class opposition, marxism, nationalism, etc., as his evolution progresses, but never says where he stands.

I'll therefore make two brief comments: one about the author, the other about the synthesis of his different remarks on points I am interested in.

It is remarkable that despite the poverty, the anti-semitism, the delinquency, the alcoholism, the corruption, the old boy network, Plioushtch formed an ethic to which he remained faithful until his exile.

This morality is nevertheless shaded by a strong practical sense, sometimes reformist: Plioushtch was first a zealous member of the YCL (p.24), then a teacher, then a researcher (not without knowing how to use the old boy network – p.48), which he would doubtless have remained had not the past intruded to smash the idols.

This intrusion, this conquest of the past (stalinism, the camps, the other currents, revolutionary or otherwise) is the key that permits the rediscovery of the present (pp.20, 44). One thus realises that the non-politicised Russian doesn't know much more about his country – less on the whole – than anyone in the West who is interested in the USSR.

And this present is definitely also better in the university (p.92) than in the factory (p.133), so there is a desire to avoid everything, to run away, to escape from the tentacles of the party (p.96); but the party is everywhere and the only way out is to break with it, to be expelled (when there is an opportunity), to be ruined (the commonest fate) if one insists on not seeming to yield – because just appearing to yield means at least to denounce one's comrades . . . . . And Plioushtch had to leave because he wanted justice and a better country (pp.295, 440).

Is Plioushtch a leninist? What is his analysis of the USSR? What does he want to do about it?

Plioushtch has doubts about Lenin's concept of the state when he underlines that Marx, in his earlier writings – which are banned in the USSR – had given it a much more complete description (p.88); Lenin's literary tastes were "primitive and backward" (p.201); and, about a letter of Lenin's, authentic according to others, in which Lenin wrote about the organisation of a provocation against the church, Plioushtch writes: "I have decided to draw no conclusions about this letter and leave the case in the air for lack of a guarantee of its authenticity. Were anyone able to vouch for its authenticity I would wipe out Lenin's name. This is the method of Nechaevism, of Machiavelism, an attitude alien to marxism, to socialism, an attitude proper to the heroes of *The Possessed*." (p.230).

One would have thought that in the West Plioushtch would have had time to verify this point, together with many others concerning Lenin (the taking of hostages – see *Kropotkin*, Maspero, Paris 1976 [1] – the creation of the Cheka, the camps, the repression – see the text of 25-28 December 1917 – and the discipline from above both in politics and in the economy – see *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, 1917).

As to the USSR, Plioushtch doesn't share Djilas's analysis of the new class (pp.190, 191). He sees the USSR as "state capitalism on the economic plane, as an ideocracy on the political plane, in short a social structure similar to theocracy that implies the complete power of a particular social stratum (clergy or bureaucracy)" (p.215). (Curiously, he seems to say the opposite on p.136).

Plioushtch also broaches the famous problem concerning the poverty of the population versus the scientific successes in the military field (p.122); the latter are a consequence of "certain advantages of state property, which makes possible the concentration of all economic effort" and the "formal logic" of mathematics. This explanation appears superficial to me in its brevity – ignoring the role of the German experts who were prisoners of war (from 1945 till their deaths); if it were the right explanation it should be true in all fields. Also, the war industry aside, one can see that the USSR is technologically ineffective and that its present advances are due to the supervision – paid for in hard currencies – of Krupp and other West German firms, and of Fiat in the motor industry.

As to the Russians themselves, their reactions to the dissidents are divided; the "to hell with them" (even the family) tendency (pp.239, 310) and the "give them our solidarity" tendency (pp.271, 292). Plioushtch concluded at the time of his arrest: "These four years had been years of happiness and dignity. After all, one goes to prison not because of one's ideas but for the respect of others and of oneself." (p.324).

This is just a brief resume of an important book that we ought to read despite its sketchy presentation of the attitudes of the police (p.251), the relations with ordinary prisoners, the life in mental asylums (p.385) where the doctors are the worst individuals (p.386), etc.

My two criticisms are: one, the absence of a political position based on his experience; two, the absence of the Russian context to resituate the details (collective responsibility – so dear to Lenin – is the key to the heartless repression: refusal to the dissident of the right to work and refusal to allow his daughter to go to a creche; p.203, also pp.185, 188.

The first point may be met by an interview in Russian (published in SSSR demokraticheskie alternativi, Achberger, Munich 1976) in which he says he is in favour of the decentralisation of the Soviet economy, workers' self-management and the right to strike. But since the Lie still rules after years and years, there are no political thoughts among the people. "That's why I think the revolution must take place largely from above." Nevertheless, Plioushtch doesn't believe in changes after new groups come to power (thesis of almost all the dissidents, Solzhenitsyn included). But these groups will have to bring about some economic reforms that will imply and contain some political reforms. And one must count on "the international labour movement."

As to the second point, there is available Hedrick R. Smith's *The Russians*, (USA 1975), in paperback, although I will take my references from the Belfond edition in French (Belfond, Paris 1976). The French paperback edition is interesting and much better value as far as the number of pages goes than the rather pro-Soviet *la vie sovietique* (Que-said-je Publications, Paris 1970), while Marabini's book, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a *Archives de Smolensk* by Merle Fainsod.

Smith's book is superficial and repetitive (at least a third is padding), but it touches on every aspect. Smith, if he is pro-West, doesn't seem to be very much manipulated by the CIA or in any case not so much as the socialists are by pro-Soviet propaganda.

It seems to me that four elements in Smith's analysis are quite correct: the ruling class, the strong points of the regime, everyday life, the economy. The ruling class doesn't necessarily enjoy higher wages, but it has at its disposal (more as one rises within the hierarchy) collective facilities: company car, paid holidays in very cheap seaside or mountain resorts, low cost of living, serious medical treatment in supposedly public clinics. There are also shops, both discreet and special to the upper crust, where one may find whatever exists theoretically on the market, as well as products from the West, all at lower prices than the official ones.

The strong points of the regime are the absence of redundancies, and compulsory work (no unemployment, now that underemployment and changing jobs are frequent); very low rents; a free health service in the hospitals (although somewhat superficial, and the medicaments are paid for in the pharmacies, and there is never a refund); the stability of prices, specially food prices (everything manufactured tends to rise, and the scarcity lark makes sure that cheap items "run short"). In a word, the old boy network, the privilege system has created a lifestyle that allows a certain number to do very nicely. And the regime, via the press, radio and TV, dispenses mountains of criticism – so many escape valves for protest. But Smith sagely remarks that these are always particular cases, "showing the faults in order to consolidate the edifice", and that the denunciation of the "infallible wisdom of the party" is from above. (Quotations retranslated from French edition – Ed).

Everyday life consists of all the shortcomings just mentioned, with the addition of alcoholism.

Alcoholism is an industry, on the one hand for the state, on the other for people who seem to wish to commit suicide little by little. People who will, however, help one another even without knowing one another, as long as the case has nothing to do with the political police.

The economics is superficial (see *La corruption en Union Sovietique* by Ilya Zemtsov, although this book and Alain Besancon's Introduction – and even his *Court traite de sovietologie a l'usage des autorites civiles, militaires et religieuses* – seem particularly empty to me, because of either their lack of information or their exaggeration. A typical case: why is Bulgarian tinned food better than the Russian? A Bulgarian official replied: "We follow scrupulously the Soviet recipes and technology." There is such a confusion in the amount of orders and in the modifications that each outfit improvises according to the order it receives.

The Russian film *The Bonus* (which seems not to be very well known in the USSR) about a gang of workers in a shipyard refusing a production bonus because they have discovered that the target had been lowered by the authorities (who just sit back), is an example of this. Of course, the film has a proper ending, with the offenders acknowledging their errors thanks to a young (therefore not a former stalinist) and handsome party official – and now a new life lies before them . . .

On the same subject one should also read *A Worker in the Worker's State* by Miklos Karaszti, Penguin 1977 (reviewed elsewhere in this issue). It is short and clear but I think the final part, about the homes, the pilfering, the diversion from obligatory work to personal work, is a little exaggerated. But anyway, one sees the similarity to any job of a similar type in any factory.

In *Spartacus*, no.5 April-May 1977, we have the usual study by Galar of the countries of the East. Always well informed (western sources), Galar thinks the USSR is becoming more and more militarised, and increasing repression in the same proportion. "It is certain that logic leads to world war. It is no less certain that the increased repression indicates a serious instability of the system and has created the conditions for a generalised rebellion at the least sign of weakness."

If we agree with Solzhenitsyn's *Letter to the Ruling Class of the Soviet Union* and share his belief in the certainty of a war between China and Russia (and this seems to be what the majority of the Soviet people thinks), Galar's point of view certainly sounds right. Personally, I think the repression of the workers is less harsh than it was ten years ago. Plioushtch mentions two examples of strikes in the Ukraine drowned in blood by machine guns. But it seems to me that the regime is less brutal, except with the dissidents who represent its technicians.

I believe that on the whole the example of titoism, in spite of the failure of the Czech liberalisation, is always a big attraction to certain groups close to power in the USSR and elsewhere. Moreover, the Polish case and the flexibility of the government – without forgetting Hungary which hasn't had many big problems since 1956 because of the change of attitude of the C.P. – show that both the western and the eastern powers know how to recuperate and manipulate certain discontents: the prompt criticisms mentioned earlier, the chauvinism, the football, the xenophobia against certain groups, some tolerance towards the drug problem, etc. **M.Z.**

The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years – 1905-1975, F. Thompson & P. Murfin. (Official history published by the IWW – Chicago 1974).

The first edition written by Fred W. Thompson, *The IWW: Its First Fifty Years* was published in 1955. A corrected facsimile takes two hundred pages of the present volume. The remaining twenty pages – the last chapter – written by Patrick Murfin, outlines IWW events during the twenty years from 1955 to 1975. The work is further enriched by a comprehensive bibliography , *Sources for IWW History*, which the student of the labour movement will find especially helpful.

For those seriously interested in the history and problems of the labour movement in general and the IWW in particular, this book is indispensable. Historians of the labour movement are constantly referring to it. To review seventy years of IWW history is clearly beyond the scope of this review. The reader can find that out by studying the book. I prefer to discuss the extent to which IWW ideas remain relevant to the problems of today's labour movement.

The history of the American labour movement is largely a history of rank-and-file revolts against opportunist class-collaborationist policies and centralisation of power. The extent of the mass revolts of rank-and-file workers against the triple exploitation of the union bureaucracy, the employers and the state is pointed out by Stanley Aronowitz in his book *False Promises* : " . . . . since 1967, there have been more strikes, rank-and-file rejections of proposed union settlements with employers than in any similar period in the modern era . . . the most notable feature of the present situation is that the unions are no longer in a position of leadership in the workers' struggles: they are running desperately to catch up with their own membership . ."

The post-war spontaneous revolts of the rank-and-file militants against the union bureaucrats, their employers and the government took on the character of a mass insurrection, shattering the myth of the happy uncomplaining American worker satisfied with his lot. In 1950, the United Auto Workers (UAW) signed a five year contract with General Motors which outlawed strikes, ignored the demands of the workers to stop speed-ups and to ensure quick settlements of complaints. To compel the corporation to grant their demands, the workers were forced to take direct action outside of and against the union picards. 70% of the workers repudiated the agreement and staged spontaneous "wildcat" strikes (unauthorised).

As this is being written, 160 thousand members of the United Mine workers are in the 100th day of the longest strike in the history of the industry. Neither their union leaders, not the employers nor the government Taft-Hartley injunction to return to work or suffer severe penalties has weakened their militant determination to give up their illegal general strike.

They demand safety in the mines against accidents and prevention of the "blacklung" disease, the right of workers to correct these and other grievances by the uncontested right to call local strikes at any time with or without authorisation of the employers, the state, or the permission of the national, district or local union bureaucrats.

A few years before this strike the miners served notice on the newly elected Miller administration that they would not again tolerate the dictatorial procedures instituted by John L. Lewis and his successor Tony Boyle by staging a massive wildcat strike involving almost 100 thousand miners for substantially the same demands.

They are now determined to oust Miller and his machine for collaborating with the employers and the government and for violation of the democratic rights of the membership.

There have been massive strikes even among public services workers who were traditionally the least militant and anti-union. Post office workers staged a nation-wide strike in 1970, not only in violation of the Federal Anti-Strike law which prohibits strikes against the state (an offence punishable by a year and a half in jail and a one thousand dollar fine for each striker) but also in defiance of their leaders. Striking teachers in New York, Newark, Detroit and other cities across the country were not afraid to go to jail for violation of anti-strike laws.

The revolutionary character of the rank-and-file movement should not be exaggerated. By far, the greatest number seek only to reform the system and to effect more radical changes, not outside of, but within the unions. Yet, whether they know it or not, today's rebels are acting in accordance with the revolutionary direct action traditions of the American labour movement. Hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file militants:

". . . in thousands of industrial establishments across the nation (remarks a keen observer) have developed informal underground unions . . . they conduct daily skirmishes with their employers and often against their union representatives as well . . . . these informal micro-organisational units are behind all wildcat strikes . . . these groups are the power base for insurgence from below. . . "
In short a vast rank-and-file mass guerrilla movement is emerging.

In the course of these struggles, the rebellious workers have unconsciously developed tactics and grass-roots forms of organisation similar to those of the IWW. They can become receptive to the message of the IWW because the IWW is itself a wildcat organisation continuously revolting against class-collaboration, bureaucracy, and governmental regulation of the labour movement. I like the title . . . *its FIRST Seventy Years* because both the principles and the tactics of the IWW are now more relevant, more sorely needed, than ever.

Sam Dolgoff.

SWEET MEMORIES

Memorias de un luchador. I – Los primeros combates, Enrique Lister, Del Toro, Madrid, 1977, 452pp.

At face value this book is a repetition of the book *Nuestra Guerra* ("Our War") of which I have read the Russian language edition. But in point of fact there are important changes in terms of added detail and fuller accounts of events, and occasionally changes of a political nature as I shall point out.

Lister writes in an agreeable, simple style and reveals a character forged in the hard school of life in Galicia as a member of a poor family and later in exile in Cuba and – this was omitted from the Soviet edition – a term spent in a reformatory.

This character is brought out elsewhere in freshly added pages on Lister's conception of military command: "In those places where it was the officers who had to be the real leaders of the Popular Army (. . .) divisions fought well". "The commander ought to make it his business to see that his fighting men are enthusiastic about the unit to which they belong". (pp. 149, 150). And this Commander-Father-God feeling of Lister's authorised him to tackle several issues ". . the head of the administrative services of Health at the time was a wretch with a penchant for thieving (. . .) naturally, I had him shot as the whole personnel of the health services looked on." (p.151); a sergeant applied for leave to pay a visit back home on account of "his wife having formed a liason with the secretary of the town council." Lister stepped in, advanced the sergeant six months' pay so he could get his son away from the wife as "that would be punishment enough for her" and he sent two men to rid the lover '. . . of any inclination to play the Romeo with the wives of men away fighting at the front. I know that more than one (of you) will think that such methods have no connection with military matters. I used to think, and still do, just the opposite." (p.154).

As far as I am concerned, there are two issues here. I first we have the need for command during a battle. And one has to concede that both Durruti and Cipriano Mera took a very hard line – whilst not, I believe, going to such extremes – which, however, was not the case in the Iron Column. The second problem is that when it comes to the USSR or the CP this whole "he man" personality, almost the figure of the Iberian warrior, utterly vanishes.

On the USSR, although he spent three years at a military academy between 1932 and 1935, Lister says only that he studied and worked at the same time on the construction of the Metro in Moscow, something which is patently nonsense for the various eye-witness accounts from the time show that there was absolutely no contact between the foreigners belonging to the Comintern and Soviet workers. One proof of this is the memoirs of the Yugoslav Anton Ciliga who was in the USSR from 1926 to 1936. These were recently republished in France in 1977 as *Au pays du mensonge deconcertant*. ("In the land of the distressing lie.")

The only evidence of Lister's critical ability is a criticism – already included in the earlier Russian edition – of Ilya Ehrenburg (badly compromised by his Stalinism) and two fresh items, one a criticism of a Russian advisor (p.197) and the other a statement that another Russian was shot (p.193) in the USSR in 1941.

His inability to denounce Stalinism is crystal clear in his puerile observation that in December 1936 on the Madrid Front, Franco's forces were receiving lessons from German instructors (p.172), as if the Russians only came to Spain to pay a visit to the Prado gallery!

Another aspect of Lister's passive, hypocritical character is his personal differences with Carrillo since 1970 – which bring the book to a close, whereas in the Russian edition he carped at Cipriano Mera and the anarchists over the coup of 1939. What with his disposition and the vigour behind his charges against Carrillo, how come Lister did not deal with him back in 1941 or 1948? How can one man deflect the policy of a party to such a degree? Let us look again at the problem of Stalinism and the communists' inability to set out a coherent social explanation and thus Lister falls back on such trifles as levelling a litany of charges (p.129) against Izcaray (Russian edition, p.74). What a comedown for one once so prone to have people shot!

Now the most interesting thing is Lister's relations with the anarchists. No coherent line here either. One can detect three attitudes. The anarchists did not exist, as would appear from this summary of the victorious fight against the military coup in July 1936 in Barcelona: "The rising was crushed through the struggle of the masses, the Civil Guard and Assault Guard . . . ." (p.95). This sleight of hand, putting in "workers" or "workmen" in place of "anarchosyndicalists" or "worker militants from the CNT and FAI" is something of a commonplace with the Trotskyists like Felix Morrow as well as the councillists like Pannekoek. That is, the Jesuits live on in the device of using a neutral synonym to silence one's political enemy!

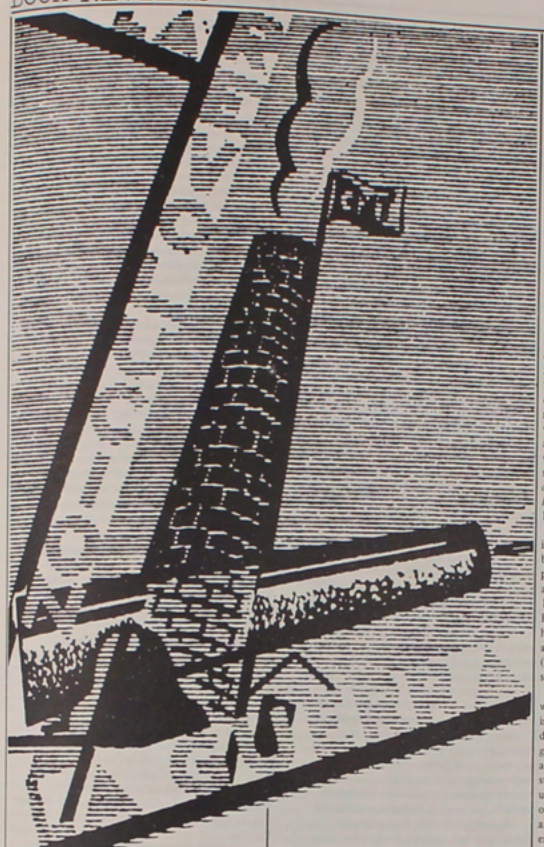
The second approach is to deny everything the anarchists may have done: the fighting in Toledo, for instance or spreading the libel about Durruti having been murdered by men from his own column (p.176). A variation on this theme is utter silence on the anarchist presence, such as in the case of the famous battle of Guadalajara for which victory Lister claims the credit for himself without even mentioning El Campesino Cipriano Mera. Maybe Lister is unaware that Mera's memoirs have been published, but then how would one account for references to fascist historians on the subject of the battle of the Ebro, or the quotes from poems to Lister. Here again Lister is out of order.

In contrast – for the third of his attitudes – Lister faces up squarely to the issue of his being responsible for the military defeat of anarchosyndicalist self-management in Aragon. And does so very astutely, first of all by noting the enthusiastic reception he met with, but as usual glossing over the fact that even the Aragonese communists complained about his presence, and many collectives were reorganised. Second, he deflects responsibility for the acts of brutality on to the shoulders of a communist sympathiser – Mantecon (p.276) and tries to show how the anarchists in charge in Aragon were so corrupt that even Durruti criticised them; here again Lister does not appear to be aware that in 1937 the courts of the Spanish republic could find no charge to bring against the principal anarchist accused, Ascaso. Third, Lister emphasises the cordial relations he entertained with responsible anarchists from the 25th Division (formerly the Durruti Column) during his journey through Aragon, as well as with a variety of anarchists and concludes: "So my action was not directed against members of this or that organisation, but against those who formulated a policy and applied certain methods prejudicial to the people's fight against fascism." (p.289) I would not deny one of the facts Lister relates about his good relations with some "anarchists" all I would contest would be the anarchist-ness of such comrades in their dealings with Lister. And, to wind up, Lister's old cry: "Sir, anarchists, be serious, please! The 11th Division arrived in Aragon with some 7,000 men; you used to boast about having three anarchist divisions there, plus what was in effect a "government" with its state apparatus and – as you claim yourselves – the people happily following you, so how, given this balance of forces, was it possible for "Lister's communist battalions to carry out their work of destruction" and dismantle the "great libertarian revolution" in Aragon?" (p.286). Here Lister omits to mention three things: a) "The anarchist divisions (the 25th, 26th and 28th) were ordered by the higher committees of the CNT-FAI, not to leave the front" (Peirats: *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*, p.253). Furthermore, the refusal of these CNT-FAI committees to make use of the strength of anarchist divisions that had wanted to intervene in Barcelona in May 1937 accounts for indiscipline or loss or morale among the rank and file. b) Hugh Thomas is quite right when he states that the Lister Division had a huge firepower thanks to its weapons (modern ones, this time) supplied by the Soviets whereas the anarchists were outgunned by contrast.

That is the explanation for Lister's irony which reminds one of Engels' irony in his pamphlet against the Spanish Bakuninists when he accused the internationalists of cowardice for not having beaten a handful of bourgeois (well armed ones, he forgot to mention). Mechanical force is always superior when managed well: that's why Franco won and not Lister: and the Czechs – several million of them, with their army – achieved nothing against a few thousand Soviets, Poles, Hungarians and Bulgars who "liberated" them – Lister style – in 1968.

One can only hope that Volume 2 will bring us a more realistic picture of Lister's life, since it will be an expanded and up to date version of that book *Basta!* (Enough!) aimed against his former crony, Carrillo.

Frank Mintz.



Red Years/Black Years: A Political History of Spanish Anarchism, 1911 – 1937, Robert W. Kern, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1978, 335pp, £8.00.

This work is amazing in that it is full of false quotations. I checked some at random and here are the results: p.12: it is stated that the catalanists organised a union "as a minor threat to the C.N.T." and that there was collaboration with "proto-communist groups". Curious: the source is *Historia del anarcosindicalismo espanol* by Gomez Casas. In fact, Gomez Casas writes only that some Catalan guards were pushed by their anti-anarchism to enlist later in the Catalan C.P. On the beginning of the war, the author alludes to a controversy about the representativeness of the P.O.U.M. but *El Amigo del Pueblo*, though quoted, does not have an article on this problem (p.155). (To Mr. Kern and readers: a tremendously good and complete reproduction of *El Amigo del Pueblo* is available through Cienfuegos Press.) Another problem occurs with the same publication (p.204), and this time the conclusion drawn is, of course, groundless. Same again on p.223.

Other stumbling blocks are the incomprehensible lapses: Francisco Ferrer, who is not mentioned in the riot of 1909 (p.18) but after (p.23,24); affirmation of co-operation between Bakuninists and republicans in 1873 (p.19); another affirmation that "kropotkinism on a major scale remained alien" to Spanish anarchists (p.22) – this in contradiction with Leval's and Souchy's books which the author cites in the bibliography; not a word on the Archinoff "Platform" and its influence on the F.A.I. (translated by "Prismas" in Beziers in 1927 and on the agenda of the congress at which the F.A.I. was created); La Felguera is in Asturias and not in Catalonia (p.129); Santillan's book *El organismo economico de la revolucion* had a very limited influence because it was a big book published only a few months before the war, so that such a sentence as "Peasants, populists, and even corporativists found the book useful" (p.139) is just padding, not to mention the work of Isaac Puente and Santillan at the Saragossa Congress, but there are no traces of these in *Solidaridad Obrera* (nor any footnotes). On the same page – 145 – another affirmation occurs with a source given that does not exist in the original text (no. 43).

More serious are mistakes such as presenting Andalusia as only weakly anarchist and a clean slate for communism (p.175), when the Andalusian delegation at Saragossa (May 1936) was a large one and two of the places with the smallest and better communist organisations were Seville and Malaga! A crude phrase like the "often disastrous results" of anarchists in education during the war, while that under the republic had been good, as suggested (p.185), without any sources and proofs, betrays ignorance or sectarianism. Some books published while Kern was working on his book would have saved him from this distortion: *A l'avantguarda de l'educacio*, Barcelona, 1972 and Pere Sola, *Las escuelas racionalistas en Cataluna*, Barcelona, 1976.

Everything stems from a central idea: anarchism is outdated, primitive, etc. (see E.J. Hobsbawm's and other C.P. theories), and history, politics depend only on great leaders; people are "rabble" (p.9), "ragtag groups" (p.193). Kern is free to embrace this ideology, but Brenan, for example, does so without twisting history, so one can trust Brenan's book; but with all the ignorance, false quotations and distortions (almost systematic) in Kern, it is difficult to see where the good part is!

To end with the main distortions: Kern wanted to make a new study of Spanish anarchism, but he discards all comparison and all description, or nearly all, of the Spanish background. And when he chooses he ignores the anarchists' contribution: he describes a series of strikes from 1911 to 1936, but he fails to underline the framework of this period. Throughout the book Kern is unable to understand that anarchism is compounded of groups, with federalism and freedom of action: for him all the problems are between Pestana or Peiro against Durruti and Federica Montseny. So there are three pages for the social revolution and six for the death and funeral of Durruti. In conclusion, Kern tackles self-management: five pages; of course, he does his best to dismiss the value and the importance of what was the central fact. . .

Summing up, and omitting a lot of misrepresentations, I think the book does not make serious reading for anarchists, nor for the mandarin and university world. However, some pages on the C.P. in Malaga (p.215) and the maps show that when Kern wants to make a deep study he will do better.

Frank Mintz

Malatesta, Life and Ideas, Edited by Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, 309pp, £2.00.

For almost ten years now the only work by Malatesta readily available to the English reader has been his essay *Anarchy*. Now, though, with the timely reprinting by Freedom Press of this selection of Malatesta's writings, first published in 1965, the full range of this great anarchist activist's ideas are once again in circulation.

The editor has translated several hundred articles by Malatesta, taken from most of the journals he either edited himself or only contributed to, from the earliest, *l'En Dehor* of 1892, through to *Pensiero e Volonta*, which was forced to close by Mussolini's fascists in 1926, and the bilingual *Il Ritveglio/Le Reveil* of Genoa which published most of his writings after that date. These articles have been pruned down to their essentials, apart from a handful which are rperoduced in their entirety, and collected under 27 sub-headings ranging from Anarchism and Anarchy to Anarchist Propaganda. In addition there is a short biographical piece 'Notes for a Biography,' while the third part of the book is devoted to an essay, by the editor, on Malatesta's relevance today.

The first thing that strikes the reader about Malatesta is his lucidity and straightforwardness. For him anarchism was not a philosophy for a future utopia which would come about one day as if by magic, or simply through the destruction of the state without any prior preparation. On the contrary, Malatesta was, throughout his life, concerned with a practical idea. His anarchism was something concrete, to be fought for and put into practice, not in some distant future but now. It is this aspect of practical anarchism that gives him a special place amongst anarchist theorists and propagandists.

Of the extracts chosen by Richards the ones that have particular relevance for the Anarchist movement today are those on violence, organisation and Anarchists and working class movements.

On violence, a subject that still divides anarchists, Malatesta was very clear.

"Anarchists are opposed to violence; everybody knows that. The main plank of anarchism is the removal of violence from human relations . . . " but also "It is abundantly clear that violence is needed to resist the violence of the adversary, and we must advocate and prepare it, if we do not wish the present situation of slavery in disguise, in which most of humanity finds itself, to continue and worsen. But violence contains whthin itself the danger of transforming the revolution into a brutal struggle without the light of an ideal and without possibilities of a beneficial outcome; and for this reason one must stress the moral aims of the movement, and the need, and the duty, to contain violence within the limits of strict necessity.

We do not say that violence is good when we use it and harmful when others use it against us. We say that violence is justifiable, good and 'moral,' as well as a duty when it is used in one's own defence and that of others, against the demands of those who believe in violence; it is evil and 'immoral' if it serves to violate the freedom of others . . .

. . . We consider violence a necessity and a duty for defence, but only for defence. And we mean not only for defence against direct, sudden, physical attack, but against all those institutions which use force to keep the people in a state of servitude . . . "

Again on organisation, a subject like violence that anarchists have wasted more time and energy arguing over, was for Malatesta as always practical, a necessity. But organisations of a specifically anarchist nature.

" . . . In every case a particular organisation lasts as long as the reasons for unions are superior to those for dissention: otherwise it disbands and makes way for other, more homogenous groupings. Certainly the life and permanence of an organisation is a condition for success in the long struggle before us, and besides, it is natural that every institution should by instinct aim at lasting indefinitely. But the duration of a libertarian organisation must be the result of the spiritual affinity of its members and of the adaptability of its constitution to the continually changing circumstances. When it no longer serves a useful purpose it is better that it should die . . . "

Malatesta, as an anarchist propagandist, was particularly concerned about the role anarchists should play in working class movements. While he recognised the importance and potentiality of these movements he also saw their drawbacks; "The working class movement, in spite of its merits and its potentialities, cannot be, in itself, a revolutionary movement in the sense of being a negation of the juridical and moral bases of present society . . .

. . . In a word, the Trade Unions are, by their very nature reformist and never revolutionary. The revolutionary spirit must be introduced, developed and maintained by the constant action of revolutionaries who work from within these ranks as well as from outside, but it cannot be the normal natural definition of the Trade Unions' function. On the contrary, the real and immediate interests of organised workers, which is the Unions' role to defend, are very often in conflict with their ideals and forward-looking objectives . . . "

Nevertheless Malatesta believed that anarchists should involve themselves as much as possible with these movements *as anarchists*, endeavouring always to develop and nurture a true revolutionary consciousness in fellow workers, but never to dominate a union.

His position towards Revolutionary Syndicalism and Anarcho-Syndicalism is also of great importance. The former he saw as being not a great deal better than reformist Trade Unionism, even though the word revolutionary was added. His main points of disagreement with them was that they had a very simplistic view of the class struggle, and more importantly, that they tended to make an end of the means, i.e. the general strike. This he thought was a great menace to anarchism, as for him the general strike would and could never be a substitute for the insurrection. As for the latter he believed that they were in fact anarchist, as their name implied, they should call themselves anarchists and not 'hide' behind another name. In the light of historical events Malatesta was proved right. While revolutionary syndicalism of the French CGT type came to nothing, the CNT in Spain accomplished a truly social revolution, not because they were syndicalists but because they were anarchists.

Of the articles reproduced in full these include the excellent *Anarchist Programme* written for the 1920 congress of the U.A.I., and Malatesta's last article, his recollections of Peter Kropotkin, written in 1931. Malatesta and Kropotkin had been on very close terms prior to 1914, but their respective stands regarding the First World War ruptured this relationship. Yet despite this Malatesta writes with great love and affection for his old comrade, while explaining that Kropotkin's contribution to the anarchist movement had not always been fully beneficial;

" . . . I have stressed," he concludes in the article "the two errors which, in my opinion, Kropotkin committed – his theory of fatalism and his excessive oportunism, because I believe I have observed the harmful results they have produced in our mvoement.

There were comrades who took the fatalist theory – which they euphemistically referred to as determinism – seriously and as a result lost all revolutionary spirit. The revolution they said, is not made; it will come when the time is ripe for it, and it is useless, unscientific and even ridiculous to try to provoke it. And armed with such sound reasons, they withdrew from the movement and went about their own business. But it would be wrong to believe that this was convenient excuse to withdraw from the struggle. I have known many comrades of great courage and worth, who have exposed themselves to great dangers and who have sacrificed their freedom and even their lives in the name of anarchy while being convinced of the uselessness of their actions. They have acted out of disgust for present society, in a spirit of revenge, out of desperation, or the love of the grand gesture, but without thinking thereby of serving the cause of the revolution, and consequently without selecting the target and the opportune moment, or without bothering to coordinate their action with that of others.

On the other hand, those who without troubling themselves with philosophy have wanted to work towards, and for, the revolution, have imagined the problems as much simpler than they are in reality, did not foresee the difficulties, and prepare for them . . . and because of this we have found ourselves impotent even when there was perhaps a chance of effective action . . . "

As for the final part of the book I found this somewhat irrelevant. I am sure anyone reading through Malatesta's ideas will immediately see their relevance to today's situation. Despite my criticism though this part of the book does include, although somewhat briefly, Malatesta's attitude towards the general strike taken from his reply to Monatte during the 1907 Amsterdam International Anarchist Congress. With this though I feel it would have been more relevant to reproduce the two arguments in full, in order to put Malatesta's position in its true perspective.

Malatesta's articles represent a specific outlook towards anarchism, not the utopia but the *practical and achievable*. They are a very important contribution to both anarchist thought and action.

Dave Poole.

STATE SECRETS

The Local State: Management of Cities and People, Cynthia Cockburn, Pluto Press 1977, £2.95 p/b, £6.60 h/b.

This book is a Marxist analysis of Lambeth Borough Council between 1968 and 1974. The author looks at two conflicting tendencies in local government: on the one hand the application of systems theory and modern management techniques to local government, a tendency that she refers to as "corporate management;" on the other hand, the increasing decentralisation of local power in the hands of neighbourhood councils and tenants associations – what she calls the "community development" tendency.

Most of the book struck me as turgid and dull. This is a pity, because the questions it raises are important ones. The only time the book really springs to life is when it describes the squatters' movement in Lambeth from 1971. Squatting always makes exciting reading.

A clear example of the conflict between the two tendencies in local government arose when the Council started a neighbourhood council scheme in 1971. A "Neighbourhood Councils Subcommittee" was set up under the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Council. The subcommittee contained nine councillors and representatives of the neighbourhood councils. The debates on the subcommittee became increasingly bitter as time went on; and, very significantly, many senior council officers felt obliged to attend the meetings in case their department came under attack. Many officers began to feel threatened at being such direct targets for popular feelings. In 1973 they submitted a report complaining that the NC Subcommittee was creating too much work for them, and that a committee which had outsiders on it was a flaw in the corporate streamlined decision-making process and unconstitutional. In 1974 the Subcommittee was abolished. NC's now had to approach the Council via its main committees or through their ward councillor, just like anyone else. Their effectiveness as agents of genuine participatory democracy was severely reduced.

The book will be useful for people actively involved in fighting the local state machine in Britain. But you'll need plenty of coffee to keep you awake while you read it.

Raf Salkie

Prison Secrets, Stan Cohen & Laurie Taylor, RAF/NCCL 98pp, £1.25.

"Our prison system," say the authors "is not part of a fascist or totalitarian state. We believe, however, that our account of secrecy shows how social democracies or liberal societies can use their own rules to subvert their stated principles." Or, to put it another way, in their administration of prisons the state is guilty of hypocrisy, as in so many other areas. The infamous Rule 1 of the Prison Rules states the aim of prison to be the encouragement of the prisoner to 'lead a good and useful life'. Cohen and Taylor examine the process by which the real aim of prison, the insulation of the prisoner from the outside world, is achieved.

All information about prisons is covered by the Official Secrets Act, a senior civil servant giving evidence to the 1971 Franks Committee on the operation of the OSA said, "it is an official secret if its on an official file." The act is used as a *threat* against those who might want to reveal information and as an *excuse* by those officials who want to conceal information. The authors present a mass of detail concerning the use of the ISA with respect to prisons, including such interesting facts as that maze keepers at Hampton Court are required to make an OSA declaration and that signing or not signing the OSA makes no difference whatever as to its legal status.

Secrecy is rigidly maintained within the Home Office and Prison Department by a bureaucracy of fearsome proportions. All information is restricted on a 'need to know' basis and complaints and requests passed from division to division, all of whom deny responsibility, and then ruled inadmissible on absurd or non-existent grounds. Home Office reports on disturbances in prisons are rarely published or even made available to prison governors.

In the prisons themselves secrecy reigns supreme. The day to day management of a prison is supposedly covered by the Prison Rules which contain 450 different rules and which a prisoner has no right to see. The *real* rules about running prisons are contained in a series of Standing Orders, Circulars and Governors' Handbooks which are secret even to many prison staff. Fewer still realise that the rules, circulars and orders have no legal status. As Zellick has observed "In Britain the law for most purposes stops at the prison gates, leaving the prisoner to the almost exclusive control of the prison authorities."

The authors, both veteran prison researchers and long standing sparring partners of the Home Office (their first book together was t hreatened with an Official Secrets Act prosecution), present the most detailed and best researched book on British prisons I have seen and although less than 100 pages long there is enough damning evidence in this book to embarrass Home Secretaries for years to come. Sometimes the evidence causes even the most cynical to gasp in disbelief, especially the official quotes they have gathered; "any violation of the Prison Act or the Prison Rules by the authorities, no matter how much damage this causes a prisoner, is not actionable." "People in custody sometimes try to interest teaching staff in things to do with themselves in custody. It is no business of teaching staff to enter into discussion on such matters." "A letter to a Member of Parliament must not include a complaint or request concerning prison treatment."

Having presented a cast iron case against the Home Office, however, the authors make little use of it. They present a series of recommendations ranging from old favourites, "the establishment of a Charter of Prisoners' Rights" to the vague and naive, "the Prison Department should be required to be more open in its dealings with the media," and give no suggestion as to how these recommendations could be implemented. On the whole the book suffers from being almost totally descriptive with little analysis as to *why* the state needs its prisons to be shrouded in secrecy. The state removes deviants from society in order that society can stay as it is; imprisonment is essentially a cosmetic process, by shutting away the discontented and rebellious (out of sight out of mind) the state can pretend that everything is working as it should whilst providing both a deterrent to the potentially non-conformist and a scapegoat, in the form of the criminal, on whom the blame for social injustices can be laid.

It is perhaps unfair to criticise the book for not being a fundamental critique of the whole ideology of prison since the authors only intended it to be "a short pamphlet on some aspects of secrecy in prisons" but it sometimes seems to be suggesting that prisons are bad because they are secret rather than they are secret because they are bad. Nowhere does the book question the basic premise that prisons are necessary and so tends to adopt a reformist stance, a stance which, to judge from their other writings, they do not necessarily subscribe to. The lack of theoretical basis does not detract from the book's value and as a source of information on prison rules and bureaucracy it is unsurpassed. Anyone engaged in prison relief work or who has a friend in prison will find 'Prison Secrets' invaluable in fighting red tape and inside a prison it would be dynamite. (It has of course been banned by the Home Office). A round of applause for Cohen and Taylor is in order for producing this arsenal of facts and quotes and also a plea that in their next publication (prosecutions under the Official Secrets Act permitting) they take a long look at the concept of prison itself.

P.R.

A Sense of Freedom, Jimmy Boyle, Pan 80p, 264pp.

This is one of the most popular books in British prisons at the moment, for in it Jimmy Boyle reveals the truth about prison life, truths that are never even hinted at by the media. Reading his description of the Inverness cages, bare cells only 6ft by 8ft in which he was kept naked for 15 months without human contact, you could be forgiven for thinking that you were reading about Chile or Korea but no, this is Britain, here and now.

A Sense of Freedom is not just an expose of the prison industry however, it gives more insight into how a man becomes labelled 'Scotland's most violent criminal' than 100 criminological textbooks, for it is the personal account of just such a man.

Jimmy Boyle was born in the Glasgow Gorbals, at the age of five his father was beaten to death by a rival gang, aged eight he was selling coal off a barrow, by thirteen he was in remand home and at eighteen he was in Barlinnie jail. As he relates his life story he leaves the reader with a sorry feeling of how inevitable it is that he should end up serving life for a crime he didn't commit. A natural rebel, he had 'this hunger to be recognised, to establish a reputation' and as a poor lad from a Glasgow slum there was only one way to do it; fight. In prison, where he has spent most of his life, he fought even harder, being beaten unconscious many times

as a result but refusing to lie down, even on one occasion destroying a newly built punishment block, literally tearing down the walls with his bare hands.

In 1973 he was transferred to the Special Unit of Barlinnie prison, specifically set up to deal with Scotland's most violent prisoners. Here a group of officers tried a daring new experimental approach, they treated the prisoners as human beings. Together the staff and inmates shared the responsibility and the decisions and the unit ran without recourse to beatings and punishment cells. The results astounded the authorities who had initiated it, in six months Jimmy changed from a 'brutalised criminal' fighting for his survival into a warm sensitive individual and discovered a talent as a gifted sculptor. Ken Murray, a crusading prison officer who must take much of the credit for the Special Unit, has said 'Jimmy could go out tomorrow, but he's unlikely to get out in five to ten years.'

Meanwhile the majority of prisoners continue to suffer in 'normal' prisons where 'no prison officer would have contact with you unless he was coming to brutalise you' and millions of people remain in the sordid social conditions that make prisons even conceivable. Sadly even the cautious reform of the Speical Unit may be short lived as sensational articles have appeared in the Scottish press, based on anonymous letters, telling of 'the soft life these thugs are living' and calling for more repression. *A Sense of Freedom* will make you angry about the state of our prisons but it will also make you think twice before calling for prison reform for it demonstrates quite clearly that there is only one thing to do with prisons: pull them down.

P.R.

Terrorism and the Liberal State, Paul Wilkinson, Macmillan 1977 £2.95, 257 pages.

A senior lecturer in the politics department at University College, Cardiff, the author is a member of a rapidly growing group of academics responding in scholarly fashion to the increase in political terrorism. The book is an admixture of academic typologising, policy prescriptions and value judgments. It is his moral and political stance with which I am concerned here. This is not to deny that typologies are not at times a useful way of conceptualising an otherwise incomprehensible reality, but the interesting aspect of the book, I found, is that it is written by a "self-confessed" liberal democrat and represents a clear statement of the liberal democratic position.

As the title suggests, Wilkinson assumes that an entity such as the liberal state exists. This is seen as enjoying, in its fundamentals at least, the support and approval of its incumbents. The State, due to our Hobbesian natures, by consent arrogates to itself the sole right to exercise coercion in order to protect the moral equality of its citizens. Insofar as the State succeeds in this, it should be noted that it leaves its citizens defenceless and dependent on its own benevolence. From Wilkinson's viewpoint the state per se is seen as relatively non-problematic; it is the terrain *within* which criticism, thought and action take place – and by *reference to which* these are judged. That it may at times fall short of perfection is readily admitted, nevertheless:

"... for good or ill, the state is now the fundamental general purpose political organisation for the whole human race. We are stuck with it until such time as other more effective forms of organisation may be evolved. In any case the liberal state theorist can legitimately argue that most contemporary liberal democracies rank among the more effective states in the world in providing for the essential needs and welfare of their citizens." p.13.

By accepting the state as an unproblematical backcloth to thought, Wilkinson is able to surmount easily the problems involved in defining violence. It is simply

"the illegitimate use or threatened use of coercion resulting or intended to result in, the death, injury, restraint or intimidation of persons, or the *destruction of seizure of property*." (p.23 my emphasis).

"Force," by contrast, refers to the legitimate and legally authorised use of coercion by the state. This represents the more or less classical liberal view and it is as poverty-stricken as it is unimaginative. Indeed, the author is explicitly critical of attempts to define violence more widely, so as to include, for example, systematic poverty, undernvilege and discrimination. In short, by a sleight of hand, the liberal relegates the terroristic acts of government to a positively resonating moral realm, the *responses* to this context he relegates to an immoral realm, as acts of violence.

The terrorist is one who uses violence for political ends – and, since we are in the best of all possible states, he comes out as something of a reprehensible being. Wilkinson derives his general principles from particular groups with which he is familiar (especially the IRA). He fails to make the distinctions among terrorists and terrorist acts which do exist. The very generality of the terms themselves obscure the existential and symbolic differences within the (too) general category – between say a pub bombing and the bombing of the Springer press. By failing to make these distinctions he presumably refers to all terrorists when he declares:

"Yet the awesome consequences of this nihilistic rejection of all ethical and legal constraints are that the professional terrorists become totally corrupted and criminalised by their obsessive absorption in assassination, massacre and destruction." (p.67).

Looking at revolutionary actions from his singular point of view, Wilkinson applies one perspective, one set of concepts and one ethic. He lacks any sensitivity to the existentialist critique of everyday life. Thus, Marcuse and Sartre, he holds are simply

"embittered and ageing iconoclasts of the left who would never have been able to enjoy their freedom to spin fresh revolutionary doctrines and myths anywhere else but within the liberal societies they so profoundly despise." (p.71).

In a rather obfuscating account of the role of violence in Satre's concept of the pledged group, Wilkinson fails to admit that the State itself gains its cohesion by fostering both internal acquiescence – by manipulation where possible or force when not, and by perpetuating fears of attacks from outside. We rule you, we fool you.

As anarchists we are sensitive to the inseparability of both the state and violence and the state and everyday life. For the state is more than simply an institutional incumbrance on society; by its universality it represents a principle of life, our abrogation of our own power, thought and moral responsibility. As Aksakov put it in the 19th century:

"... The more the state evolves the more forcefully it turns into a substitute for the inward world of man, and the deeper, the more closely man is confined by society, even if society should seem to satisfy all his needs." (Quoted in Woodcock's *Anarchism*)

By rejecting the tabula rasa view of man as held by the liberals we are able to see that man himself is perverted by such institutions as cripple the perennial urge to freedom. Hence, while rejecting violence for its own sake, we must recognise that within the carefully managed repressive tolerance that calls itself liberal democracy, the violent act as a response to the violence done to our own nature remains one of the few available transcendental experiences. Terror has been practised by governments for so long that it has come to be experienced as at most a dull dear; more usually we are numbed by it into a dull passivity.

"Our capacity to think, except in the service of what we are dangerously deluded in supposing is our self interest, and in conformity with common sense, is pitifully limited: our capacity even to see, hear, touch taste and smell is so shrouded in veils of mystification that an intensive discipline of unlearning is necessary for *anyone* before one can begin to experience the world afresh, with innocence, truth and love." (Laing – *Politics of Experience*, p.23).

Baumann in his *How It All Began*, so brilliantly captures the way in which via his own ostensible criminality he was able to transcend the bourgeois hegemony of mental life – essential reading. It was with this in mind that Kropotkin said everything is good for us which falls outside legality.

The terrorist, Wilkinson says, attempts to "militarise the situation," a concept used by Marighela. Whilst this may at times be true, it is equally true that what many groups do us to make explicit what is implicit. In my view the state gets the terrorists it deserves. Using weapons largely manufactured for governments they are in a sense a reflection of the state itself. Speaking of the increasingly sophisticated weaponry available to the urban guerrilla, such weapons having been brought into being at the behest of the state, the author states

"... Others have somehow obtained small quantities of even more deadly weapons. There is always the real danger in a period of rapid nuclear proliferation, that a "crazy state" terrorist group might gain control over a small nuclear weapon, or sabotage a civil nuclear plant or process, to wreak havoc, panic and destruction." (p.189).

i.e., to make explicit the implicit.

It is chilling to think that we cannot trust ourselves and yet are willing to rely on the benevolence of governments in their handling of weapons and processes or super-destructive power. The recent falling to earth of a state-built nuclear satellite seems to have aroused little real concern.

We who are anarchists must turn once again to a profound analysis of the state in its new repressive technological aspect. We must articulate an analysis that presents the state's actions as violence of the most fundamental kind. For most of us this entails a radical rupturing of established notions which have to do with the words state, right, wrong, violence, etc. We must create an atmosphere in which the dominated come to realise their domination and take the first step toward revolution, which is an equalisation of the means of force at present concentrated as never before within the hands of an only superficially benign institution. The urge to destroy is a creative urge; it is the only sane response.

David Tymes

Military Science.

Military science is a very broad term, but I shall limit it to books dealing with firearms, demolition and military tactics. Some of these books may be harder to obtain than others, but almost all are available in the US through one mail order house or another.

The key to successful understanding of firearms is understanding the basics as to how weapons function. There must be ten versions of Brownings' .45 pistol (produced by Colt) known as the Colt Government Model M1911A1 automatic pistol. Slight variations don't constitute a real design difference. A book that covers the basics very well is *Gun Owner's Book of Care, Repair, and Improvement* (Roy Dunlap, Harper and Row [Outdoor Life], New York, 1974). In the 335 page hardbound edition, Dunlap covers how to set up a workshop, storage and security from theft, how modern weapons function, how to clean your weapons correctly, what tools you will need, various aspects of the different weapon types (rifles, handguns etc) and a very comprehensive chapter on sights, sighting in, accurising and improving sporting arms. His main emphasis is on hunting arms, and his cursory treatment of automatic weapons reflects that interest, however *Gun Owner's Book* is still one of the best available *basic* texts. It is well worth the $9.95 the Popular Science/Outdoor Life Book Division of Times Mirror Magazines charges for it. It was intended as a book for a beginning "hobby" gunsmith. Profusely illustrated.

For those who want a more detailed account of the design of long arms, *American Rifle Design and Performance*, (L.R. Wallack, Winchester Press, New York, 1977) will cover in minute detail the various design characteristics of virtually every American sporting arm of this century. Wallack may dwell over-long on the high-powered African game type rifles for the average reader of the C.P. Review, but for someone faced with understanding the operation and reasons behind the design of a wide variety of sporting arms, especially hunting rifles manufactured in the US, there is a definitive work. Wallack was an Ordnance small-arms repair chief during the Second World War and a custom gunsmith since. Adequately illustrated.

Gun Digest is published every year by DBI Books. Apparently DBI produces other digests besides one on firearms, but it is a good book to read if you are something of a novice. Usually there are photos and brief illustrations on each model of sporting arm produced in the world that manages to get distributed in the US. Many makes well-known to British or French or German hunters and target shooters are absent. Besides the catalogue of weapons there are about fifty articles of interest to hunters and gunners, some quite technical and others more historical or topical. At 448 pages, this one is about the same size as a metropolitan phone directory. It has a listing of all arms makers, arms associations and a magnificient listing of books available from Ray Rilling Arms Books, 6844 Gorsten Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19119, in addition to a listing of periodicals, shooting clubs, and so on. Well worth the $8.95. Technical Publishing Co., 540 Frontage Road, Northfield Ill. 60093.

Another digest (from the same company) and one a little more oriented towards fields familiar to Anarchists is *Law Enforcement Handgun Digest*, (Follet Publishing Co., Ed. Grennell & Williams, Chicago, Illinois). Foreword by the Superintendent, New York State Police, W.E. Kirwan. Did you ever wonder where the cops get all that hardware? This book tells all! Only $5.95. Covers martial weapons, pistols, rifles, shotguns, riotguns, machineguns and more. Body armour, bullet-proof vests, riot shields, headgear. Everything for the well-dressed fascist state police. Digest Books, 540 Frontage Road, Northfield, Ill. 60093. How to shoot, who to shoot and what with. A real killer.

Another one from Outdoor Life Books, to go along with your new technicals gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The easy ones you get to visualise. Kind of expensive $13.95, but I use mine a lot, especially the tables and parts sources and ammunition interchangeability charts and ballistics charts and four-laguage "foreign" gun terms sections. Just the thing for a budding arms manufacturer.

If you like machineguns, you'll love this book. *Military Small Arms of the Twentieth Century* is published by (guess ...) yup, Digest Books, same address on Frontage in Northfield. You can't miss it. This book has a picture and a short history, including unusual or interesting details and technical specs, of every single military small arm in the world since black powder was in. So, when somebody hands you an armload of some unidentifiable junk on a dark and stormy beach and goes off into the night muttering something unintelligible in an odd Slavic tongue, you can scurry home and look them up in *Military Small Arms* and discover that what you buried in your basement were sixteen Zcasta Samocinna Puska Vz/58Ps or maybe Vz/58Vs if they have a metal folding stock instead of a crude wooden one. But you would have sworn they were AK-47s except they wouldn't chamber a 7.62 Russian round. That's because they shoot 7.62mm x 45mm ammunition and the AK-47 shoots 7.62mm x 39mm ammunition. That's the kind of info you'll find here. Written by Ian Hogg and John Weeks, it includes information from 37 arms makers and military museums, mostly in the US or Germany. Costs $7.95 and it's a big book with lots of information. Probably hard to hide, if that's a consideration. Would sure be handy if your guardian angel speaks a foreign language and you've never seen one of these here things before .....

If you've got warehouses full of bright, shiney new weapons and no ammunition, you'll do better with a bow and arrow. That's why John Wooters wrote *The Complete Book of Practical Handloading*, so that you might apply yourself, be self-reliant, upstanding and true to your class and load your own ammo when you've shot all the rest. His book is published by Winchester Press (yeah, the same Winchester as in Model 94 Lever Action, the Choice of John Wayne) 205 E. 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017. It tells just about everything you could ask about standard sport reloading of rifle, pistol and shotgun ammunition. Beaucoups safety instruction concerning storage of powder, primers, etc. If you have a mind to invent a new caliber and wish to fashion your own brass and bullets, that's covered too. It really is complete. Costs $12.50, hardbound. It's the kind of book you'll find yourself refering to years from now, while reloading a few to go harvest deer for the big Celebration of the Liberation feast. Or maybe No States' Day. Or Anarchistmas.

You may find the need for a technical manual on a particular weapon, and can't get the Government TM on it, or don't like it when you do (TM's are notoriously obfusticated). That's the time to write for a privately printed technical manual like those published by *US Combat Bookshelf*, Normount Publications, Wickenburg, AZ 85358. Those good old boys at Normount sound like good patriotic Americans who would shoot down a dirty fucking anarchist quicker than you could say Peter Kropotkin, so be sure you've got your role and your pseudonym right when you write to them. Use somebody else's address, maybe. Send money orders, not personal cheques. They have more than 100 titles. They know their shit, comrades. All US weapons carried by infantrymen, some European, Japanese. Prices run $2.50 to $14.95. Good titles on Hand-to-hand, Counter-guerrilla operations, camouflage, demolition materials, etc. Most manuals at least partial government reprints, but the explanations are somewhat clearer.

Another source that all good weapons people know (and sometimes scorn) is Paladin Press. The people at Paladin Press are of the "You-too-can-be-the-Meanest-Man-of-Action-To-Ever-Draw-Breath!!! Send only $46.95 and your Social Security Number and legible thumbprints of both hands and an 8 x 10 glossy photograph of your profile, and we'll put you on our Secret Mailing List that we absolutely guarantee the FBI *never* sees ..." School. Plus, their literature is sometimes misrepresented. The ads sound like heaven to an adolescent with a death fetish, but when you get it, it's near useless. And damned expensive. Lots of photographs, no blueprints. One of the best though is *Home Workshop Guns for Defence and Resistance* (Bill Holmes, ed., Tim Liefield, Paladin Press, Boulder, Colo.) is worth every cent of the £4.00 they want. It is an excellent manual for the inexperienced person who wants to make a servicable (I mean long service, too) submachinegun, from junk car parts and nuts and bolts available at any hardware

CLIFFORD HARPER

store. *It works.* And it shoots 9mm Parabellum ammo from a surplus Sten gun magazine. If you can't find the magazine, Holmes gives you the plans for one, along with plans for every other single detail of this weapon. Make sure you get it before it goes out of print or something.

Another one Paladin puts out with blueprints is *Improvised Weapons of the American Underground*. There are a series of these, *Son of Improvised Weapons of . . . .*, no, really, there are several. They are published by Desert Publications, P.O. Box 22005, Phoenix, AZ, 85028. They contain some highly dangerous formulas for various explosives and some bathtub instructions in how to produce them ("The nitro being produced will start to decompose at 50 degrees C, and give off the red gas of nitrogen dioxide, which is poisonous. Don't let this happen. If there is a sudden rise in temperature, or the red gas is noticed, dump the whole works in the cold water!")

And run like hell, they should add. Because your entire neighbourhood is fixing to be levitated to Mars. They include plans for a .45 calibre submachinegun patterned somewhat crudely after the Sten gun. Don't use aluminium *anywhere*, though, use steel. They assume you are a machinist with a complete machine shop. Buy Holme's book, too, and you can build models of both.

Unit Nine is a good example of the current crop of Learn-to-be-a-Mercenary-in-your-Spare-Time outfits. They have several books out concerning more conventional anti-guerrilla jungle war, and they pander to the armchair adventurer spirit lurking in young men of the conservative mode. They have published two books called the *Mercenary's Manual* and the *Mercenary's Manual II*, both of which aren't too bad at all, if you intend on going to Africa to kill guerrillas. Even if you intend to stay home in Cleveland or Manchester and wish the States' case of athletes' foot would develop gangrene, you will find these books very informative as to what one does to aim a mortar, or what a Czech RPG rocket launcher looks like., Who knows, next year in Prague!! They cost $5.55 and $9.70 respectively, and are available from Unit Nine, 1110 Finch Street, Downsview, Ontario, Canada. Use caution with these folks. They might be selling their mailing list.

Sometimes these military mail order houses have competitive prices. One outfit that isn't quite as garish as Paladin is Ken Hale, P.O. Box 395, McDonald, Ohio, 44437. Sometimes he's higher, sometimes lower. Spreading your order around is a good idea anyhow. Use a different name on every order. Hale also sells bulk order "survival" foods, a la Civil Defence days of the '50s, but I suspect he really sells them as C-Rats (combat rations) to the various folks who need to stock up on C-Rats.

Wouldn't be a bad idea actually . . . . .

John S. Clarke – Parliamentarian, Poet, Lion-Tamer, Ray Challinor, Pluto Press 1977, £1.50, pictorial wraps, illustrated, 85pp.

This is a well intentioned if minor biography of a colourful character. J.S. Clarke (1885-1959) was one of that band of activists who animated the revolutionary "Red" Clyde scene in the first quarter of this century. A friendly and lovable person, though caustic or ironical at times in his political verses and articles, inherent kindliness modified bitterness towards enemies and so engendered little or no animosity in return. He was a natural internationalist for being a member of an old circus family he was brought up to feel no boundaries of speech or country.

Following early years in circuses or at sea, of adventures in Africa where he lived for a while in the kraal of friendly Zulus, he became a prolific writer and popular lecturer on subjects not only of left-wing and humanitarian principles. From 1929-31 he was a Glasgow Labour MP but was not unhappy to lose his seat in the debacle following Macdonald's National Government formation. He'd found the House a place of unrewarding toil and "nauseating hypocrisy and procrastination" as he's said in a letter to his brother quoted by Challinor. He was happier in local politics after election to Glasgow Corporation in 1926, in due course being a Baillie (Anglice: Councillor and alderman/magistrate). He was variously or for long a Governor of the famous Glasgow School of Art, a Fine Arts Commissioner, Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery and the Clyde Navigation Trust. Books included *Burns and his Politics, Satires, Lyrics and Poems, Russia under the Red Terror*, an admirable work about Big Top personalities and activities behind the scenes: *Circus Parade* in 1936 and a *Scottish Encyclopedia*.

But for twenty years he was an active agitator in journals and on platforms especially in the war years when the Glasgow region was a ferment of revolutionary ardour. Lloyd George even got the wind-up so much in 1919 that he ordered armoured cars to strategic street corners and naval guns on the Clyde to be trained on workers' districts. Clarke, like many others, saw the war as nothing but a battle of capitalist expansion and domination and spoke and wrote against it. He was active after the Russian Revolution in the "Hands off Russia" campaign which eventually forced the British Government to withdraw invading troops and warships.

World wide workers were called to the second convention of the Third (Communist) International in 1920. Mostly clandestinely and with hazard delegates travelled from all parts. From Scotland those included Willy Gallacher as chairman of the Clyde Workers Committee and Clarke as editor of their organ *The Worker*. For the incipient English CP and as editor of her *Workers Dreadnought* went Sylvia Pankhurst the younger daughter of the Suffragette leader. With the Baltic and Finland in anti-Soviet hands Clarke and Gallacher sailed to Norway but then had to make their way from Bergen to the far north before crossing the sea to Murmansk and thence through battle territory before reaching their destination. For Gallacher especially it proved a momentous episode for Lenin then persuaded him to drop his plans to form an anti-parliamentary Scottish Communist Party with John Maclean in favour of a British one. Clarke's report was later amplified and published under the ambiguous title *Pen Pictures of Russia under the Red Terror*. His way home had been interrupted by arrest in Norway but he's escaped to "borrow" a boat and sail single-handed across the North Sea to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

It was there, back in 1908, that whilst working in a Menagerie he became active in politics by editing the local socialists' journal *The Keel*. In his Foreword to *Circus Parade* "I was a rough rider when only ten years of age; a performer with wild animals at sixteen and a trainer of horses and wild beasts at twenty-two." In 1910 in Glasgow he had just been offered a job in a circus in Kelvin Hall when he "rejected it for a post in Edinburgh as a lecturer and writer." That was for the anti-religion Ethical Guild, it lasted a year and – being full-time – gave him valuable experience. Thereafter he was primarily a political activist. Half-way through the war he settled in Glasgow but never lost contact with the circus world; even in his late sixties often being a popular performer in Kelvin Hall where he'd turned down that offer so long before.

In 1899 he'd been boy assistant to world famous Lion King Julius Seeth in London's Olympia. There in the great days of Bertram Mills he was always persona grata behind the scenes. There for example he'd acted as second "mid-wife" at the birth of tigress "Olympia" in 1933 having been a guest at that season's inaugural Christmas luncheon. That wasn't a family performers or staff gathering for Bertram Mills Luncheons had progressed into tremendous affairs under the Big Top. I have the Table Plan as a souvenir of that actual one. The sporting "Lonsdale Belt" Earl presided over 170 notabilities at the surrounding main table. At that a sprinkling of politicians included such peculiar characters as the renegade Jimmy Thomas of the NUR who was then in Macdonald's National Cabinet as well as his crony Sir Alfred Butt who with Thomas had to relinquish with ignominy their seats in the House for making profit from Budget secrets in 1935. Another there was Herbert Morrison, he who when Home Secretary in the Hitler war was to free Mosley from prison but not the latter's minor lackeys! Clarke and his wife Sally were amongst the thousand nices if officially 'lesser' guests at tables for eight in the centre. At table 38 they sat next to J.B. Morton the then famous satirist "Beechcomber" of the *Daily Express*. Clarke's final job was to be on the staff of the Scottish Daily Express in the 1950s.

Now Challinor gives a fairly good survey of Clarke's political life and quotes from many of his verses and excerpts from other writing; but nothing of his artistic life. Since he had access to all family papers and met many old friends of Clarke I do feel his tale could have been fuller. For me too he starts off on two left feet by calling Clarke a "lion-tamer" not once but a dozen times. The term is a misnomer perpetuated by ignorant journalists following origination by uncouth early performers seeking to impress the public by goading animals into snarling angry reaction. Wild animals cannot be 'tamed.' Correct is 'trainer.' Anyone looking at the many photos of Clarke's face whilst his arm is around the neck of a massive tiger or lion, or as he put groups of animals through their paces in the ring, can see he was no 'tamer' but rather an understanding lover and respector of wild animals. Only with sympathy, kindness, understanding and patience can any sort of control be gained, as Clarke himseld did write.

Another ridiculous error is calling Clarke a gypty. Nobody looked less like one and Clarke himself wrote that gypsies and circus folk never mingled. I've nothing against Romanies but they only follow the circus for the same reason pilot fish follow sharks or the birds who feed off crocodile teeth but otherwise keep their distance.

There is no index, no list of Clarke's books, the journals he edited or contributed to, no list of public posts, no chronology to help the student follow vicissitudes or trace contacts with other activists or organisations. Otherwise this was a take worth the telling.

Barry Duncan.

The Imprinted, John Sommerfield. London Magazine Editions, 1977, 176pp, £5.00.

These memoirs are by the author of that much quoted early account of the International Brigade, *Volunteer in Spain*. Admittedly semi-fictional, they will satisfy anyone seeking a good read, which the book is, but the more knowledgeable at times may be at a loss. Most names are imaginary but based on real people – sometimes perhaps composite. Of course opinions and judgments seldom completely concur so that what may seem inappropriate to me may seem justified to another whilst the author by his semi-fictional label allows himself unlimited latitude.

Sommerfield, out East in the RAF in the last war, has been a seaman but mostly got a living writing stories, novels and film scripts. Influence of the latter is evident in this book as he exploits a flash-back technique when tales of recent encounters trigger off first-meeting stories of long ago. In the early thirties he was one of that mainly youthful band of intellectuals and others who frequented Soho and Fitzrovia, that central London quarter traditionally a haven for revolutionary exiles as well as being home to more normal foreigners. Like in the Italian quarter of Saffron Hill and further on in the Jewish part of the East End such residents were on the whole particularly politically conscious and consequently, as like attracts like, British denizens often held similar views.

Early in 1933 one boy fresh from public school appeared on this Soho scene. He was the poet John Cornford, a Communist convert whose active enthusiasm for the Cause knew no bounds, as was normal then for like middle-class 'renegades.' Sommerfield was also a 'believer' on those days and became friendly with Cornford after meeting him, if not in Soho then where he sometimes worked in David Archer's famous literary bookshop in Holborn.

Within a month of the opening shots in 1936, twenty year old Cornford, still attending Cambridge University, went to Spain on a press ticket. But he had no Spanish and soon joined up in the Anarchist/POUM militia as his best way to aid anti-Franco forces. Much in early actions, after incapacitating jaundice or dysentery, three weeks home leave was granted him not only to recuperate health but in the hope of fomenting friendly publicity and the recruitment of more volunteers. The official International Brigades were then only beginning to be thought of though other volunteers were already in Spain.

I remember Cornford appearing again on the Soho scene that time and one night holding forth in a bohemian haunt in an alley hard by the ancient church of St. Giles called *The Coffee an'*. He was then emphatic that the insurgents would be defeated as soon as the Government rallied its forces, could train troops and get the necessary arms it lacked, especially those promised from the USSR. But essential for victory was Communist control. Only the iron discipline of the Party could weld the often quarrelsome defenders into the coherent unit necessary to direct the war. Though his only Spanish was what he was then acquiring from a pocket dictionary his French was fairly good and what he said had the authority of personal experience. How valid his ideas and how much he might have qualified his opinions is a moot point since he became an early casualty long before the fratricidal horrors and the murderous machinations of Marty and others later on.

Of his recent comrades in the militia his views were mixed. For their courage he had nothing but praise but he was contemptuous of their incapacity to appreciate a need for leaders, for their ideas that committees must argue pros and cons before action could be taken. He told of self-contained villages with no communication systems or any preparations to repel attacks or even knowledge of Franco held positions. His first action had been a waste of life and effort. After a night march they'd partially captured a key village (Perdiguera near Saragossa) but so haphazardly without a commander to direct actual operations or later to see to consolidation that they'd eventually retreated back to base without profit.

He returned to Spain in October with six recruits. One was Sommerfield whose experiences are recorded in the book mentioned above. They were in action together, notably in the close fighting of University City on the outskirts of Madrid. Sommerfield was lucky enough to be invalided out before the end of the year. He'd done his bit and sensibly did not return. John Cornford was killed in the Cordoba fighting of Christmas 1936.

Now though Sommerfield says little or nothing of all the above in his present book he does quote a couple of times from his earlier one and from his notes. A running theme is his working on a projected radio feature about one John Rackstraw, an obvious pseudonym for his friend Cornford even though the former is said to be an Oxford man killed in the Libyan desert during the Hitler war. None of the girls he associates with 'Rackstraw' fit my idea of the only one I knew who did, though I did not know his second and last girl who never appeared on the Soho scene. For that matter I do not recognire the many other girls in the book but that means nothing since I only know the writer slightly and the girl I'd known him living with he'd parted from even before his going to Spain. Other readers who know the scene will have fun attempting to identify many characters. I fancy their task may not be easy though I may be wrong.

David Archer, the bookseller I've mentioned is easily recognised although here called Phil. One Angus Muir has a lot of Dylan Thomas in him and that is likely enough since I think Sommerfield was also for a while in the Crown Film (propaganda) unit as was Dylan. Whether a BBC feature was ever produced about John Cornford I've not yet tried to discover. One illuminating chapter deals with his friendship in Karachi with one Gopal an anti-British activist and with his subsequent interrogation by Intelligence Officers who had had them both under surveillance. Sommerfield's acting innocence didn't prevent his speedy posting to the Burma war zone!

Barry Duncan.

Memories I, Julian Huxley, Penguin 85p. The first of Julian Huxley's two volumes of autobiography.

Books of memoir and reminiscence by people who have lived from the end of the last century and into the modern post 1945 world always fascinate me. Julian Huxley's first volume of autobiography is such and its subject matter is sufficiently wide ranging for all to find something of interest in it.

But with any member of the Huxley clan one is quickly at a disadvantage, for they are all so much cleverer than oneself. Indeed the predominant thing I remember some decades after having read great dollops of novels by Aldous is how clever the author was: hardly anything of their themes or plots; just how very clever was the man who wrote them. But this book will be enjoyable for anyone who can live with a writer who admits to having read the Water Babies before he was five, who won prizes at Eton for poetry, Shakespeare and biology, and who won the Newdigate prize for poetry at Oxford while studying biology.

The success is not unrelieved. He had great feelings of guilt over his adolescent sexual urges, at the same time as he was studying and comparing the mating rituals of animals, principally species of birds. And on the radio programme the Brains Trust he was unable to answer the question how a fly lands on the ceiling.

One interesting aspect of the book is the incidental revelation of how the Eton/Oxbridge coterie keeps in its hands the reins of power without ever seeming to seek to do so. Huxley's contemporaries at Eton and Oxford later appear as diplomats, academics, top civil servants, cabinet ministers and in other

positions of power.

Amusingly enough one of them, Knatchbull-Hugesson was the British ambassador to Turkey during the 1939-45 war who had all his incoming mail photographed by the Nazi spy "Cicero" while the ambassador was taking his early morning bath.

Huxley's world appears to be one populated exclusively by the brilliant, be they brilliantly successful or brilliantly ludicrous. Julian Huxley himself, an outstanding polymath who made his living as a scientist, also spent much time and effort on matters of social concern. He was a humanist with all the earnest and worthy passions that have ever beset the humanists. He concerned himself with propaganda for family planning, lest the not so fitted reproduce themselves at a higher rate than the super-intelligent, and with planning for a humane society and all the related reforms this overwhelming project involves.

While this volume is enlivened by many witty observations and anecdotes which demonstrate the author's sense of the absurd he seems a little blind to the possibility that some of his own more earnest interests may have something rather absurd about them.

Peter Miller.

LITTLE 'UNS

Reading and Loving, Leila Berg, Routledge & Kegan Paul, £1.20.

Leila Berg has contributed much as a critic of the authoritarian school system in Britain, and has done much to popularise ideas about a more libertarian attitude towards children.

In this book she shows her talent for producing insights by observing and learning from children. In this respect she is equalled only by John Holt.

She examines the type of books used in schools and shows that, in many cases, books themselves provide the major inhibition to the development of reading through their stilted and formalistic vocabulary, and their rejection of real children.

Leila Berg's aim is that all children's first experience of reading should be a loving and sensuous one, so that they can come to discover the power of books for themselves. This is no work of educational theory for academics – it is an important book for parents of young children.

Terry Phillips.

Andrew Ant The Anarchist, Bob Mendelson, Christine Raffery and Stan Stroh, Anarcho Press, £2.75.

In issue 3 of the *Review* I pointed out the lack of good consciously political picture books for children. Therefore, I was pleased to see *Andrew Ant The Anarchist* published by Anarcho Press, a New York group interested in "developing a humanistic, libertarian-socialist literature for children."

Andrew wonders why some ants are made workers and some are soldier ants. The workers live in small, crowded rooms. They have to get up early in the morning to search for food for the other ants. By the end of the day the worker ants are exhausted and have no energy left for pleasure.

Andrew enjoys doing useful work but he realises it is unfair that worker ants do all the work but get little of the benefit while the King and Queen get everything but do no work. Andrew sees the soldiers do nothing but bully others into working harder. The banker ants take and store the food that the workers have produced.

Andrew talks to the other workers about how unfair it all is but they are afraid to do anything about it. However, one day something happens which changes everything. Anita ant has an accident and needs food and medicine. The bankers refuse to give her any so the workers storm the food bank and distribute food for all the sick and hungry ants. Having done this they realise that they don't need Kings, Queens, soldiers and bankers.

The book is illustrated on half of its 56 pages. The price is not cheap, but understandable in view of the precarious economic position of alternative publishers with small print-runs. If you can possibly afford it, order a copy of this book for your young children from Cienfuegos Book Service and help encourage a worthwhile project.

Terry Phillips.

Lotta, Astrid Lindgren, Young Puffin, 50p.

A very good little book about Lotta, the youngest and naughtiest of three children. She has an elder brother Jonas and an elder sister Maria who narrates. Lotta is THE naughty child; all that little kids are supposed to be, cute, dumb and naughty. The stories are all in the same sort of vein, little child in sill situation.

M.C.

Recommended Picture Puffins for the very young.

Farmer Fisher, Johnathan Coudrille, 50p. The rollicking tale of Farmer Fisher's drive to market, which ended in a very unusual way.
Mike Mulligan and his Steam Shovel, Virginia Lee Burton, 60p. Mike Mulligan loved his steam shovel and even when he was forced out of work by more modern shovels, he was determined she wouldn't be scrapped like the rest of the steam shovels.
The Wind Blew Pat Hutchinson, 50p. A wind that whisks away hats and scarves, brollies and balloons and leaves in its wake a crowd of people anxiously chasing their belongings.

The Bright and Morning Star, Rosemary Harris, Puffin, 60p.

This is the third book in a trilogy of stories set in the Middle East shortly after Noah's flood. This book like the previous two, tells of the relationship between the Pharoh of Egypt and a Canaan nobleman. If you know of any children aged between 10 and 13, they'll probably like this story, provided they have a historical bent. Talking of bents there are vague sado-masochistic bents in there. Hmmm;

M.C.

FICTION

Daniel Martin, John Fowles, Cape, £4.95.

When I read that John Fowles intended this book to be 'a defence and illustration of an unfashionable philosophy, humanism,' I expected an ultimately persuasive thread developing into a manifesto for the uncommitted English liberal elitist party. To a large degree I was not misled, except that I found the power of this novel existed in the very way the 'philosophy' was unconvincing.

It is a political novel, though obviously not in the usual sense. To put it tritely, and unfairly, it is the story of a liberal humanist menopause male searching for himself. He hates capitalism, communism, and authoritarianism in general, but drifts in a guilt-ridden quest for the source of his disatisfation. But he is afraid of developing his own external analysis. He is the very essence of the privileged rebel, benefitting from what he attacks, and unthreatened by the consequences of his criticism.

The self-absorption and internal analysis are profoundly and brilliantly described, but it also reveals the impotence of the 'philosophy' and its escapist aspect for an intellectual minority. And yet when Daniel Martin looks outside himself at the real world, he shows his ability to see clearly. The analysis of media manipulation is superb in the way it is shown as a mass sapping of critical faculty and imagination. (This is entirely in line with Fowles' own view that screen media are Fascist in their imposition of images). But as one would expect, the foliage is neatly cut away while the roots and trunk are left intact.

It is difficult to fault the portrayal of any of the characters except to say that the dialogue is almost too perfect. Even the most brilliant and articulate of people utter clichees and trivialities at times. This aspect is highlighted by contrast with the most beautifully written passage of the book where Daniel Martin falls in love for the first time. The simplicity of the language and the self-conscious conversation are unrivalled.

The other side of Daniel Martin which makes him far more alive than the average narrator, is his relationship with women. His sexual and emotional feelings are in natural harmony with his political attitudes, for he is the liberal male, the admitted and superficially repentant chauvenist with his own double-standards, (even if they are as minor as criticising his girl friend's use of double negatives when he uses them himself).

We are obviously distracted when reading a 'narrated' novel by wondering how auto-biographical and confessional the feelings expressed might be. All I can say in this case is that he should have followed Goethe's advice and not told us what the intention of the book was, for as a study of relationships and of the liberal angst it is a great novel. But as a manifesto in the guise of fiction, it fails in a way that is both fascinating and illuminating.

A.B.

English and American Surrealist Poetry. Edward B. Germain, Penguin 1978, 348pp, £1.75.

It is often said that one cannot go back and recapture the spirit of the past. If one regards the arts as something of a bulwark against the decaying effect of time then one would hope that at least some of the vivacity of past eras would continue to communicate itself in the artistic inheritance they have left to us. Which is why the collection of poetry (both pre-war and post-war) under discussion here is surprising in its lack of edge and in the sense that one has that the editor has been inclusive rather than exlcusive in the selection of work. The result is that while we have a corpus of work to consider we have something of a corpse when we examine it for signs of life.

What do we expect from literature claiming to be surreal? Above all, the discovery of links between aspects of the absurd, humourous contradiction and the play of wit, the serendipity of the wholly unexpected and original imagination let loose in the act of creation. And what do we have in Edward Germain's collection? A few outstanding examples of surrealist work at its best. But we also find two other categories of poetry included: a large number of fine poems which can only in the loosest sense be regarded as having even touches of surrealist imagery or technique, and a considerable number of poems which have the superficial characteristics of surrealism but which are flat and futile in their effect upon the reader. The most obvious examples of the latter are the "chain poems" written by a number of authors who took turns to write a line each (a fine Christmas party game after plum pudding and drinks, and the kids can all join in!) and the "automatic writing" which, as Germain admits in his lengthy introduction, was abandoned in the thirties by Andre Breton:

(p.37) . . . "1934, Breton announced that surrealism must "cease being content with automatic texts, the recital of dreams, improvising speeches, spontaneous poems, drawings and actions."

The deeper aim of surrealism was to integrate the conscious and subconscious elements in the psyche, particularly through the use of symbolism. The movement could look to C.G. Jung for its psychological theory, but was more interested in artistic practice. The way that the practice could be empty and uninspiring or rich and suggestive (and, as I am attempting to convey, there are more than enough examples of the former as well as of the latter in this anthology) can easily be illustrated by referring to the two poems of Dylan Thomas included in the book: 'Jenny 1939 – "Because the pleasure bird whistles. . . ." ' and 'I, In My Intricate Image.' The first of these is a skein of nonsense, each word or phrase arbitrarily following on from the one before. The second, however, because of its sustained themes of man, metal, sea and death piles up a richness of imagery which is limitless in possibilities of suggestions and meanings within the thematic frame. To borrow terms from the ever fertile 19th century, the first poem is a piece of Fancy while the second is a true work of the imagination. The difference, is of course, that in the second instance the diverse images and constituents of the poem are integrated into a coherent whole, and thus the poem gains depth and the dimension of meaning.

A certain amount of integration is therefore necessary for even the zaniest of surreal poems, and this we find, whether it be in the comedy of Harry Crosby's "Telephone Directory", or Henry Treece's children's poem "The Magic Wood," or John Perreault's "Boomerang" and "Readymade – the Venus Fly Trap", or in the deeply serious poems such as Lee Harwood's magnificent poem "The Utopia"

" . . . . No one in the house was sure of the frontiers . . . " or even Ted Berrigan's slangy and obscene "Bean Spasms" which though nauseating and nauseated, is technically advanced and innovative, and wholly convincing. Among the more predictable "types" of surrealist writing we find description of nature, including prose poems such as "Aurora Borealis" by Edouard Roditi or "Suburban Dusk" by Bert Myers, poems containing elements of horror or gratuitous violence (successful, as with "In The Stump of the Old Tree" by A. Sykes Davies; less so, to my taste, in Jon Raworth's "My Face Is My Own, I Thought"), and poems, such as Roland Penrose's, which were once part of multicoloured collages and which suffer from the subtraction of the artwork. David Gascoyne's translations of foreign poems are well represented, e.g. Salvador Dali's "The Art of Picasso," a statement of surrealist doctrine. And, of course, there are many excellent poems which travel through the emotional fields of inner psychological space, examining states of mind or relationships. Among the latter are Francis Scarfe's "Ode In Honour", Mark Strand's "The Marriage" and Roger Roughton's "Soluble Noughts and Crosses." Poems of social and political criticism also feature, some more apocalyptic than others. The surreal dream and the prophetic vision may combine, as in John Bayliss's "Apocalypse and Resurrection," or the feeling may be more tentative, as in Robert Bly's "At A March Against The Vietnam War" – a poet whose translations are also well represented.

There are so many poets included in this volume that a review cannot be fair to all: I have not mentioned George Barber's Blake-ian "Calamiterror" or Ruthven Todd's "Paul Klee", Humphrey Jennings' "Prose Poem", E.L.T. Mesen's "The Arid Husband," or Djuna Barres's "Transfiguration," Kenneth Patchen's "Saturday Night In The Parthenon" or W.S. Merlon's excellent surreal poems "Bread", "A Door," "Glass" and "The Diggers." John Ashbey's statement

"All beauty, resonance, integrity
Exist by deprivation or logic
Of strange position" . . . .

is worth pondering, and Donald Hall's definition of a moment of vision, "Je suis une table" is excellent, showing the limits of language. Den Smith's "Train" and "Possessions" are both very acute:

"furniture of a planet
wheeling in silence
lonely as a train
waving its little handkerchiefs of steam."

So there is a great deal to be enjoyed. With a little more preening, there would have been less to be endured.

Geoff Charlton.

KROPOTKIN

Kropotkin, Martin A. Miller, University of Chicago Press, £12.00.

For nearly half a century, Peter Kropotkin was the leading figure in the international anarchist movement. After more than half a century, he remains the most attractive and accessible of all the important anarchist writers, and retains the strongest claims to be taken seriously as a social and political thinker. He has of course received his fair share of attention in the recent revival of interest in anarchism; during the past few years all of his books which were published in English have been reprinted, often with new introductions, and some anthologies of his writings have been published, also with new introductions.

The result is that it has become easier to read what Kropotkin wrote than at any time since his death in 1921; but there hasn't yet been a corresponding reassessment of his life and work. His own autobiography, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), was reprinted in three separate editions by 1971, and the first biography, *The Anarchist Prince* (1950) by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, was also reprinted in 1971; but both these books are out of date, and the growing need for a fresh account of his activity and a fresh analysis of his ideology has not been satisfied by the production of occasional unpublished university theses.

As last one of these theses has borne fruit, and a serious attempt to satisfy at least one of these two needs has been made by Martin A. Miller, associate professor of history at Duke University and editor of one of the recent Kropotkin anthologies. *Kropotkin* is the first scholarly treatment of the available source material, and it will be essential reading for everyone interested in the subject; but it is far from satisfactory.

Miller has been working on this book for a long time (his original thesis was completed ten years ago); we may be grateful for the delay when we learn that he began it because he was "interested in the application of Eriksonian psychology to the study of Russian revolutionaries and saw Kropotkin, "because of the wealth of source material", as "an excellent example for a case study of radical motivation." Paul Goodman indeed remarked in his introduction to the Horizon edition of Kropotkin's memoirs that a psychoanalytical interpretation of his development would be "embarrassingly obvious", and Miller in fact called his thesis "The Formative Years of P.A. Kropotkin, 1842-1876: A Study in the Origins and Development of Populist Attitudes in Russia." But as he worked he found that "the problems which were revealed by this approach appeared greater than the answers which were suggested" – a nice comment on the defects

of psychoanalysis in general and of psychobiography in particular, which are especially obvious in the case of someone as sure of his identity and as shy of intimacy as Kropotkin.

In the end, Miller has produced a fairly straightforward academic biography, although he still gives as much space to Kropotkin's "formative years" as to his mature career, and still gets involved in trying to interpret his story rather than just telling it.

The first question about this book concerns its relationship with its predecessors. Miller hasn't made much use of *The Anarchist Prince*, which is understandable but unfortunate, because Woodcock and Avakumovic, despite their carelessness with details and their disrespect for references, did provide a good portrait of Kropotkin which is still worth reading after a quarter of a century. Miller has made more use of *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, as the main source of information about Kropotkin's life up to the 1890s. (He has used the Russian editions, which are considerably superior to the American ones, but seems unaware of the British ones, which are slightly superior.) Kropotkin's treatment of his own past and thoughts was inevitably subjective and unreliable, but he did produce a good self-portrait which is still worth reading after three-quarters of a century.

As we would expect however, Miller has ranged far more widely than these two books, and the double answer to this first question is that he offers a large amount of information which isn't in either of them – and often wasn't available in English at all – but that he also omits a fair amount of material which is in both or one of them. The awkward result is that to get a full view of the subject it is really necessary to read first Kropotkin, then Woodcock/Avakumovic, and finally Miller.

The second question about this book concerns its intrinsic value. Miller's major contribution to Kropotkin studies is the use he has made of primary source material, not only in North America and Western Europe, but also in Soviet Russia, where he has worked on archives which were closed to outsiders until the 1960s. He has examined the surviving manuscripts as well as the published editions of Kropotkin's memoirs, and also as many of Kropotkin's diaries and letters as he could find. He has searched the papers left by Kropotkin and by many of his contemporaries, as well as the officials records of several countries. He has gone back to original documents to confirm or correct every possible detail, and he must by now have read more about the subject than anyone since Kropotkin himself.

Yet Miller's approach has disadvantages as well as advantages, and the double answer to this second question is that he offers many new facts but that he also obscures many old facts. The awkward result is that the book is at the same time a large step forward and not nearly large enough a step forward.

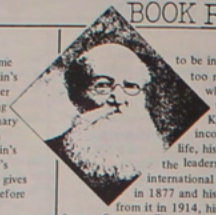
Looking at the positive side, Miller has produced by far the most complete record of where Kropotkin went and what he did throughout his long life. As we might expect, he is happiest with Kropotkin's time in Russia. He gives for the first time due weight to the influence on Kropotkin's early intellectual development of his elder brother Alexander (there is an interesting appendix on Alexander's own revolutionary activity, which ended with his suicide in 1886), and to the influence on Kropotkin's later political development of Alexander's sister-in-law Sofia Lavrova. He similarly gives a much more detailed description that before of Kropotkin's involvement in Russian politics both before his escape to the West in 1876 and after his return in 1917, and of his continuing interest in Russian affairs during the forty years of exile.

Looking at the negative side, Miller surely overemphasises Kropotkin's Russianness. He sees Kropotkin as above all a Russian figure, and gives the evidence to support such a view. But, like most members of the Russian upper class, Kropotkin has a European education, and was fluent in French, German and English. He was active in Western Europe for more than half his life, and he was much more successful outside than inside his native country. Like Bakunin, he was an international rather than national figure, and can be claimed by no single country.

Miller also overemphasises Kropotkin's alienation from his family and class in his early life and from his friends and colleagues in his later life. Here he resorts to brutal and banal psychoanalysis which obfuscates Kropotkin's personality more than it illustrates it. There may be a connection between Kropotkin's private resistance to the authority of his parents and teachers and his public rebellion against the authority of his government and eventually of all government, but the evidence gives no convincing proof that it was causal rather than casual. Similarly, Miller makes much of Kropotkin's reluctance to be absorbed into peer groups at any stage of his life, but while this characteristic may excite comment from a twentieth-century American, it wouldn't attract the notice of a nineteenth-century European, especially one who had experience of a reactionary society or a revolutionary movement.

The book has several other weaknesses. There is more information in it than anywhere else about Kropotkin's voluminous writings over a period of more than seventy years, but the bibliography is seriously incomplete and slightly inaccurate; there are more omissions than would be expected and more errors than should be accepted in a work of this kind. Miller even manages to get wrong the title of his own Kropotkin anthology – *Selected Writings* (not *Readings*) *in Anarchism and Revolution* and there are some mistakes in dates which have been copied for three-quarters of a century from Max Nettlau's *Bibliographie de l'anarchie* (1897) but which should be corrected by a quick reference to the original writings.

There is plenty of emphasis on Kropotkin's philosophical development – his rejection of religion and indeed of all metaphysical thought – but not enough on his literary, artistic and scientific development. There are too many insignificant points in the text which ought to be in the notes, and too many significant points in the notes which ought



to be in the text. There are too many important items which aren't properly treated at all – Kropotkin's sources of income and his private life, his formal inclusion in the leadership of the international anarchist movement in 1877 and his informal exclusion from it in 1914, his contacts with such famous figures as Turgenev and Tolstoy, and so on. There is, as in almost all academic books nowadays, far too much bad writing, which affects much of the narrative and even infects some of the quotations – many of the translations from Russian sources are not just rough but wrong.

But perhaps the two most serious weaknesses in the book are the description of Kropotkin's work in Western Europe, and the discussion of his place in revolutionary thought. Miller is unhappiest with Kropotkin's time in Britain, where he spent more than half his adult life, staying frequently between 1876 and 1882 and settling permanently from 1886 to 1917. Miller has traced less material in Britain than elsewhere, and he has less knowledge of British radicalism than of Russian populism or European anarchism. Even where there is plenty of material, as with the rise of the formal anarchist movement in the 1880s or with the row over the war in 1914, he gets out of his depth and falls into elementary mistakes and misunderstandings.

Miller passes over the mergence of British anarchism, in which Kropotkin played an important part, too rapidly to add anything significant to what is already known. He pays more attention to Kropotkin's break with the British anarchists over the First World War, but seriously misinterprets the situation. The reason is that he relies on Kropotkin's version of the episode, which was false in several details. For example, Miller says that in November 1914 Alfred Marsh was succeeded as editor of *Freedom* by Thomas Keell, "whom Kropotkin mistrusted from the start"; in fact Keell had been publisher of *Freedom* for ten years and acting editor for two, and Kropotkin trusted him completely until the war began. Miller says that Kropotkin "clearly wanted *Freedom* to be a proanarchist paper, not a symposium of 'conflicting opinions'," in fact Kropotkin wanted it to be a prowar paper, whereas most of the people who produced it wanted it to be a proanarchist and antiwar paper – and their victory was unanimously endorsed by a conference of the British anarchist movement in 1915. Miller refers to Keell's "diary," which is quoted in *The Anarchist Prince*; in fact it is a private notebook which contains summaries of Keell's meetings with Kropotkin and the few other prowar anarchists in 1914, and it strongly supports Keell's version of the episode – that Kropotkin did everything he could to make *Freedom* either support the war or cease publication. Miller has quite failed to realise that Kropotkin's defence of the war may be explicable but is not excusable, and that it cannot be properly discussed without some consideration of its relevance to the nature of Kropotkin's anarchis.

This leads to the most serious weakness of all, which is Miller's failure to interpret his biographical and ideological themes – to take a fresh look at Kropotkin's part in the movement he served for so long. The two chapters about his version of anarchism, derived from scientific humanism and based on libertarian communism, and about his historical significance, as the best known anarchist in the world, are a poor substitute for the comprehensive and critical exposition of Kropotkin's ideas which is still needed. It would have been better if Miller had given more space to the practical and less to the theoretical side of Kropotkin's life and had been content with a straightforward biography.

The third question about this book concerns its future usefulness. The publishers claim that it "will stand as the definitive work on Kropotkin for years to come," which suggests that they don't know what *definitive* means and which also supposes that Miller's work will hinder rather than help further work on Kropotkin. This may well be true – just as E.H. Carr's forty-year-old biography of Bakunin has recently been reprinted rather than replaced – but it would be a pity. Miller has actually produced not a definitive but an interim work, and it should be praised for what it is rather than criticised for what it isn't.

Miller himself claims only that his book is an "objective study," and this is what is important. He has treated Kropotkin not as a saint or a sage, but as a man who lived and worked in a particular way at a particular time, and he has established more of the truth about him than anyone has done before. This is enough of an achievement to be getting on with. The double answer to this third question is that Miller has not produced the authoritative biography of Kropotkin which is still needed, but that he has provided a foundation on which such a book could rest. Exactly a century after Kropotkin became a leading figure in the anarchist movement, we can begin to understand him as he deserves.

Nicolas Walter.

Anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, 25p + 7p post.

This is the second recent Kropotkin's Lighthouse publication, and is in fact a reprint of his Encyclopedia Brittanica article. "Anarchism" remains one of the most lucid short explanations of the ideals and early history of the anarchist movement that has ever been written. Buy it for a friend, but read it yourself before passing it on.

PAMPHLETS

Free Association: Revolutionary Committees as a method of organisation.

A 16-page illustrated pamphlet that makes a really good introduction to anarchist ideas, written in jargon-free English, that sets out a "vision of the organisation of a new society." From: More to Come, P.O. Box 11308, San Francisco, California 94101, USA.

Custer's Last Stand, or How to overcome male domination in the movement, Magic Ink, 18p (inc. p+p).

Magic Ink have done a fine job of making a useful pamphlet out of two short articles, reprinted from the American paper *Win*, tackling a subject which has been the focus of increasing controversy within the anarchist movement in the U.K.

The pamphlet is written by men, and is addressed to men, explaining why they should try to come to grips with their own dominant and oppressive behaviour patterns, specifically at group meetings. The scenario described to illustrate the kind of problems that exist certainly has a familiar ring to it and the authors clearly itemise the most common pitfalls and make some honest suggestions about how to either avoid or overcome them.

There are, however, a number of weaknesses: firstly many of the suggested methods of overcoming the "masculine behaviour pattern", bear at least a faint similarity to the type of self-criticism recently in vogue in Maoist China; secondly, many of the things that go wrong within voluntary groups are not caused by masculine behaviour, but by lack of common purpose, which allows (by its nature) the domination by individuals.

One area not considered by the authors is the necessity for many people to become more self-assertive. Many internal group problems are caused by a lack of self-assertion by many individuals, not solely by the over-assertiveness of others, which is often only symptomatic. Last criticism: there is no suggestion made in the pamphlet that these are ideas which it is important to implement when involved in groups and activities outside the movement.

That said this is a pamphlet from which everyone can learn a little and from which many people can learn a lot. Read it (at least once a week).

Magic Ink, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent.

Russia 1917-1921. A 12-page illustrated pamphlet examining "the significance of the Russian revolutionary experience for our time." The events of the revolution between 1917 and 1921 are briefly traced, to prove in a manner that is crushing in the inescapability of its logic that "for our contemporary liberatory movement there are absolutely no models of socialism anywhere on this planet." Tampa Red and Black have produced a readable and worthwhile publication that demonstrates that "there is no stopping half-way, we must conquer or die."

Tampa Red & Black, P.O. Box 16000 SE, Tampa, Fla. 33687, USA.

Apathy and its cure, Peter Freeman.

The author starts from the premise that "apathy shows itself in personal and social forms." The soical forms of apathy are those elements of social organisation which rely upon the fact that people suppress their desires. The personal forms are the ways that people consciously disguise this suppression of their desires," and ending with the conclusion that "the social movement for direct action is the only chance of creating a world that makes sense." In between there's some perceptive analysis. 30p + post from: Peter Freeman, Box 9, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N.1.

LIP and the self-managed counter-revolution, Black and Red, 1975, 95pp, 60p.

This short book is a difficult one, not only because the language is extremely precise, and necessarily uses ordinary words out of their everyday context, but because for many people its arguments will run counter to dearly held beliefs. The occupation of the LIP watch factory inspired (and still does) sections of the "Left" (not only in France), who saw in the occupation a challenge to the fundamental basis of capitalism.

This book, which is a lengthy translation from the French magazine *Negation*, examines the nature of the struggle that has been taking place, and forcefully argues that in fact the development of self-management in many areas of society, as at LIP, is in fact taking place in response to the needs of contemporary capitalism. People are being allowed "self-management" of those activities which it is unprofitable to organise.

The case is well argued, but suffers from any consideration that while the growth of a "self-managed" sector of society may be in response to Capital's needs, it also opens up tremendous new revolutionary possibilities, creating fresh situations that can be taken advantage of. The encouragement of self-management may be part of a strategic retreat by capitalism, but it is something we can and must take advantage of.

The relevance of anarchism to modern society, Sam Dolgoff, Soil of Liberty, 35 cents, 22pp.

Sam Dolgoff is a retired housepainter and a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who has been active in the anarchist movement since 1920. In this pamphlet he attempts to show that "anarchism is not a panacea that will miraculously cure all the ills of the body social, but rather, a 20th century guide to action based on a realistic conception of social reconstruction." His arguments are supported by some extremely powerful quotations from both anarchists (e.g. Kropotkin and Diego Abad de Santillan) and non-anarchists (Myrdal and Serge), and overall Sam has produced an extremely fine introduction to anarchist ideas, that could and should be read by those who believe they already have their ideas thought out.

This is Soil of Liberty's first pamphlet, and they've done a first rate job of work, maintaining the high standards they set with their magazine.

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW

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Index compiled by Giles Todd

STOP PRESS:
Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary by Antonio Tellez is now OUT OF PRINT.
New Publication:
A Visit to the Island of Sanday, A. Goodfellow, 75p (50p to Cienfuegos subscribers!).

ADVERTISEMENT

Last weekend at the IRSM I learned a lot about Urban Guerrilla Warfare, and a lot about myself

" I lead two lives.
During the day I am a self-employed Bingo caller, but some evenings and weekends I make a complete change and become a revolutionary urban guerrilla within the *International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement.*

Now, just because it's part time, that doesn't mean half-hearted; it demands all your energy and determination.

Our affinity group, *Land and Liberty!*, specialises in bridge and embassy demolition, industrial sabotage, destruction of hire purchase company records, offing police torturers and so on; it's rather like dismantling giant Meccano sets for the most part.

We operate day or night, fog or frost, rain or shine.

Which brings me to the story of last weekend.

"If voting could change the system it would be illegal"

We were taking part in a "pan-mobilisation" exercise. People of all types turned up. Individualists to Syndicalists, sociologists, farm-hands, coal miners and all sorts of ordinary folk like you and me.

We met in the back room of a 24 hour Bierkeller, in the wee sma' 'oors of Saturday and decided to have a crack at the Crown Jewels.

Our big job of the day was to make a giant bomb for diversionary action. Since that only took a couple of hours, we knocked off to the nearest pub and waited until the show started.

Then, in the afternoon, we were told that some thieving bastard had nicked it, our bomb!

Making a ballista from 40 gallon marmalade drums, 3 inch thick timbers, rope, a shovel from a JCB and a stick of chewing gum isn't easy, but we did it.

Then we tested it. A Special Branch sergeant, using the shovel as a vantage point to spy on us, regretted his rashness when he and the shovel were catapulted several miles across London. But enough of the lighter moments; somebody had to go and retrieve the shovel.

We were wading through our third canal when I thought, "What the bleeding hell am I doing in the drink, when I could be getting a drink in me?" when some wag says "I often come here at this time of year", all posh like. I felt like throttling the fool.

When we eventually got back, the baubels had been snatched successfully (so the ballista hadn't been needed after all!) and they turned out to be brass and paste!

Talk about cock up! Mind you I felt a bit better after I lobbed a couple of grenades through the window of a passing Special Patrol Group Land Rover.

Now I'm not pretending that every action is such a balls-up, most routine bank expropriations and the like go pretty smoothly, but you ought to realise what you could be letting yourself in for.

Of course, there are easier ways of spending your spare time (organising riots, strikes, picket lines, selling papers, etc.) but you can't beat the satisfaction of doing something really useful.

Well, it does me at any rate.
How about you?"

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE IRSM?
To provide a fully trained back up for the people armed.
Specific tasks include:
(a) providing support for the revolutionary people when they rise against their masters.
(b) preventing new ones taking over.

For further insight as to why you should become an urban guerrilla today just look at the increasing repression at home and abroad, the increasing technology of political and sociological control, the sterility of consumer capitalism and authoritarian socialism and the unutterable boredom of the production line, the total lack of control over your own life, a legal system designed to protect the interests and property of a select ruling class, etc., the list goes on and on. REMEMBER: IF VOTING COULD CHANGE THE SYSTEM IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL! IT'S PART TIME. BUT IT'S A REAL REVOLUTIONARY'S JOB'

IRSM THE AMATEURS

LES PRINCE